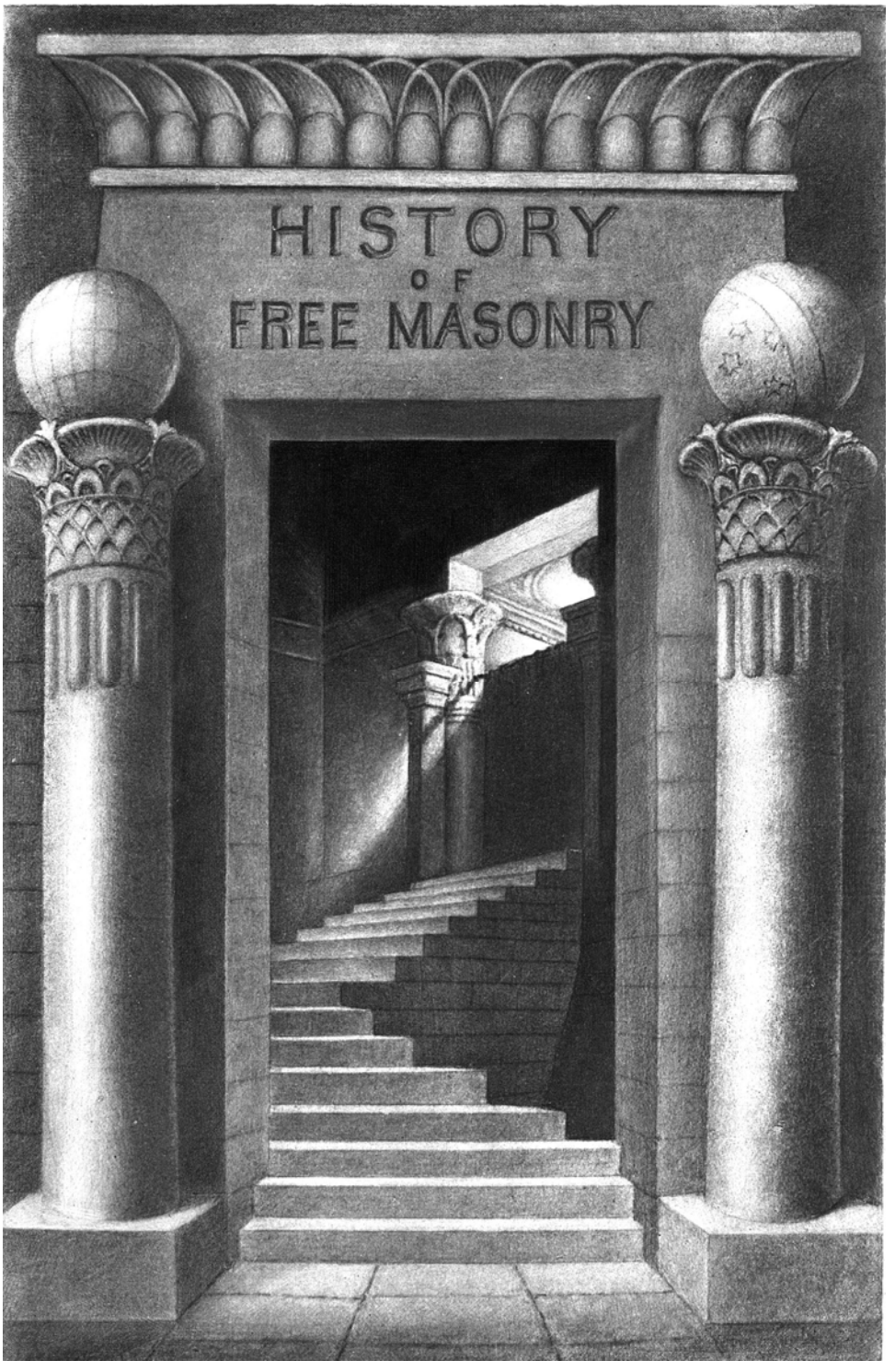
HISTORY
OF
FREE MASONRY

Dr. ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., *33*°

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, *33*°

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN

P.∴ S.∴ G.∴ D.∴ OF G.∴ L.∴ OF ENGLAND—P.∴ S.∴ G.∴ W.∴ OF EGYPT, ETC.

VOLUME ONE

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"There seems no human thought so primitive as to have lost its bearing on our own thought, nor so ancient as to have broken its connexion with our own life."

TYOR, *Primitive Culture.*

PREFACE

O comprehensive a title as the one selected for the present work would be a vain assumption if the author's object was not really to embrace in a series of studies the whole cycle of Masonic history and science. Anything short of this would not entitle the work to be called THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.

Freemasonry as a society of long standing, has of course its history, and the age of the institution has necessarily led to the mixing in this history of authentic facts and of mere traditions or legends.

We are thus led in the very beginning of our labors to divide our historical studies into two classes. The one embraces the Legendary History of Freemasonry, and the other its authentic annals.

The Legendary History of Freemasonry will constitute the subject of the first of the five parts into which this work is divided. It embraces all that narrative of the rise and progress of the institution, which beginning with the connection with it of the antediluvian patriarchs, ends in ascribing its modern condition to the patronage of Prince Edwin and the assembly at York.

This narrative, which in the 15th and up to the end of the 17th century, claimed and received the implicit faith of the Craft, which in the 18th century was repeated and emendated by the leading writers of the institution, and which even in the 19th century has had its advocates among the learned and its credence among the unlearned of the Craft, has only recently and by a new school been placed in its true position of an apocryphal story.

And yet though apocryphal, this traditionary story of Freemasonry which has been called the *Legend of the Craft,* or by some the *Legend of the Guild,* is not to be rejected as an idle fable. On the contrary, the object of the present work has been to show that these Masonic legends contain the germs of an historical, mingled

often with a symbolic, idea, and that divested of certain evanescences in the shape of anachronisms, or of unauthenticated statements, these Masonic legends often, nay almost always, present in their simple form a true philosophic spirit.

To establish this principle in the literature of Freemasonry, to divest the legends of the Craft of the false value given to them as portions of authentic history by blind credulity, and to protect them from the equally false estimate that has been bestowed upon them by the excessive incredulity of unphilosophic sceptics, who view them only as idle fables without more meaning than what they attach to monkish legends—in one word, to place the Legendary History of Freemasonry in the just position which it should occupy but has never yet occupied, is the object of the labors expended in the composition of the first part of this work.

The second part of the work will pass out of the field of myth and legend and be devoted to the authentic or recorded history of Freemasonry.

Rejecting as wholly untenable and unsupported by historical evidence, the various hypotheses of the origin of the institution in the Pagan mysteries, in the Temple of Solomon, or in the Crusades, an attempt has been made to trace its birth to the Roman Colleges of Artificers, which present us with an almost identical organization of builders and architects. Following the progress of the Roman Masons of the Colleges, through their visits to the different provinces of the Empire, where they went, accompanying the legions in their victorious excursions, we will find that the art of building was communicated by them to the Italians, the Spaniards, the Gauls, and the Britons.

In this way the knowledge of Operative Masonry and its practice in guilds, sodalities, and confraternities was preserved by these peoples after the extinction of the Roman Empire.

We next find this sodality emerging in the 10th century from Lombardy, and under the name of "Traveling Freemasons," perambulating all Europe and re-establishing confraternities of Stonemasons in Germany, France, England, Scotland, and other countries.

The narrative of the progress of this fraternity of builders from Como, which was evidently an outshoot from the ancient Roman Colleges, is treated with great particularity, because without the aid

of any mythical or legendary instrumentality we are thus enabled to connect it continuously with the modern system of Operative Masonry.

The merging of Operative into Speculative Masonry in the beginning of the 18th century is an historical incident based on the most authentic records. Its details, derived from records of whose genuineness there never has been a doubt, will complete and perfect the history of Freemasonry from its rise to its present condition.

Thus we may imagine the growth of that magnificent tree, beneath whose wide-spreading branches the fraternity now recline. In the far remote reign of Numa, the philosophic and religious king of Rome (or if his personality be doubted by the disciples of Niebuhr), in the times represented by his name, we find the germ of the institution in those organized confraternities of craftsmen, whom history records as flourishing with varying success and popularity through the times of the Kingdom, the Republic, and the Empire of Rome.

The seeds of a co-operative association of builders, based on the principles of fraternity, were carried with the legions of Rome into the various provinces that had been conquered by the soldiers of the Empire, and as colonies of Romans were there established, the Latin language, the manners and customs of the Roman people and their skill in the arts were introduced among the natives.

Of these arts, the most important was that of architecture, and by means of monuments still remaining, as well as other historical evidences, we are enabled to follow the gradual growth of the operative societies out of the Roman guilds and then that of the speculative institution out of the operative societies.

The hypothesis sought to be sustained in investigating the history of Freemasonry, in the present work, may be succinctly stated as follows:

Operative Masonry is the basis on which Speculative Freemasonry is founded—that is to say, the lodges of Freemasons of the present day are the successors of the lodges of Operative Masons which existed all over Europe during the Middle Ages and up to the beginning of the 18th century.

But the Operative Masonry that gave birth to the modern speculative order was not the mere craft or trade or art of building. The men who practiced it were not mere cutters and layers of stone. There were large numbers of workmen who belonged to a lower

class of the trade or profession, who were never looked upon with any respect, with whom companionship was denied, and who were employed only in subordinate positions. These men were called cowans, rough layers, foreigners or similar titles intimating degradation of class and inferiority of skill.

No relation can be traced between the Operative Masons of this class and the Speculative Masons, who have represented Freemasonry since the beginning of the 18th century. The Operative Masons, between whom and the modern Freemasons there is a relation of succession, were a higher class of artists. They were possessed of secrets connected with peculiar skill in their craft. But above all, they were distinguished for the adoption of what might, in our modern phrase, be called the co-operative principle in the practice of their Craft. Perhaps it may more properly be called, a principle of sodality. It was shown in the formation of a company, a society, a guild, a corporation, or a confraternity, call it by what name you please, in which there was an association of skill, of labor, and of interests. This principle has been called the guild spirit, and it is this spirit which constitutes the essential characteristic of the Masonic institution.

If we propose to establish a chain of historical continuity, which shall extend from the first appearance of any association in which the origin of modern Freemasonry is sought to be found, to the present day, when the institution has assumed its well-recognized form, there are two elements which must be well marked in every link of the chain.

In the first place, there must be an operative element. Freemasonry can be traced only to an association of builders or architects. Every ceremony in the ritual, every symbol in the philosophy of Speculative Freemasonry, indicates—nay, positively proves—that it has been derived from and is closely connected with the art of building. The first Freemasons were builders, they could have been nothing else. To seek for them in a mystical, religious association as the ancient pagan Mysteries, or in an institution of chivalry as in the Knights of the Crusades would be a vain and unprofitable task. As well might one look for the birthplace of the eagle in the egg of the crow as to attempt to trace the origin of Freemasonry to anything other than an association of builders.

In the second place there must be a guild spirit. The builders

who have corne together must not have associated temporarily for the mere purpose of accomplishing a certain task, each man wholly independent of the others, and arbitrarily exercising only his own skill. There must be a permanent organization, a community of interest, a division of labor, a spirit of fraternity, an organization looking beyond the present moment. A certain number of Masons, brought together to construct an edifice, who after its construction would be ready to disperse, each Mason on his own footing to seek fresh employment under new masters and with new companions, could never, under such circumstances, be concentrated into such organizations as would, in the lapse of time, give rise to the lodges of modern Speculative Freemasons.

The hypothesis, then, which is advanced in the present work and on which its authentic historical part is constructed, is that there was from the earliest days of Rome an organization of workmen under the name of the *Collegium Artificum,* or *Collegium Fabrorum,* that is, the College of Artificers, or the College of Workmen. That this college consisted of builders and architects, that it was regularly organized into an association, which was marked with all the peculiarities that afterward distinguished the guilds or incorporations of the Middle Ages. That this college, flourishing greatly under the later empire, sent its members, imbued with the skill in architecture and the spirit of confraternity which they had acquired in the home organization, into the various provinces which the Roman legions penetrated and conquered. And, finally, that in all these provinces, but principally in Northern Italy, in Gaul, and in Britain, they established similar colleges or associations, in which they imparted to the natives their knowledge of the art of building and impressed them with their spirit of fraternal co-operation in labor.

From these colleges of workmen sprang in the course of time, and after the fall of the empire and the transition of the provinces into independent and sovereign states, organizations of builders, of masons and architects, who in Italy assumed the name and title of Traveling Freemasons, in Gaul that of the Mestrice des Maçons, in Germany that of the Steinmetzen, in England that of the Guilds and Companies, and in Scotland that of the Lodges and Incorporations. All these were associations of builders and architects, who were bound together by regulations which were very similar to and evidently derived from those by which the Roman Colleges had

been governed, with others suggested by change of conditions and circumstances.

The associations, though mainly made up of professional work» men, sometimes admitted, as the Roman Colleges had done, non-professionals, men of wealth, distinction, or learning into their ranks as honorary members.

About the close of the 17th century the number of these non-professional members was greatly increased, which fact must have produced a gradual and growing influence on the organizations.

Finally, during the second decade of the 18th century, these non-professional members completely changed the character of the Masonic organizations known at that time under the name of Lodges. The operative element was entirely eliminated from them, and the Lodges became no longer companies of builders, but fraternities of speculative philosophers.

The new institution of Speculative Freemasonry retained no other connection with or relation to the operative organization, than the memory of its descent, and the preservation of the technical language and the tools of the art, all of which were, however, subjected to new and symbolic interpretations.

This transition of the operative into the speculative organizations occurred in London in the year 1717, at which time the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was established.

From England the change passed over into other countries and Lodges were everywhere instituted under the authority of the Grand Lodge of London. The history of Freemasonry from that time is to be found in the recorded annals of the various Lodges and Grand Lodges which sprung up in the course of time from the parent stem, the common mother of all the speculative Lodges of the world.

Scotland might seem at first to be an exception to this cosmopolitan maternity, but though the growth of the speculative out of the operative element was there apparently an independent act of transition, yet it cannot be denied that the influence of the English society was deeply felt in the sister kingdom and exhibited especially in the adoption of the three degrees, in the organization of the Grand Lodge on a similar model, and in the establishment of the office of Grand Master, a title of entirely modern and English origin.

Such is the plan of the history that has been pursued in the present work, a plan which materially and essentially differs from that of any preceding writer. Iconoclasts have composed monographs in which they have attacked particular fallacies and denounced special forgeries, but the history of Masonry as a whole has not before been written with the same spirit of candor that has been or should always be exercised in the composition of history.

Doubtless the well-settled and carefully nourished prejudices of some will be shocked by any attempt to expose the fallacies and falsehoods which have too long tarnished the annals of Freemasonry. But such an attempt cannot, if it be successfully pursued, but command the approval of all who believe with Cicero that history is "the witness of time, the light of truth, and the life of memory."

ALBERT G. MACKEY, M.D.

PART ONE

PREHISTORIC MASONRY

PREHISTORIC MASONRY

CHAPTER I

TRADITION AND HISTORY IN MASONRY

IN the study of Freemasonry there are two kinds of statements which are presented to the mind of the inquiring scholar, which are sometimes concurrent, but much oftener conflicting, in their character.

These are the historical and the traditional, each of which appertains to Freemasonry as we may consider it in a different aspect.

The historical statement relates to the Institution as we look at it from an exoteric or public point of view; the traditional refers only to its esoteric or secret character.

So long as its traditional legends are confined to the ritual of the Order; they are not appropriate subjects of historical inquiry. They have been invented by the makers of the rituals for symbolic purposes connected with the forms of initiation. Out of these myths of Speculative Masonry its philosophy has been developed; and, as they are really to be considered as merely the expansion of a philosophic or speculative idea, they can not properly be posited in the category of historical narratives.

But in the published works of those who have written on the origin and progress of Masonry, from its beginning to the present time, the legendary or traditional has too much been mingled with the historical element. The effect of this course has been, on adversely prejudiced minds, to weaken all claims of the Institution to an historical existence. The doctrine of "false in one thing, false in all," has been rigidly applied, and those statements of the Masonic historian which are really authentic have been doubted or re-

jected, because in other portions of his narrative he has been too credulous.

Borrowing the technical language of archaeology, I should say that the history of Masonry[1] may be divided into two periods—the prehistoric and the historic. The former is traditional, the latter documentary. Each of these divisions must, in any historical inquiry, be clearly defined. There is also another division, into esoteric and exoteric history. The first is exclusively within the arcana of the Order, and can not, as I have said, be the subject of historical investigation. The second properly comes within the sphere of historical study, and is subjected to all the laws of historical criticism.

When we are treating of Freemasonry as one of the social organizations of the world—as one of those institutions which are the results of civilization, and which have sprung up in the progress of society; and, finally, when we are considering what are the influences that the varying conditions of that society have produced upon it, and what influences it has reciprocally produced upon these varying conditions—we are then engaged in the solution of a historical problem, and we must pursue the inquiry in a historical method and not otherwise. We must discard all speculation, because history deals only with facts.

If we were treating the history of a nation, we should assert nothing of it as historical that could not be traced to and be verified by its written records. All that is conjectured of the events that may have occurred in the earlier period of such a nation, of which there is no record in contemporaneous or immediately subsequent times, is properly thrown into the dim era of the prehistoric age. It forms no part of the authentic history of the nation, and can be dignified, at its highest value, with the title of historical speculation only, which claims no other credence than that which its plausibility or its probability commands.

Now, the possibility or the probability that a certain event may have occurred in the early days of a nation's existence, but of which event there is no record, will be great or little, as dependent on certain other events which bear upon it, and which come within the era of its records. The event may have been possible, but not probable, and then but very little or no importance would be im-

[1] In the progress of this work I shall use the terms *Masonry* and *Freemasonry* without discrimination, except on special, and at the time specified, occasions.

puted to it, and it would at once be relegated to the category of myths. Or it may have been both possible and highly probable, and we may be then permitted to speculate upon it as something that had exerted an influence upon the primitive character or the subsequent progress of the nation. But, even then, it would not altogether lose its mythical character. Whatever we might predicate of it would only be a plausible speculation. It would not be history, for that deals not in what may have been, but only in that which actually has been.

The progress in these latter days of what are called the exact sciences has led, by the force of example and analogy, to a more critical examination of the facts, or, rather, the so-called facts, of history.

Voltaire said, in his *Life of Charles XII of Sweden,* that "incredulity is the foundation of history." Years passed before the axiom in all its force was accepted by the learned. But at length it has been adopted as the rule of all historical criticism. To be credulous is now to be unphilosophical, and scholars accept nothing as history that can not be demonstrated with almost mathematical certainty.

Niebuhr began by shattering all faith in the story of Rhea Sylvia, of Romulus and Remus, and of the maternal wolf, which, with many other incidents of the early Roman annals, were consigned by him to the region of the mythical.

In later times, the patriotic heart of Switzerland has been made to mourn by the discovery that the story of William Tell, and of the apple which he shot from the head of his son, is nothing but a mediaeval fable which was to be found in a great many other countries, and the circumstances of which, everywhere varying in details, still point to a common origin in some early symbolic myth.

It is thus that many narratives, once accepted as veracious, have been, by careful criticism, eliminated from the domain of history; and such works as Goldsmith's Histories of Greece and Rome are no longer deemed fitting text-books for schools, where nothing but truth should be taught.

The same rules of critical analysis which are pursued in the separation of what is true from what is false in the history of a nation should be applied to the determination of the character of all statements in Masonic history. This course, however, has, unhappily,

not been generally pursued. Many of its legends are unquestionably founded, as I shall endeavor hereafter to show, on a historical basis; but quite as many, if not more, are made up out of a mixture of truth and fiction, the distinctive boundaries of which it is difficult to define; while a still greater number are altogether mythical, with no appreciable element of truth in their composition. And yet, for nearly two centuries, all of these three classes of Masonic legendary lore have been accepted by the great body of the Fraternity, without any discrimination, as faithful narratives of undoubted truthfulness.

It is this liberal acceptation of the false for the true, and this ready recognition of fables as authentic narratives whereby imaginative writers have been encouraged to plunge into the realms of absurdity instead of confining themselves to the domain of legitimate history, that have cast an air of romance over all that has hitherto been written about Freemasonry. Unjustly, but very naturally, scholars have been inclined to reject all our legends in every part as fabulous, because they found in some the elements of fiction.

But, on the other hand, the absurdities of legend-makers, and the credulity of legend-readers, have, by a healthy reaction, given rise to a school of iconoclasts (to whom there will soon be occasion to refer), which sprang up from a laudable desire to conform the principles of criticism which are to govern all investigations into Masonic history to the rules which control profane writers in the examination of the history of nations.

As examples of the legends of Masonry which have tempted the credulity of many and excited the skepticism of others, those almost universally accepted legends may be cited which attribute the organization of Freemasonry in its present form to the era of King Solomon's temple—the story of Prince Edwin and the Grand Lodge congregated by him at the city of York in the 10th century—and the theory that the three symbolic degrees were instituted as Masonic grades at a period very long anterior to the beginning of the 18th century.

These statements, still believed in by all Masons who have not made the history of the Order an especial study, were, until recently, received by prominent scholars as veracious narratives. Even Dr. Oliver, one of the most learned as well as the most prolific of Masonic authors, has, in his numerous works, recognized them as his

toric truths without a word of protest or a sign of doubt, except, perhaps, with reference to the third legend above mentioned, of which he says, with a cautious qualification, that he has "some doubts whether the Master's degree, as now given, can be traced three centuries backwards."[1]

But now comes a new school of Masonic students, to whom, borrowing a word formerly used in the history of religious strifes, has been given the name of "iconoclasts." The word is a good one. The old iconoclasts, or image-breakers of the 8th century, demolished the images and defaced the pictures which they found in the churches, induced by erroneous but conscientious views, because they thought that the people were mistaking the shadow for the substance, and were worshipping the image or the picture instead of the Divine Being whom it represented.

And so these Masonic iconoclasts, with better views, are proceeding to destroy, by hard, incisive criticism, the intellectual images which the old, unlettered Masons had constructed for their veneration. They are pulling to pieces the myths and legends, whose fallacies and absurdities had so long cast a cloud upon what ought to be the clear sky of Masonic history. But they have tempered their zeal with a knowledge and a moderation that were unknown to the iconoclasts of religion. These shattered the images and scattered the fragments to the four winds of heaven, or they burnt the picture so that not even a remnant of the canvas was left. Whatever there was of beauty in the work of the sculptor or painter was forever destroyed. Every sentiment of aesthetic art was overcome by the virulence of religious fanaticism. Had the destructive labors of these iconoclasts been universal and long continued, no foundation would have been left for building that science of Christian symbolism, which in this day has been so interesting and so instructive to the archaeologist.[2]

Not so have the Masonic iconoclasts performed their task of critical reformation. They have shattered nothing; they have destroyed nothing. When in the course of their investigations into true Masonic history, they encounter a myth or a legend, replete, ap-

[1] "Dissertation on the State of Masonry in the Eighteenth Century."

[2] Thus the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, caused all images and pictures to be removed from the churches and publicly burnt—an act of vandalism not surpassed by that Saracen despot who (if the story be true) ruthlessly committed the books of the Alexandrian library to the flames as fuel for the public baths.

parently, with absurdities or contradictions, they do not consign it to oblivion as something unworthy of consideration, but they dissect it into its various parts; they analyze it with critical acumen; they separate the chaff from the wheat; they accept the portion that is confirmed by other and collateral testimony as a legitimate contribution to history; what is undoubtedly fictitious they receive as a myth, and either reject it altogether as an unmeaning addition to a legend, or give it an interpretation as the expression of some symbolic idea which is itself of value in a historical point of view.

That lamented archaeologist, Mr. George Smith, late of the British Museum, in speaking of the cuneiform inscriptions excavated in Mesopotamia, and the legends which they have preserved of the old Babylonian empire, said:[1] "With regard to the supernatural element introduced into the story, it is similar in nature to many such additions to historical narratives, especially in the East; but I would not reject those events which may have happened, because, in order to illustrate a current belief, or add to the romance of the story, the writer has introduced the supernatural."

It is on this very principle that the iconoclastic Masonic writers, such as Hughan and Woodford, are pursuing their researches into the early history of Freemasonry. They do not reject those events related in the old legends, which have certainly happened, because in them they find also mythical narratives. They do not yield to the tendency which George Smith says is now too general, "to repudiate the earlier part of history, because of its evident inaccuracies and the marvelous element generally combined with it."[2] It is in this way, and in this way only, that early Masonic history can be rightly written. Made up, as it has been for centuries past, of a commingled tissue of historical narrative and legendary invention, it has been heretofore read without judicious discrimination. Either the traditional account has been wholly accepted as historical, or it has been wholly rejected as fabulous, and thus, in either case, numerous errors have been the consequence.

As an example of the error which inevitably results from pursuing either of these methods of interpretation, one of which may be distinguished as the school of gross credulity, and the other as that of great skepticism, let us take the legend of the Temple origin of

[1] "Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 302. [2] Ibidem.

Masonry—that is to say, the legend which places the organization of the Institution at the time of the building of the temple at Jerusalem.

Now, the former of these schools implicitly receives the whole legend as true in all its details, and recognizes King Solomon as the first Grand Master, with Hiram of Tyre and Hiram as his Wardens, who, with him, presided over the Craft, divided into three degrees, the initiation into which was the same as that practiced in the lodges of the present day, or at least not very unlike it.

Thus Dr. Anderson, who was the first to publicly promulgate this legend and the theory founded on it, says, in the second edition of his "Constitutions," that Hiram Abif, "in Solomon's absence, filled the chair as Deputy Grand Master, and, in his presence, was the Senior Grand Warden";[1] and, again, that "Solomon partitioned the Fellow Crafts into certain lodges, with a Master and Wardens in each";[2] and, lastly, that "Solomon was Grand Master of all Masons at Jerusalem. King Hiram was Grand Master at Tyre, and Hiram Abif had been Master of Work."[3] The modern rituals have made some change in these details, but we evidently see here the original source of the legend as it is now generally believed by the Fraternity.

Indeed, so firmly convinced of its truth are the believers in this legend, that the brand of heterodoxy is placed by them on all who deny or doubt it.

On the contrary, the disciples of the latter school, whose skepticism is as excessive as is the credulity of the former, reject as fabulous everything that tends to connect Freemasonry with the Solomonic temple. To the King of Israel they refuse all honor, and they contemptuously repudiate the theory that he was a Masonic dignitary, or even a Freemason at all. One of these Pyrrhonists has gone so far as to defile the memory of the Jewish monarch with unnecessary and unmerited abuse.

Between these two parties, each of which is misdirected by an intemperate zeal, come the iconoclasts—impartial inquirers, who calmly and dispassionately seek for truth only. These disavow, it is true, the authenticity of the Temple legend in its present form. They deny that there is any proof which a historian could, by applying the just canons of criticism, admit as competent evidence, that Freemasonry was organized at the building of the temple of Solomon,

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d ed., chap, iii., p. 12. [2] Ibid., p. 13. [3] Ibid., p. 15.

and hence they look for its origin at some other period and under different circumstances.

But they do not reject the myth connected with the temple as being wholly unworthy of consideration. On the contrary, they respect this legend as having a symbolic significance, whose value can not be overestimated. They trace its rise in the Old Constitutions; they find it plainly alluded to in the *Legend of the Craft;* and they follow it in its full development in the modern rituals. They thus recognize the influence that the story of the temple and its builders has exerted on the internal construction of the Order, and hence they feel no disposition to treat it, notwithstanding its historical inaccuracy, with contumely.

Knowing what an important part the legends and symbols of Freemasonry have performed in the progress of the Institution, and how much its philosophic system is indebted to them for all that is peculiar to itself, they devote their literary energies, not to the expurgation of this or any other myth or legend, but to the investigation of the questions how and when it arose, and what is its real significance as a symbol, or what foundation as a narrative it may have in history. And thus they are enabled to add important items to the mass of true Masonic history which they have been accumulating.

In short, the theory of the iconoclastic school is that truth and authenticity must always, and in the first place, be sought; that nothing must be accepted as historical which has not the internal and external evidences of historical verity, and that in treating the legends of Masonry—of almost every one of which it may be said, "Se non vero, è ben trovato"—*if it is not true, it is well invented*—we are not to reject them as altogether fabulous, but as having some hidden and occult meaning, which, as in the case of all other symbols, we must diligently seek to discover. But if it be found that the legend has no symbolic significance, but is simply the distortion of a historical fact, we must carefully eliminate the fabulous increment, and leave the body of truth to which it had been added, to have its just value.

Such was the method pursued by the philosophers of antiquity; and Plato, Anaxagoras, and Cicero explained the absurdities of the ancient mythologists by an allegorical mode of interpretation.

To this school I have for years been strongly attached, and in the composition of this work I shall adopt its principles. I do not fear

that the claims of Freemasonry to a time-honored existence will be injured by any historical criticism, although the era in which it had its birth may not be admitted to be as remote as that assigned to it by Anderson or Oliver.

Iconoclastic criticism can not depreciate, but will rather elevate, the character of the Institution. It will relieve it of absurdities, will often explain the cause of anachronisms, will purify the fabulous element, and confine it within the strict domain of history.

It was a common reproach against the great Niebuhr that he had overthrown the whole fabric of early Roman history, and yet Dr. Arnold, the most competent of critics, has said of him that he had built up much more than he had destroyed, and fixed much that modern skepticism had rejected as fabulous on firmer historic grounds.

Following such a method as that pursued by the most learned of modern historians, it will be necessary, for a faithful and comprehensible investigation of the history of Masonry, to discriminate between the two periods into which it is naturally divided,

The PREHISTORIC and

The HISTORIC.

The HISTORIC embraces the period within which we have authentic documents in reference to the existence of the Order, and will be considered in the second part of this book.

The PREHISTORIC embraces the period within which we have no authentic memorials, and when we have to depend wholly on legends and traditions.

The legendary history of Masonry will, therefore, be commenced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

IN the history of every ancient nation there is a prehistoric and a historic period.

The prehistoric period is that which has no records to prove the truth of the events that have been attributed to it. It is made up of myths and legends, founded — some of them, in all probability — on a distortion of historical facts, and some of them indebted entirely to imagination for their invention.

The historic period is that which begins with the narration of events which are supported by documents, either contemporary with the events or so recently posterior to them as to have nearly all the validity of contemporary evidence.

Just such a division of periods as this we find in the history of Freemasonry.

The prehistoric period, more commonly styled the legendary history, embraces the supposed history of the rise and progress of the Institution in remote times, and details events said to have occurred, but which have no proof of their occurrence other than that of oral tradition, unsupported by that sort of documentary evidence which is essentially necessary to give a reliable character to an historical statement.

The historic period of Freemasonry commences with the time when written or printed records furnish the necessary testimony that the events narrated did actually occur.

In treating of the history of nations, scholars have found great difficulty in precisely defining the point of separation between the prehistoric and the historic periods. As in natural history, it is almost impossible to define the exact line of demarkation between any two consecutive classes of the kingdoms of nature so as to distinguish the highest species of a vegetable from the lowest of an

animal organization, so in political history it is difficult to tell when the prehistoric period ends and the historic begins.

In Freemasonry we meet with the same embarrassment, and this embarrassment is increased according to the different standpoints from which we view the institution.

If we adopt the theory (as has been done by a few writers too iconoclastic in their views) that Speculative Masonry never was anything but that which its present organization presents, with Grand Lodges, Grand Masters, and a ritual of distinct degrees, then we are compelled to place the commencement of the historic era at that period which has been called the *Revival* in the second decade of the 18th century.

If, with more liberal views, we entertain the opinion that Speculative Masonry was founded on, and is the offspring of, the Operative system of the Stonemasons, then we must extend our researches to at least the Middle Ages, where we shall find abundant documentary evidence of the existence and character of the Operative parent to which the Freemasonry of the present day, by a well-marked transition, has succeeded.

Connecting the written history of the Operative Masons with that of its speculative offshoot, we have an authentic and continuous history that will carry us back to a period many centuries anterior to the time of the so-called Revival in the year 1717.

If I were writing a history of Speculative Masonry merely, I should find myself restricted to an era, somewhere in the 17th century, when there is documentary evidence to show that the transition period began, and when the speculative obtruded into the Operative system.

But as I am really writing a history of Freemasonry, of which the Operative and the Speculative systems are divisions, intimately connected, I am constrained to go farther, and to investigate the rise and the progress of the Operative art as the precursor and the founder of the Speculative science.

The authentic details of the condition of Operative Masonry in the Middle Ages, of its connection, if it had any, with other organizations, and its transmutation at a later period into Speculative Masonry, will constitute the historic narrative of Freemasonry.

Its prehistoric narrative will be found in the myths and legends which were, unfortunately, for a long time accepted by the great

body of the Craft as a true history, but which, though still credited by many, are yet placed by most modern Masonic scholars in their proper category.

These legends, some of which are preserved in the rituals, and some are becoming almost obsolete, have a common foundation in that traditional narrative which is known as the *Legend of the Craft,*[1] and which must first be understood before we can with satisfaction attempt to study the legendary history of the Institution.

But this legend is of such length and of so much importance that it demands for its consideration a separate and distinct chapter.

I, by no means, intend to advance the proposition that all the myths and legends now taught in the Lodges, or preserved in the works of Masonic writers, are to be found in the *Legend of the Craft,* but only the most important—those that are still recognized by the more credulous portion of the Fraternity as genuine and authentic narratives—receive their first notice in the *Legend of the Craft,* although they are indebted for their present, fuller form, to a development or enlargement, subsequently made in the course of the construction of the modern ritual.

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[1] The Rev. Bro. Woodford calls it the "Legend of the Guild." But I prefer the title here used, because it does not lead to embarrassing questions as to the relation of the mediaeval Guilds to Freemasonry.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD MANUSCRIPTS

NDERSON tells us, in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* that in the year 1719, "at some private Lodges several very valuable manuscripts concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages, were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that these papers might not fall into strange hands."[1]

Fortunately, this destruction was not universal. The manuscripts to which Anderson alludes were undoubtedly those Old Constitutions of the Operative Masons, several copies of which, that had escaped the holocaust described by him, have since been discovered in the British Museum, in old libraries, or in the archives of Lodges, and have been published by those who have discovered them.[2]

These are the documents which have received the title of "Old Records," "Old Charges," or "Old Constitutions." Their general character is the same. Indeed, there is so much similarity, and almost identity, in their contents as to warrant the presumption that they are copies of some earlier document not yet recovered.

The earliest of these documents is a manuscript poem, entitled the *Constitutiones artis geometries secundum Eucleydem,* which is preserved in the British Museum, and which was published in 1840 by Mr. Halliwell, in his *Early History of Freemasonry in England.* The date of this manuscript is supposed to be about the year 1390. A second and enlarged edition was published in 1844.

The next of the English manuscripts is that which was published

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," 1738, p. 111.

[2] Among these writers we must not omit to mention Bro. William James Hughan, *facile princeps* of all Masonic antiquarians, who made, in 1872, a valuable contribution to this literature, under the title of "The Old Charges of the British Freemasons," the value of which is enhanced by the learned Preface of Bro. A. F. A. Woodford.

in 1861 by Bro. Matthew Cooke from the original in the British Museum, and which was once the property of Mrs. Caroline Baker, from whom it was purchased in 1859 by the Curators of the Museum. The date of this manuscript is supposed to be about 1490.

All the English Masonic antiquarians concur in the opinion that this manuscript is next in antiquity to the Halliwell poem, though there is a difference of about one hundred years in their respective dates. It is, however, mere guesswork to say that there were not other manuscripts in the intervening period. But as none have been discovered, they must be considered as non-existent, and it is impossible even to conjecture, from any groundwork on which we can stand, whether, if such manuscripts did ever exist, they partook more of the features of the Halliwell or of the Cooke document, or whether they presented the form of a gradual transmission from the one to the other.

The Cooke MS. is far more elaborate in its arrangement and its details than the Halliwell, and contains the *Legend of the Craft* in a more extended form.

In the absence of any other earlier document of the same kind, it must be considered as the matrix, as it were, in which that Legend, in the form in which it appears in all the later manuscripts, was moulded.

In the year 1815, Mr. James Dowland published, in the *Gentleman's Magazine,*[1] the copy of an old manuscript which had lately come into his possession, and which he described as being "written on a long roll of parchment, in a very clear hand, apparently early in the 17th century, and very probably is copied from a manuscript of an earlier date." Although not as old as the Halliwell and Cooke MSS., it is deemed of very great value, because it comes next to them in date, and is apparently the first of that series of later manuscripts, so many of which have, within the past few years, been recovered. It is evidently based on the Cooke MS., though not an exact copy of it. But the later manuscripts comprising that series, at the head of which it stands, so much resemble it in details, and even in phraseology, that they must either have been copies made from it, or, what is far more probable, copies of some older and common original, of which it also is a copy.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. 85, p. 489, May, 1815.

The original manuscript which was used by Dowland for the publication in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is lost, or can not now be found. But Mr. Woodford and other competent authorities ascribe the year 1550 as being about its date.

Several other manuscript Constitutions, whose dates vary from the middle of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century, have since been discovered and published, principally by the industrious labors of Brothers Hughan and Woodford in England, and Brother Lyon in Scotland.

The following list gives the titles and conjectural dates of the most important of these manuscripts:[1]

Halliwell MS	supposed, 1390.
Cooke MS.	" 1490.
Dowland MS . . .	" 1500.
Landsdowne MS	" 1560.
York MS., No. 1	" 1600.
Harleian MS., No. 2054 . . .	" 1625.
Grand Lodge MS.	" 1632.
Sloane MS., No. 3848 . . .	certain, 1646.
Sloane MS., No. 3323 . . .	" 1659.
Harleian MS., No. 1942 . . .	supposed, 1660.
Aitcheson-Haven MS. . . .	certain, 1666.
Edinburgh-Kilwinning MS. . .	supposed, 1670.
York MS., No. 5	" 1670.
York MS., No. 6	" 1680.
Lodge of Antiquity MS . . .	certain, 1686.
York MS., No. 2	" 1693.
Alnwick MS.	" 1701.
York MS., No. 4	" 1704.
Papworth MS.	supposed, 1714.

All of these manuscripts begin, except the Halliwell poem, with an invocation to the Trinity. Then follows a descant on the seven liberal arts and sciences, of which the fifth, or Geometry, is said to be Masonry. This is succeeded by a traditional history of Masonry, from the days of Lamech to the reign of King Athelstan of England. The manuscripts conclude with a series of "charges," or regulations, for the government of the Craft while they were of a purely operative character.

[1] I have relied on the excellent authority of Rev. A. F. A. Woodford for the dates. See Hughan's "Old Charges of the British Freemasons," p. xii.

The traditional history which constitutes the first part of these "Old Records" is replete with historical inaccuracies, with anachronisms, and even with absurdities. And yet it is valuable, because it forms the germ of that system of Masonic history which was afterward developed by such writers as Anderson, Preston, and Oliver, and from whose errors the iconoclasts of the present day are successfully striving to free the Institution, so as to give its history a more rational and methodic form.

This traditional history is presented to us in all the manuscripts, in an identity of form, or, at least, with very slight verbal differences. These differences are, indeed, so slight that they suggest the strong probability of a common source for all these documents, either in the oral teaching of the older Masons, or in some earlier record that has not yet been recovered. The tradition seems always to have secured the unhesitating belief of the Fraternity as a true relation of the origin and the progress of Masonry, and hence it has received the title of the *Legend of the Craft.*

From the zealous care with which many manuscripts containing this legend were destroyed in 1719 by "scrupulous brothers" who were opposed to its publication, we might believe that it formed a part of the esoteric instructions of the Guild of Operative Masons. If so, it lost this secret character by the publication of Roberts's edition of the "Constitutions" in 1722.

In the earlier German and French Masonic records, such as the *Ordenung der Steinmetzen* at Strasburg in 1462, and the *Reglements sur les Arts et Metiers* at Paris in the 12th century, there is no appearance of this legend. But it does not follow from this that no such legend existed among the French and German Masons. Indeed, as it is well known that early English Operative Masonry was derived from the continent, it is natural to suppose that the continental Masons brought the legend into England.

There is, besides, internal evidence in the English manuscripts of both French and German interpolations. The reference in the Legend to Charles Martel connects it with the French Masonry of the 12th century, and the invocation to the "Four Crowned Martyrs"[1] in the Halliwell MS. is undoubtedly of German origin.[2]

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[1] Die heiligen Vier gekrönten, "Ordenung der Steinmetz, zu Strasburg, 1459," and in all the other German Constitutions.

[2] Findel thinks that this invocation to the Four Crowned Martyrs "must be regarded

The importance of this Legend in the influence that it exerted for a long period on the Craft as the accredited history of the Institution makes it indispensably necessary that it should form a part of any work that professes to treat of the history of Masonry.

For this purpose I have selected the Dowland MS., because it is admitted to be the oldest of those that assumed that general form which was followed in all the subsequent manuscripts, between which and it there is no substantial difference.

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as a most decided proof of the identity of the German and English Stonemasons, and of their having one common parentage." ("Geschichte der Frei Maurerei." Lyon's translation, p. 31.) Woodford does not concur with this view, but I think without good reason.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEGEND OF THE CRAFT

HE might of the Father of Kings,[1] with the wisdome of his glorious Son, through the grace of the goodness of the Holy Ghost, there bene three persons in one Godheade, be with us at our beginninge, and give us grace so to governe us here in this mortall life liveinge, that we may come to his kingdome that never shall have endinje. Amen.

"Good Breetheren and Followes: Our purpose is to tell you how and in what manner this worthy science of Masonrye was begunne, and afterwards how it was favoured by worthy Kings and Princes, and by many other worshippfull men. And also to those that be willinge, wee will declare the charge that belongeth to any true Mason to keepe for in good faith. And yee have good heede thereto; it is well worthy to be well kept for a worthy craft and a curious science.

"For there be Seaven liberall Sciences, of the which seaven it is one of them. And the names of the Seaven Seyences bene these: First is Grammere, and it teacheth man to speake truly and write truly. And the second is Rhethoricke; and teacheth a man to speake faire in subtill termes. And the third is Dialectyke; and teacheth a man for to discern or know truth from false. And the fourth is Arithmeticke; and that teacheth a man for to recken and to accompte all manner of numbers. And the fifth is called Geometrie; and that teacheth mett and measure of earth and of all other things; of the which science is called Masonrye. And the sixth science is called Musicke; and that teacheth a man of songe and voice, of tongue and orgaine, harpe and trompe. And the seaventh science is called Astronomye; and that teacheth a man the course of

[1] In the Landsdowne, and most of the other MSS., the formula is "the Father of the Heavens," or "of Heaven."

the sunn, moone and starrs. These be the Seaven liberall Sciences, the which bene all founded by one Science, that is to say Geometrie. And this may a man prove, that the science of the work is founded by Geometrie, for Geometrie teacheth a man mett and measure, ponderation and weight, of all manner of things on earth, for there is no man that worketh any science, but he worketh by some mett or measure, nor no man that buyeth or selleth, but he buyeth or selleth by some measure or by some weight, and all these is Geometric And these use merchants and all craftsmen, and all other of the Seaven Sciences, and in especiall the plowman and tillers of all manner of grounds, graynes, vynes, flowers and setters of other fruits; for Grammere or Retricke, neither Astronomie nor none of all the other Seaven Sciences can no manner find mett nor measure without Geometrie. Wherefore methinketh that the science of Geometrie is most worthy, and that findeth[1] all other.

"How that these worthy Sciences were first begunne, I shall you tell. Before Noye's flood, there was a man called Lameche, as it is written in the Byble in the iiijth chapter of Genesis; and this Lameche had two wives, and the one height Ada, and that other height Sella; by his first wife Ada he gott two sons, and that one Jabell and thother Tuball, and by that other wife Sella he got a son and a daughter. And these four children founden the beginning of all sciences in the world. And this elder son Jabell found the science of Geometrie, and he departed flocks of sheep and lambs in the field, and first wrought house of stone and tree,[2] as is noted in the chapter above said. And his brother Tuball found the science of musicke, songe of tonge, harp and orgaine. And the third brother, Tuball Cain, found smithcraft of gold, silver, copper, iron and Steele; and the daughter found the craft of Weavinge. And these children knew well that God would take vengeance for synn, either by fire or by water; wherefore they writt their science that they had found in two pillars of stone, that they might be found after Noye's flood. And that one stone was marble, for that would not burn with fire; and

[1] Used in its primitive Anglo-Saxon meaning of "to invent, to devise." Geometry invented or devised all the other sciences.

[2] This is an instance of the inaccuracy of these old records in historical lore. So far from Jabal being the first who "wrought house of stone and tree," he was the originator of the nomadic life, in which such buildings are never used. He invented tents, made most probably of skins, to be the temporary residence of a pastoral people, led by the exigency of a want of food to remove their flocks from time to time to new pastures.

that other stone was clepped laterns,[1] and would not drown in noe water.

"Our intent is to tell you trulie how and in what manner these stones were found that these sciences were written in. The great Hermarynes, that was Cuby's son, the which Cub was Sem's son, that was Noy's son. This Hermarynes afterwards was called Harmes, the father of wise men; he found one of the two pillars of stone, and found the science written there, and he taught it to other men. And at the making of the Tower of Babylon there was Masonrye first made much of. And the Kinge of Babylon that height Nemrothe,[2] was a mason himself; and loved well the science, and it is said with masters of histories. And when the City of Nyneve and other cities of the East should be made, Nemrothe, the King of Babylon, sent thither three score Masons at the rogation of the King of Nyneve, his cosen. And when he sent them forth, he gave them a charge on this manner. That they should be true each of them to other, and that they should love truly together, and that they should serve their lord truly for their pay; soe that the master may have worshipp and all that long to him. And other moe charges he gave them. And this was the first time that ever Masons had any charge of his science.

"Moreover when Abraham and Sara his wife went into Egipt, there he taught the Seaven Sciences to the Egiptians; and he had a worthy scoller that height Ewclyde,[3] and he learned right well and was a master of all the vij Sciences liberall. And in his days it befell that the lord and the estates of the realme had soe many sonns that they had gotten, some by their wives and some by other ladyes of the realme; for that land is a hott land and a plentious of generacion. And they had not competent livelode to find with their children, wherefor they made much care, and then the king of the land made a great Counsell and a Parliament, to witt, how they might find their children honestly as gentlemen; and they could find no manner of good way. And then they did crye through all the realme, if there were any man that informe them, that he should come to them, and he should be soe rewarded for his travail, that he should hold him pleased.

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[1] This word is a corruption of the Latin "later," *brick.*

[2] Nimrod.

[3] Bro. Matthew Cooke, in his Notes to the MS. which he was the first to publish, and which thence bears his name, protests against being held responsible for the chronology which makes Abraham and Euclid contemporaries. It will hereafter be seen that this legend of Euclid is merely a symbol.

"After that this crye was made, then came this worthy clarke Ewclyde and said to the king and all his great lords, 'If yee will take me your children to governe, and to teach them one of the Seaven Scyences, wherewith they may live honestly as gentlemen should, under a condition, that yee will grant me and them a commission that I may have power to rule them after the manner that the science ought to be ruled.' And that the kinge and all his Counsell granted to him anone and sealed their commission. And then this worthy Doctor tooke to him these lord's sonns, and taught them the scyence of Geometrie in practice, for to work in stones all manner of worthy worke that belongeth to buildinge churches, temples, castells. towres, and mannors, and all other manner of buildings; and he gave them a charge in this manner.

"The first was that they should be true to the Kynge, and to the Lord that they owe. And that they should love well together and be true each one to other. And that they should call each other his fellowe or else brother and not by servant nor his knave, nor none other foul name. And that they should deserve their paie of the lord or of the master that they serve. And that they should ordaine the wisest of them to be master of the worke and nether for love nor great lynneage, ne riches ne for no favour to lett another that hath little conning for to be master of the lord's worke, wherethrough the lord should be evill served and they ashamed. And also that they should call their governors of the worke, Master, in the time that they worke with him. And other many moe charges that longe to tell. And to all these charges he made them to sweare a great oath that men used in that time; and ordayned them for reasonable wages, that they might live honestly by. And also that they should come and semble together every yeare once, how they might worke best to serve the lord for his profitt and to their own worshipp; and to correct within themselves him that had trespassed against the science. And thus was the seyence grounded there; and that worthy Mr. Ewclyde gave it the name of Geometric And now it is called through all this land, Masonrye.

"Sythen longe after,[1] when the children of Israeli were coming into the land of Beheast,[2] that is now called amongst us, the country of

[1] Since then long after—long after that time.

[2] The Land of Promise, or the Promised Land. "Beheste Promissio," says the Promptorium Parvulorum.

Jhrlm. Kinge David began the Temple that they called *Templum D'ni,* and it is named with us the Temple of Jerusalem. And the same Kinge David loved Masons well and cherished them much, and gave them good paie. And he gave the charges and the manners as he had learned of Egipt given by Ewclyde, and other charges moe that ye shall heare afterward. And after the decease of Kinge David, Solomon, that was David's sonn, performed out the Temple that his father begonne; and sent after Masons into divers countries and of divers lands; and gathered them together, so that he had fourscore thousand workers of stone, and were all named Masons. And he chose out of them three thousand that were ordayned to be masters and governors of his worke. And furthermore there was a Kinge of another region that men called Iram,[1] and he loved well Kinge Solomon and he gave him tymber to his worke. And he had a sonn that height Aynon,[2] and he was a Master of Geometrie, and was chief Master of all his Masons, and was Master of all his gravings and carvinge, and of all manner of Masonrye that longed to the Temple; and this is witnessed by the Bible, *in libro Regum,* the third chapter. And this Solomon confirmed both charges and the manners that his father had given to Masons. And thus was that worthy Science of Masonrye confirmed in the country of Jerusalem, and in many other kingdoms.

"Curious craftsmen walked about full wide into divers countryes, some because of learning more craft and cunning, and some to teach them that had but little cunnynge. And soe it befell that there was one curious Mason that height Maymus Grecus,[3] that had been at the making of Solomon's Temple, and he came into France, and there he taught the science of Masonrye to men of France. And there was one of the Regal line of France that height Charles Martell;[4] and he was a man that loved well such a science, and drew to this Maymus Grecus that is above-said, and learned of him the science, and tooke upon him the charges and manners; and afterwards by the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to explain that this is meant for Hiram.

[2] The true origin and meaning of this name, for which some of the modern Speculative Masons have substituted Hiram Abif, and others Adoniram, will be hereafter discussed.

[3] This name has been a Sphinxian enigma which many a Masonic Œdipos has failed to solve. I shall recur to it in a subsequent page.

[4] The introduction of this monarch into the Legend leads us to an inquiry into an interesting period of French Masonic history that will be hereafter discussed.

grace of God, he was elect to be Kinge of Fraunce. And when he was in his estate, he tooke Masons, and did helpe to make men Masons that were none; and set them to worke, and gave them both the charge and the manners and good paie, as he had learned of other Masons; and confirmed them a charter from yeare to yeare, to hold their semble when they would; and cherished them right much; and thus came this science into Fraunce.

"England in all this season stood voyd, as for any charge of Masonrye unto St. Albones[1] tyme. And in his days the King of England that was a Pagan, he did wall the towne about, that is called Sainct Albones. And Sainct Albones was a worthy Knight and Stewart with the Kinge of his household, and had governance of the realme, and also of the makinge of the town walls; and loved well Masons and cherished them much. And he made their paie right good, standing as the realme did; for he gave them ij.*s*. vj.*d.* a weeke and iij.*d.* to their nonesynches.[2] And before that time, through all this land, a Mason tooke but a penny a day and his meate, till Sainct Albones amended it, and gave them a chartour of the Kinge and his Counsell for to hold a general councell, and gave it the name of Assemble; and thereat he was himselfe, and helped to make Masons and gave them charges as you shall heare afterward.

"Right soon after the decease of Sainct Albone, there came divers wars into the realme of England of divers Nations soe that the good rule of Masonrye was destroyed unto the tyme of Kinge Athelstone's days that was a worthy Kinge of England and brought this land into good rest and peace; and builded many great works of Abbyes and Toures, and other many divers buildings; and loved well Masons. And he had a sonne that height Edwinne, and he loved Masons much more than his father did. And he was a great practiser in Geometrie; and he drew him much to talke and to commune with Masons, and to learn of them science; and afterwards for love that he had to Masons, and to the science, he was made Mason, and he gatt of the Kinge his father, a Chartour and Commission to hold every yeare

[1] St. Alban, the protomartyr of England. Of his connection with the Legend, more hereafter.

[2] A corruption of the old English word *noonskun,* from which comes our modern *luncheon.* It meant the refreshment taken at noon, when laborers desist from work to *shun* the heat. It may here mean food or subsistence in general. St. Alban gave his Masons two shillings a week and three pence for their daily food. (See *Nonesynches* in Mackey's "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry.")

once an Assemble, wher that ever they would, within the realme of England; and to correct within themselves defaults and trespasses that were done within the science. And he held himselfe an Assemble at Yorke,[1] and these he made Masons, and gave them charges, and taught them the manners, and commanded that rule to be kept ever after, and tooke then the chartour and commission to keepe, and made ordinance that it should be renewed from kinge to kinge.

"And when the Assemble was gathered he made a cry that all old Masons and young that had any writeinge or understanding of the charges and the manners that were made before in this land, or in any other, that they should show them forth. And when it was proved, there were founden some in French, and some in Greek, and some in English and some in other languages; and the intent of them all was founden all one. And he did make a booke thereof, and how the science was founded. And he himselfe bad and commanded that it should be readd or tould, when that any Mason should be made for to give him his charge. And fro that day into this tyme manners of Masons have been kept in that form as well as men might governe it. And furthermore divers Assembles have beene put and ordayned certain charges by the best advice of Masters and fellows."

Then follow the charges that are thus said to have been enacted at York and at other General Assemblies, but which properly constitute no part of the Legend, at least no part connected with the legendary details of the rise and progress of the Institution. The Legend ends with the account of the holding of an Assembly at York, and other subsequent ones, for the purpose of enacting laws for the government of the Order.

[1] This part of the Legend which refers to Prince Edwin and the Assembly at York is so important that it demands and will receive a future comprehensive examination.

CHAPTER V

THE HALLIWELL POEM AND THE LEGEND

HERE is one manuscript which differs so much from all the others in its form and in its contents as to afford the strongest internal evidence that it is derived from a source entirely different from that which gave origin to the other and later documents.

I allude to what is known to Masonic antiquaries as the Halliwell MS. As this is admitted to be the oldest Masonic document extant, and as some very important conclusions in respect to the early history of the Craft are about to be deduced from it, a detailed account of it will not be deemed unnecessary.

This work was first published in 1840 by Mr. James Orchard Halliwell, under the title of "A Poem on the Constitutions of Masonry,"[1] from the original manuscript in the King's Library of the British Museum. Mr. Halliwell, who subsequently adopted the name of Phillips, is not a member of the Brotherhood, and Woodford appropriately remarks that "it is somewhat curious that to Grandidier and Halliwell, both non-Masons, Freemasonry owes the impetus given at separate epochs to the study of its archaeology and history."[2]

Halliwell says that the manuscript formerly belonged to Charles Theyer, a well-known collector of the 17th century. It is undoubtedly the oldest Masonic MS. extant. Messrs. Bond and Egerton of the British Museum consider its date to be about the middle of the 15th century. Kloss[3] thinks that it was written between the years 1427 and 1445. Dr. Oliver[4] maintains that it is a transcript of the Book of Constitutions adopted by the General Assembly, held

[1] In a brochure entitled "The Early History of Freemasonry in England." A later improved edition was published in 1844.

[2] In Kenning's "Encyclopaedia," *voc. Halliwell.*

[3] "Die Freimaur in ihrer wahren Bedentung." S. 12.

[4] *American Quart. Rev. of Freemasonry,* vol. i., p. 547.

in the year 926, at the City of York. Halliwell himself places the date of the MS. at 1390. Woodford[1] concurs in this opinion. I am inclined to think that this is the true date of its transcription.

The manuscript is in rhymed verse, and consists of 794 lines. At the head of the poem is the inscription: "*Hie incipiunt constituciones artis gemetricæ secundum Euclydem*." The language is more archaic than that of Wicliffe's version of the Bible, which was written toward the end of the 14th century, but approaches very nearly to that of the Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester, the date of which was at the beginning of the same century. Therefore, if we admit that the date of 1390, attributed by Halliwell and Woodford to the transcription in the British Museum, is correct, we may, I think, judging by the language, safely assign to the original the date of about 1300. Further back than this, philology will not permit us to go.

Lines 1-86 of this MS. contain the history of the origin of geometry, or Masonry, and the story of Euclid is given at length, much like that which is in the *Legend of the Craft.* But no other parts of that Legend are referred to, except the portion which records the introduction of Masonry into England. From the narrative of the establishment of Masonry in Egypt by Euclid, the poem passes immediately to the time when the "craft com ynto Englond." Here the legendary story of King Athelstan and the Assembly called by him is given, with this variation from the common Legend, that there is no mention of the city of York, where the Assembly is said to have been held, nor of Prince Edwin, who summoned it.

Lines 87-470 contain the regulations which were adopted at that Assembly, divided into fifteen articles and the same number of points. There is a very great resemblance, substantially, between these regulations and the charges contained in the subsequent or second set of Manuscript Constitutions. But the regulations in the Halliwell poem are given at greater length, with more particularity and generally accompanied with an explanation or reason for the law.

After an interpolation, to be referred to hereafter, the poem proceeds under the title of "*Ars quatuor coronatorum*," *The Art of*

[1] Preface to Hughan's "Old Charges," p. vii.

the Four Crowned Ones, a title never applied to Masonry in the later and purely English manuscripts. We have first an invocation to God and the Virgin, and then the Legend of the Four Crowned Martyrs, which ends on line 534.

Now this Legend of the Four Crowned Martyrs[1]—*die Vier Gekrönten*—is found in none of the purely English manuscripts, but is of German origin, and peculiar to the German Steinmetzen or Stone Masons of the Middle Ages. Its introduction in this manuscript is an evidence of the German origin of the document, and, as Findel[2] says, "must be regarded as a most decided proof of the identity of the German and English Stone Masons, and of their having one common parentage."

The details of this Legend close at the 534th line, and the poem then proceeds to give a small and imperfect portion of what is known in our later manuscripts as the *Legend of the Craft.*

I am persuaded that all this part of the poem has been dislocated from its proper place, and that in the original the lines from 535 to 576 formed a portion of the *Legend of the Craft,* as it must have been inserted in the introductory part of the second manuscript. I think so, first, because in all other manuscripts the Legend forms the exordium and precedes the charges; secondly, because it has no proper connection with or sequence to the Legend of the Four Crowned Martyrs which precedes it, and which terminates on the 354th line; and lastly, because it is evidently an interruption of the religious instructions which are taken up on line 577, and which naturally follow line 534. The writer having extolled the Christian steadfastness and piety of the four martyrs whose feast he tells us is on the eighth day after Allhalloween, proceeds on line 576 to admonish his readers to avoid pride and covetousness and to practice virtue. There is here a regular and natural connection, which, however, would be interrupted by the insertion between the two clauses of an imperfect portion of a legend which has reference to the very beginning of the history of Masonry. Hence I conclude that all that part of the Legend which described the events that were connected with Noah's flood and the Tower of Babel is an interpolation, and belongs to another manuscript and to another place.

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[1] See the full details of this Legend in Mackey's "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry," art. *Four Crowned Martyrs.*

[2] "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Trans., p. 31.

In fact, the copyist had two manuscripts before him, and he transcribed sometimes from one and sometimes from the other, apparently with but little judgment, or, rather, he copied the whole of one and then interpolated it with extracts from the other without respect to any congruity of subjects.

The rest of the poem is occupied with instructions as to behavior when in church, when in the company of one's superiors, and when present at the celebration of the mass. The whole ends with what we find in no other manuscript, the now familiar Masonic formula, "Amen, so mote it be."

Line 471 furnishes, I think, internal evidence that the poem was originally composed of two distinct works, written, in all probability, by two different persons, but in the copy which we now have, combined in one by the compiler or copyist. Mr. Woodford also is of the opinion that there are two distinct poems, although the fact had not attracted the attention of Halliwell. The former gentleman says that "it seems to be in truth two legends, and not only one." This is evident, from the fact that this second part is prefaced by the title, "*Alia ordinacio artis gemetriæ*" that is, "*Another* Constitution of the art of geometry." This title would indicate that what followed was a different *Ordinacio* or Constitution and taken from a different manuscript. Besides, line 471, which is the beginning of the other or second Constitution, does not fall into its proper place in following line 470, but is appropriately a continuation of line 74. To make this evident, I copy lines 70-74 from the poem, and follow them by lines 471-474, whence it will be seen that the latter lines are an appropriate and natural continuation of the former.

Line 70. He sende about ynto the londe
71. After alle the masonus of the crafte,
72. To come to hym ful evene stragfte
73. For to amende these defaultys alle
74. By good counsel gef it hyt mytgh falle.

. . . . . .

471. They ordent ther a semble to be y-holde
472. Every yer, whersever they wolde
473. To amende the defautes, gef any where fonde
474. Amonge the craft withynne the londe.

The second manuscript seems to have been copied from line 471, as far as line 496. There, I suppose, the charges or regulations to

have followed, which having been given from the first manuscript the copyist omitted, as a needless repetition, but went on immediately with the "ars quatuor coronatorum." This ended at line 534. It is now evident that he went back to a preceding part of the second manuscript and copied the early account of Masonry from line 535 to 576. The bare reading of these lines will convince the reader that they are not in their proper place, and must have formed a part of the beginning of the second poem.

Line 577 appropriately follows line 534, when the interpolation is left out, and then the transcription is correctly made to the end of the poem. The first manuscript was apparently copied correctly, with the exception of the two interpolations from the second MS. There is a doubt whether the Legend of the Crowned Martyrs belonged to the first or to the second poem. If to the first, then we have the whole of the first poem, and of the second only the interpolations. This is, however, a mere conjecture without positive proof. Yet it is very probable.

On the whole, the view I am inclined to take of this manuscript is as follows:

1. There were two original manuscripts, out of which the copyist made a careless admixture.

2. The first MS. began with line 1 and went on to the end at line 794. But this is only conjectural. It may have ended, or rather the copying ceased, at line 470.

3. If the conjecture just advanced be correct, then from a second MS. the copyist made interpolations, in the following way.

4. The beginning of the second MS. is lost. But from very near the commencement, which probably described the antediluvian tradition of Lamech, the copyist had selected a portion which begins with line 535 and ends at line 576. He had previously interpolated the lines from 471 to 496.

5. We have, then, the whole of the first manuscript, from the 1st line to the 794th, with the addition of two interpolations from the second, consisting only of 68 lines, namely: from line 471 to 496, and from line 535 to 576.

6. The first manuscript is deficient in any references to antediluvian Masonry, but begins with the foundation of Masonry in Egypt, as its title imports. This deficiency was, in part, supplied by the second interpolation (535-596). This part begins with the building

of Babel. But it is evident from the words, "many years after," that there was a preceding part to this manuscript that has not been copied. The "many years after" refer to some details that had been previously made. The account of the Seven Sciences, found in all later manuscripts, is not given in the first poem. It is inserted in this from the second.

7. So of the poem in the form we now have it, the parts copied from the second MS. consist only of 68 lines, which have been interpolated in two places into the first MS.—namely, lines 471-496, and lines 535-576; and these have been dislocated from their proper places. All the rest of the poem constitutes the original first manuscript. If I hesitate at all in coming to the positive conclusion that the first and last parts of the poem were composed by the same author, it is because the latter is written in a slightly different metre. This, therefore, leaves the question where the first poem ends and where the second begins, still open to discussion.

The variations which exist between the Halliwell poem, or, rather, poems, and other Masonic manuscripts of later date, are very important, because they indicate a difference of origin, and, by the points of difference, suggest several questions as to the early progress of Masonry in England.

1. The form of the Halliwell MS. differs entirely from that of the others. The latter are in prose, while the former is in verse. The language, too, of the Halliwell MS. is far more antiquated than that of the other manuscripts, showing that it was written in an earlier stage of the English tongue. It belongs to the Early English which succeeded the Anglo-Saxon. The other manuscripts were written at a later period of the language.

2. The Halliwell MS. is evidently a Roman Catholic production, and was written when the religion of Rome prevailed in England. The later manuscripts are all Protestant in their character, and must have been written after the middle of the 16th century, at least, when Protestantism was introduced into that country by Edward VI. and by Queen Elizabeth.[1]

The different religious character of the two sets of manuscripts

[1] Edward VI. reigned from 1547—1553; Elizabeth reigned from 1558-1603; the interval was occupied by the Roman Catholic reign of Mary. But the archaic style of the "Halliwell MS." forbids any theory of its having been written during that intermediate period.

is very patent. We see ecclesiastical influence very strongly manifested in the Halliwell MS. So marked is this that Mr. Halliwell supposes that it was written by a priest, which, I think, is not impossible, although not for the reason he assigns, which is founded on his incorrect translation of a single word.[1]

But the Roman Catholic character of the poem is proven by lines 593-692, which are occupied in directions how the mass is to be heard; and, so ample are these directions as to the ritual observance of this part of the Roman Catholic worship, that it is very probable that they were written by a priest.

In the subsequent manuscripts we find no such allusions. Freemasonry, when these documents were written, was Christian in its character, but it was Protestant Christianity. The invocation with which each one begins is to the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but no mention is made, as in the Halliwell MS. of the Virgin and the saints. The only reference to the Church is in the first charge, which is, "that you shall be a true man to God and the holy Church, and that you use no heresy nor error by your understanding or teaching of discreet men"—a charge that would be eminently fitting for a Protestant Christian brotherhood.

On referring to the first charge adopted after the revival in 1717 by the Grand Lodge of England, we find that then, for the first time, the sectarian character was abandoned, and the toleration of a universal religion adopted.

Thus it is said in that charge: "Though in ancient times Ma-

[1] A philological note may, here, be not uninteresting. Mr. Halliwell, in support of his assertion that the writer of the poem was a priest, quotes line 629: "And, when the Gospel *me* rede schal"—where he evidently supposes that *me* was used instead of *I,* and that the line was to be translated—"when I shall read the Gospel." But in none of the old manuscripts is the flagrant blunder committed of using the accusative *me* in place of the nominative *Y* or *I.* The fact is, that the Anglo-Saxon *man,* signifying *one,* or *they,* like the French *on* in "on dit," as "man dyde," *one or they did,* or *it was done,* gave way in Early English to *me,* used in the same sense. Examples of this may be found in the writers who lived about the time of the composition of the "Halliwell MS." A few may suffice. In the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* is the following line: "Ine the ydele wordes *me* zeneyeth ine vif maneres," that is, "In the idle word *one* sinneth in five ways." Again, in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle are these phrases: "By this tale *me* may yse," *i.e.:* "By this tale *may be seen*," Story of Lear, line 183. "And best *me* may to hem truste," *i.e.*: "And they *may be trusted* best," ib., 1. 184. "The stude that he was at yslawe *me* cleputh yet Morgan," *i.e.*: "The place where he was slain *is called* Morgan still," ib., 1. 213. And the line in the Halliwell poem, which Mr. Halliwell supposed to mean, "And when *I* shall read the Gospel," properly translated, is, "And when the Gospel *shall be read*." It furnishes, therefore, no proof that the writer was a priest.

sons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country or nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves."[1]

Now, comparing the religious views expressed in the oldest Masonic Constitution of the 14th century, with those set forth in the later ones of the 16th and 17th, and again with those laid down in the charge of 1717, we find an exact record of the transitions which from time to time took place in the religious aspect of Freemasonry in England and in some other countries.

At first it was Roman Catholic in its character, and under ecclesiastical domination.

Then, after the Reformation, rejecting the doctrines of Rome and the influence of the priesthood, it retained its Christian character, but became Protestant in its peculiar views.

Lastly, at the time of the so-called Revival, in the beginning of the 18th century, when Speculative Masonry assumed that form which it has ever since retained, it abandoned its sectarian character, and adopted a cosmopolitan and tolerant rule, which required of its members, as a religious test, only a belief in God.

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[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," 1st ed., 1723, p. 50.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF THE HALLIWELL POEM

LL these facts concerning the gradual changes in the religious character of the Institution, which by a collation of the old manuscripts we are enabled to derive from the *Legend of the Craft,* are corroborated by contemporaneous historical documents, as will be hereafter seen, and thus the "Legend," notwithstanding the many absurdities and anachronisms which deface it, becomes really valuable as an historical document.

But this is not all. In comparing the Halliwell poem with the later manuscripts, we not only find unmistakable internal evidence that they have a different origin, but we learn what that origin is.

The Halliwell poem comes to us from the Stonemasons of Germany. It is not, perhaps, an exact copy of any hitherto undiscovered German document, but its author must have been greatly imbued with the peculiar thoughts and principles of the German "Steinmetzen" of the Middle Ages.

The proof of this is very palpable to any one who will carefully read the Halliwell poem, and compare its idea of the rise and progress of Geometry with that exhibited in the later manuscript Constitutions.

These latter trace the science, as it is always called, from Lamech to Nimrod, who "found" or invented the Craft of Masonry at the building of the Tower of Babel, and then to Euclid, who established it in Egypt, whence it was brought by the Israelites into Judea, and there again established by David and Solomon, at the building of the Temple. Thence, by a wonderful anachronism it was brought into France by one Namus Grecus, who had been a workman at the Temple, and who organized the Science in France under the auspices of Charles Martel. From France it was carried to England in the time of St. Alban. After a long interruption in consequence of the

Danish and Saxon wars, it finally took permanent root at York, where Prince Edwin called an Assembly, and gave the Masons their charges under the authority of a Charter granted by King Athelstan.

It will be observed that nowhere in this later Legend is there any reference to Germany as a country in which Masonry existed. On the contrary, the Masonry of England is supposed to have been derived from France, and due honor is paid to Charles Martel as the founder of the Order in that kingdom.

Hence we may rationally conclude that the *Legend of the Craft* was modified by the influence of the French Masons, who, as history informs us, were brought over into England at an early period.

In this respect, authentic history and the Legend coincide, and the one corroborates the other.

Different from all this is the Legend of the Halliwell poem, the internal evidence clearly showing a Germanic origin, or at least a Germanic influence. The Rev. Bro. Woodford objects to this view, because, as he says, "the Legend was then common to both countries." But with all due respect, I can not but look upon this argument as a sort of *petitio principii.* The very question to be determined is, whether this community of belief, if it existed at that time, did not owe its origin to an importation from Germany. It is certain that in none of the later English manuscripts is there any allusion to the Four Crowned Martyrs, who were the recognized patrons of German Operative Masonry.

The variations of the Halliwell poem from the later manuscripts are as follows: It omits all reference to Lamech and his sons, but passing rapidly over the events at the Tower of Babel, the building of which it ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar, it begins (if we except a few lines interpolated in the middle of the poem) with the Legend of Euclid and the establishment of Masonry by him in Egypt.

There is no mention of King Solomon's Temple, whereas the history of the building of that edifice, as a Masonic labor, constitutes an important part of all the later manuscripts.

The Legend of the Four Crowned Martyrs, concerning whom all the later manuscripts are silent, is given at some length, and they are described as "gode masonus as on erthe schul go." These were the tutelar saints of the German Operative Masons of the Middle

Ages, but there is no evidence that they were ever adopted as such by the English brotherhood.

There is no allusion in the Halliwell poem to Charles Martel, and to the account of the introduction of Masonry into England from France, during his reign, which forms a prominent part of all the later manuscripts.

Neither is there any notice of the Masonry in England during the time of St. Alban, but the poem attributes its entrance into that country to King Athelstan.

Lastly, while the later manuscripts record the calling of the Assembly at the city of York by Prince Edwin, the Halliwell makes no mention of York as the place where the Assembly was called, nor of Edwin as presiding over it. This fact demolishes the theory of Dr. Oliver, that the Halliwell poem is a copy of the so-called Old York Constitutions.

From all these considerations, I think that we are justified in assigning to the Halliwell poem and to the other later manuscripts two different sources. The former is of Germanic, and the latter of French origin. They agree, however, in a general resemblance, diversified only in the details. This suggests the idea of a common belief, upon which, as a foundation, two different structures have been erected.

CHAPTER VII

THE LEGEND, THE GERM OF HISTORY

THE *Legend of the Craft,* as it has been given in the fourth chapter of this work from the exemplar in the Dowland MS., appears to have been accepted for centuries by the body of the Fraternity as a truthful history. Even at the present day, this Legend is exerting an influence in the formation of various parts of the ritual. This influence has even been extended to the adoption of historical views of the rise and progress of the Institution, which have, in reality, no other foundation than the statements which are contained in the Legend.

For these reasons, the *Legend of the Craft* is of great importance and value to the student of Masonic history, notwithstanding the absurdities, anachronisms, and unsupported theories in which it abounds.

Accepting it simply as a document which for so long a period claimed and received the implicit faith of the Fraternity whose history it professed to give—a faith not yet altogether dead—it is worthy of our consideration whether we can not, by a careful examination of its general spirit and tenor, irrespective of the bare narrative which it contains, discover some key to the true origin and character of that old and extensive brotherhood of which it is the earliest record.

I think that we shall find in it the germ of many truths, and the interpretation of several historic facts concerning which it makes important suggestions.

In the first place, it must be remarked that we have no way of determining the precise period when this Legend was first composed, nor when it was first accepted by the Craft as a history of the Institution. The earliest written record that has been discovered among English Masons bears a date which is certainly not later than about the end of the 14th century. But this by no means proves that no

earlier exemplar ever existed, of which the *Constitutions,* which have so far been brought to light, may only be copies.

On the contrary, we have abundant reason to believe that all the *Old Records* which have been published are, with the exception of the Halliwell MS., in fact derived from some original text which however, has hitherto escaped the indefatigable researches of the investigators.

If, for instance, we take the Sloane MS., No. 3,848, the assumed date of which is A.D. 1646, and the Harleian MS., No. 2,054, the date of which is supposed to be A.D. 1650, and if we carefully collate the one with the other, we must come to the conclusion either that the latter was copied from the former, or that both were copied from some earlier record, for whose exhumation from the shelves of the British Museum, or from the archives of some old Lodge, we may still confidently hope.

The resemblances in language and ideas, and the similarity of arrangement that are found in both documents, very clearly indicate a common origin, while the occasional verbal discrepancies can be safely attributed to the carelessness of an inexpert copyist. Brother Hughan,[1] who is high authority, styles the Harleian, from its close resemblance, "an indifferent copy" of the Sloane. The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford,[2] who assigns the earlier date of 1625 to the original Harleian, says it "is nearly a verbatim copy of Dowland's form, slightly later, and must have been transcribed either from an early, and almost contemporary, copy of Dowland's, or it is really a copy of Dowland's itself." These opinions by experts strengthen the view I have advanced, that there was a common origin for all of these manuscripts.

If we continue the collation of the manuscripts of later date, as far, even, as the Papworth, which is supposed to have been transcribed about the year 1714, the same family likeness will be found in all. It is true, that in the transcription of the later manuscripts —those, for example, that were copied toward the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries—the language has been improved, some few archaisms have been avoided, and more recent words substituted for them. Scriptural names have been sometimes spelt with a greater respect for correct orthography, and a feeble

[1] "Old Charges of the Brit. Freemasons," p. 8.
[2] Preface to Hughan's "Old Charges," p. xi.

attempt has been made to give a modern complexion to the document. But in all of them there is the same misspelling of words, the same violations of the rules of grammar, the same arrangement of the narrative, and a preservation and repetition of all the statements, apocryphal and authentic, which are to be found in the earliest exemplars.

I have said that the *Legend of the Craft,* as set forth in the later manuscripts, was for centuries accepted by the Operative Masons of England, with all its absurdities of anachronism, as a veritable history of the rise and progress of Masonry from the earliest times, and that the influence of this belief is still felt among the Speculative Masons of the present day, and that it has imbued the modern rituals with its views.

This fact gives to this Legend an importance and a value irrespective of its character as a mere Legend. And its value will be greatly enhanced if we are able to show that, notwithstanding the myths with which it abounds, the *Legend of the Craft* really contains the germ of historical truth. It is, indeed, an historical myth—one of that species of myths so common in the mythology of antiquity, which has a foundation in historical truth, with the admixture of a certain amount of fiction in the introduction of personages and circumstances, that are either not historical, or are not historically treated. Indeed, it may be considered as almost rising into the higher class of historical myths, in which the historical and truthful greatly predominate over the fictitious.[1]

In the contemplation of the Legend of the Mediaeval Masons from this point of view, it would be well if we should govern ourselves by the profound thought of Max Müller,[2] who says, in writing on a cognate subject, that "everything is true, natural, significant, if we enter with a reverent spirit into the meaning of ancient art and ancient language. Everything becomes false, miraculous, and unmeaning, if we interpret the deep and mighty words of the seers of old in the shallow and feeble sense of modern chroniclers."

Examined in the light of this sentiment, which teaches us to look upon the language of the myth, or Legend, as containing a deeper meaning than that which is expressed upon its face, we shall

[1] For a classification of myths into the historical myth and the mythical history, see the author's treatise on the "Symbolism of Freemasonry," p. 347.

[2] "Science of Language," 2d series, p. 578.

find in the *Legend of the Craft* many points of historical reference, and, where not historical, then symbolical, which will divest it of much of what has been called its absurdities.

It is to an examination of the Legend in this philosophic spirit that I now invite the reader. Let it be understood that I direct my attention to the Legend contained in the later manuscripts, such as the Dowland, Harleian, Sloane, etc., of which a copy has been given in preceding pages of this work, and that reference is made only as occasion may require to the Halliwell MS. for comparison or explanation. This is done because the Legend of the later manuscripts is undoubtedly the one which was adopted by the English Masons, while that of the Halliwell MS. appears to have been of exotic growth, which never took any extensive root in the soil of English Masonry.

In the subsequent chapters devoted to this subject, which may be viewed as Commentaries on the *Legend of the Craft,* I shall investigate the signification of the various subordinate Legends into which it is divided.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORIGIN OF GEOMETRY

THE manuscript begins with an invocation to the Trinity. This invocation is almost identical with that which prefaces the Harleian, the Sloane, the Landsdowne, and, indeed, all the other manuscripts, except the Halliwell and the Cooke. From this fact we may justly infer that there was a common exemplar, an "editio princeps," whence each of these manuscripts was copied. The very slight verbal variations, such as "Father of Kings" in the Dowland, which is "Father of Heaven" in the others, will not affect this conclusion, for they may be fairly attributed to the carelessness of copyists. The reference to the Trinity in all these invocations is also a conclusive proof of the Christian character of the building corporations of the Middle Ages—a proof that is corroborated by historical evidences. As I have already shown, in the German Constitutions of the Stonemasons, the invocation is "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the name of the blessed Virgin Mary, and also in honor of the Four Crowned Martyrs"—an invocation that shows the Roman Catholic spirit of the German Regulations; while the omission of all reference to the Virgin and the Martyrs gives a Protestant character to the English manuscripts.

Next follows a descant on the seven liberal arts and sciences, the nature and intention of each of which is briefly described. In all of the manuscripts, even in the earliest—the Halliwell—will we find the same reference to them, and, almost literally, the same description. It is not surprising that these sciences should occupy so prominent a place in the Old Constitutions, as making the very foundation of Masonry, when we reflect that an equal prominence was given to them in the Middle Ages as comprehending the whole body of human knowledge. Thus Mosheim[1] tells us that in the 11th century they

[1] "Ecclesiast. Hist. XI. Cent.," part ii., chap. i.

were taught in the greatest part of the schools; and Holinshed, who wrote in the 16th century, says that they composed a part of the curriculum that was taught in the universities. Speculative Masonry continues to this day to pay an homage to these seven sciences, and has adopted them among its important symbols in the second degree. The connection sought to be established in the old manuscripts between them and Masonry, would seem to indicate the existence of a laudable ambition among the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages to elevate the character of their Craft above the ordinary standard of workmen—an elevation that, history informs us, was actually effected, the Freemasons of the Guild holding themselves and being held by others as of higher rank and greater acquirements than were the rough Masons who did not belong to the corporation of builders.

The manuscript continues by a declaration that Geometry and Masonry are identical. Thus, in enumerating and defining the seven liberal arts and sciences, Geometry is placed as the fifth, "the which science," says the Legend, "is called Masonrye."[1]

Now, this doctrine that Geometry and Masonry are identical sciences, has been held from the time of the earliest records to the present day by all the Operative Masons who preceded the 18th century, as well as by the Speculative Masons after that period.

In the ritual of the Fellow Craft's degree used ever since, at least from the middle of the last century, the candidate is informed that "Masonry and Geometry are synonymous terms." The Lodge-room, wherever Speculative Masonry has extended, shows, by the presence of the hieroglyphic letter in the East, that the doctrine is still maintained.

Gadicke, the author of a German *Lexicon of Freemasonry,* says, that as Geometry is among the mathematical sciences the one which has the most especial reference to architecture, we can, therefore, under the name of Geometry, understand the whole art of Freemasonry.

Hutchinson, speaking of the letter G, says that it denotes Geometry, and declares that as a symbol it has always been used by artificers—that is, architects—and by Masons.[2]

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[1] Dowland MS. The Halliwell poem expresses the same idea in different words:

"At these lordys prayers they counterfetyd gemetry,
And gaf hyt the name of Masonry." (Lines 23, 24.)

[2] "Spirit of Freemasonry," lect. viii., p. 92, 2d edit.

The modern ritual maintains this legendary idea of the close connection that exists between Geometry and Masonry, and tells us that the former is the basis on which the latter, as a superstructure, is erected. Hence we find that Masonry has adopted mathematical figures, such as angles, squares, triangles, circles, and especially the 47th proposition of Euclid, as prominent symbols.

And this idea of the infusion of Geometry into Masonry as a prevailing element—the idea that is suggested in the Legend—was so thoroughly recognized, that in the 18th century a Speculative Mason was designated as a "Geometrical Mason."

We have found this idea of Geometry as the fundamental science of Masonry, set forth in the *Legend of the Craft.* It will be well to see how it was developed in the Middle Ages, in the authentic history of the Craft. Thus we shall have discovered another link in the chain which unites the myths of the Legend with the true history of the Institution.

The Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, who are said to have derived the knowledge of their art as well as their organization as a Guild of Builders from the Architects of Lombardy, who were the first to assume the title of "Freemasons," were in the possession of secrets which enabled them everywhere to construct the edifices on which they were engaged according to the same principles, and to keep up, even in the most distant countries, a correspondence, so that every member was made acquainted with the most minute improvement in the art which had been discovered by any other.[1] One of these secrets was the knowledge of the science of symbolism,[2] and the other was the application of the principles of Geometry to the art of building.

"It is certain," says Mr. Paley,[3] "that Geometry lent its aid in the planning and designing of buildings"; and he adds that "probably the equilateral triangle was the basis of most formations."

The geometrical symbols found in the ritual of modern Freemasonry may be considered as the débris of the geometrical secrets of the Mediaeval Masons, which are now admitted to be lost.[4] As

[1] Hope, "Historical Essay on Architecture."

[2] M. Maury ("Essai sur les Legendes Pieures du Moyen-Aye") gives many instances of the application of symbolism by these builders to the construction of churches.

[3] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 78.

[4] Lord Lindsay, "Sketches of the History of Christian Art," ii., 14.

these founded their operative art on the knowledge of Geometry, and as the secrets of which they boasted as distinguishing them from the "rough Masons" of the same period consisted in an application of the principles of that science to the construction of edifices, it is not surprising that in their traditional history they should have so identified architecture with Geometry, and that with their own art of building, as to speak of Geometry and Masonry as synonymous terms. "The fifth science," says the Dowland MS., is "called Geometry, . . . the which science is called Masonrye." Remembering the tendency of all men to aggrandize their own pursuits, it is not surprising that the Mediaeval Masons should have believed and said that "there is no handycraft that is wrought by man's hand but it is wrought by Geometry."

In all this descant in the old manuscripts on the identity of Geometry and Masonry, the *Legend of the Craft* expresses a sentiment the existence of which is supported by the authentic evidence of contemporaneous history.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEGEND OF LAMECH's SONS AND THE PILLARS

THE traditional history of Masonry now begins, in the *Legend of the Craft,* with an account of the three sons of Lamech, to whom is attributed the discovery of all sciences. But the most interesting part of the Legend is that in which the story is told of two pillars erected by them, and on which they had inscribed the discoveries they had made, so that after the impending destruction of the world the knowledge which they had attained might be communicated to the post-diluvian race.

This story is not mentioned in the Bible, but is first related by Josephus in the following words:

"They also [the posterity of Seth] were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone; they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain and exhibit those discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day."[1]

Although this traditional narrative has received scarcely any estimation from scholars, and Josephus has been accused either of "incredible audacity or frivolous credulity,"[2] still it has formed the

[1] Josephus, "Antiquities of the Jews," B. I., ch. ii., Whiston's trans.

[2] "Incredibili audaciâ aut futili credulitate usus est," is the language of Hornius in his "*Geographia Vetus*." But Owen ("Theologomena," lib. iv., c. ii., 6), although inclined to doubt the story, thinks it not impossible if we suppose hieroglyphics like those of the Egyptians to have been used for the inscriptions, instead of letters.

foundation on which the Masonic Legend of the pillars has been erected. But in passing from the Jewish historian to the Legend-maker of the Craft, the form of the story has been materially altered. In Josephus the construction of the pillars is attributed to the posterity of Seth; in the Legend, to the children of Lamech. Whence was this important alteration derived?

The Dowland and all subsequent manuscripts cite the fourth chapter of Genesis as authority for the Legend. But in Genesis no mention is made of these pillars. But in the Cooke MS., which is of an earlier date, we can trace the true source of the Legend in its Masonic form, which could not be done until that manuscript was published.

To the Cooke MS. has been accorded the date of 1490. It differs materially in form and substance from the Halliwell MS., which preceded it by at least a century, and is the first of the Old Constitutions in which anything like the present form of the Legend appears.

The way in which the Legend of Lamech is treated by it, enables us to discover the true source whence this part of the *Legend of the Craft* was derived.

It must be remarked, in the first place, that the Halliwell poem, the earliest of the old manuscripts, the date of which is not later than the close of the 14th century, contains no allusion to this Legend of Lamech and his children. The Cooke MS. is the first one in which we find the details. The Cooke MS. is assigned, as has been before said, to the end of the 15th century, about the year 1490. In it the Legend of the pillars is given (from line 253 to 284) in the following words:

"And these iii brotheryn [the sons of Lamech] aforesayd, had knowlyche that God wold take vengans for synne other by fyre or watir, and they had greter care how they myght do to saue the sciens that they founde, and they toke her [their] conseil to gedyr and by all her [their] witts they seyde that were ij manner of stonn of suche virtu that the one wolde neuer brenne [burn] and that stonn is called marbyll and that other stonn that woll not synke in watir, and that stone is namyd laterus,[1] and so they deuysyd to wryte all the sciens that they had Found[2] in this ij stonys if that god wolde

[1] From the Latin "later," a *brick.*

[2] It is to be regretted that in nearly all the recent printed copies of the old manu-

take vengeans by fyre that the marbyll scholde not brenne. And yf god sende vengeans by watir that the other scholde not droune, and so they prayed her elder brother jobell that wold make ij pillers of these ij stones, that is to sey of marbill and of laterus, and that he wolde write in the ij pylers alle the sciens and crafte that alle they had founde, and so he did."

Comparing this Legend with the passage that has been cited from Josephus, it is evident that the Legend-maker had not derived his story from the Jewish historian. The latter attributes the building of the pillars to the children of Seth, while the former assigns it to the children of Lamech. How are we to explain this change in the form of the Legend? We can only solve the problem by reference to a work almost contemporary with the legendist.

Ranulph Higden, a Benedictine monk of St. Werburg's Abbey, in Chester, who died in the latter half of the 14th century, wrote a Universal history, completed to his own times, under the title of *Polychronicon.*

The *Polychronicon* was written in the Latin language, but was translated into English by Sir John Trevisa. This translation, with several verbal alterations, was published in London by William Caxton in 1482, about ten years before the date of the Cooke MS. With this work, the compiler of the Legend in the Cooke M S. appears to have been familiar. He cites it repeatedly as authority for his statements.

Thus he says: "Ye schal understonde that amonge all the craftys of the world of mannes crafte Masonry hath the most notabilite and moste parte of this sciens Gemetry as his notid and seyd in storiall as in the bybyll and in the master of stories. And in policronico a cronycle prynted."

Now the Legend of Lamech's children is thus given in Caxton's edition of the translation of Higden's *Polychronicon:*[1]

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scripts, the editors have substituted the double *ff* for the capital *F* which is in the original. The scribes or amanuenses of the Middle Ages were fond of employing capital letters often when there was really no use for them, but they never indulged in the folly of unnecessarily doubling initial letters. What the modern editors of the manuscripts have mistaken for a double *ff* was really the ff or ﬀ the capital F of the scribes. This is not of much importance, but even in small things it is well to be accurate. Bro. Hughan, in his edition of the "Old Charges," is, as we might expect, generally correct in this particular. But sometimes, perhaps inadvertently, he has printed the double instead of the capital letter.

[1] Book II., ch. v.

"Caym Adams fyrste sone begate Enoch, he gate Irad, he gate Manayell, he gate Matusale, he gate Lameth. This Lameth toke twey wyves, Ada and Sella, and gate tweyne sons on Ada. Iabell that was fader of them that woned in tentes and in pauylons. And Tuball that was fader of organystre and of harpers. And Lameth gate on Sella Tubal cayn that was a smith worchyng with hamer, and his sister Noema, she found fyrst weuynge crafte.

. . . . . .

"*Josephus.* Jabell ordayned fyrste flockes of beestes and marks to know one from another. And departed kyddes from lambes and yonge from the olde. *Petrus* Tubalcayn founde fyrst smythes crafte. Tuball had grete lykynge to here the hamers sowne. And soo he vsed them moche in the accordé of melodye, but he was not finder of the instruments of musyke. For they were founde longe afterwarde."

The reader will at once perceive whence the composer of the Legend in the Cooke MS. derived his information about the family of Lamech. And it will be equally plain that the subsequent writers of the Old Constitutions took the general tone of their Legend from this manuscript.

The *Polychronicon,* after attributing the discovery of music to Pythagoras, proceeds to descant upon the wickedness of mankind immediately after the time of Seth, and repeats the biblical story of the intermarriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men, which he explains as signifying the sons of Seth and the daughters of Cain. Then follows the following passage:

"*Josephus.* That tyme men wyste as Adam and sayde, that they sholde be destroyed by fyre or elles by water. Therefore bookes that they hadde made by grete trauaille and studye, he closed them in two grete pylers made of marbill and of brent tyle. In a pyler of marbill for water and in a pyler of tyle for fyre. For it should be sauved by that maner to helpe of mankynde. Men sayth that the pyler of stone escaped the floode, and yet is in Syrya."

Here we find the origin of the story of the two pillars as related in the *Legend of the Craft.* But how can we account for the change of the constructors of these pillars from the children of Seth, as stated in Josephus, and from him in the *Polychronicon,* to the children of Lamech, as it is given in the Legend?

By the phrase "That tyme men wyste," or "at that time men

knew," with which Trevisa begins his translation of that part of Higden's work, he undoubtedly referred to the "tyme" contemporary with the children of Seth, of whom he had immediately before been speaking. But the writer of the Legend engaged in recounting the narrative of the invention of the sciences by the children of Lamech, and thus having his attention closely directed to the doings of that family, inadvertently, as I suppose, passed over or omitted to notice the passage concerning the descendants of Seth, which had been interposed by the author of the *Polychronicon,* and his eye, catching the account of the pillars a little farther on, he applied the expression, "that tyme," not to the descendants of Seth, but to the children of Lamech, and thus gave the Masonic version of the Legend.

I have called this ascription of the pillars to the children of Lamech a "Masonic version," because it is now contained only in the *Legend of the Craft,* those who do not reject the story altogether as a myth, preferring the account given by Josephus.

But, in fact, the error of misinterpreting Josephus occurred long before the *Legend of the Craft* was written, and was committed by one of the most learned men of his age.

St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, who died in the year 636, was the author of many works in the Latin language, on theology, philosophy, history, and philology. Among other books written by him was a *Chronicon,* or Chronicle, in which the following passage occurs, where he is treating of Lamech:

"In the year of the world 1642, Lamech being 190 years old, begat Noah, who, in the five hundredth year of his age, is commanded by the Divine oracle to build the Ark. In these times, as Josephus relates, those men knowing that they would be destroyed either by fire or water, inscribed their knowledge upon two columns made of brick and of stone, so that the memory of those things which they had wisely discovered might not be lost. Of these columns the stone one is said to have escaped the Flood, and to be still remaining in Syria."[1]

It is very evident that in some way the learned Bishop of Seville had misunderstood the passage of Josephus, and that to him the sons of Lamech are indebted for the honor of being considered the con-

[1] "Opera Isidori," ed. Matriti, 1778, tom, i., p. 125.

structors of the pillars. The phrase "his temporibus," *in these times,* clearly refers to the times of Lamech.

It is doubtful whether the author of the *Legend of the Craft* was acquainted with the works of Isidore, or had read this passage. His *Etymologies* are repeatedly cited in the Cooke manuscript, but it is through Higden, whose *Polychronicon* contains many quotations from the *Libri Etymologiarum* of the Spanish Bishop and Saint. But I prefer to assume that the Legend-maker got his ideas from the *Polychronicon* in the method that I have described.

In the last century a new Legend was introduced into Masonry, in which the building of these pillars was ascribed to Enoch. But this Legend, which is supposed to have been the invention of the Chevalier Ramsay, is altogether modern, and has no connection with the *Legend of the Craft.*

In borrowing the story of the antediluvian pillars from Josephus, through the *Polychronicon,* though they have made some confusion in narrating the incidents, the Old Operative Masons were simply incorporating into their *Legend of the Craft* a myth which had been universal among the nations of antiquity, for all of them had their memorial columns. Sesostris, the great Egyptian king and conqueror, sometimes called Sethos, or Seth, and who, Whiston thinks, has been confounded by Josephus with the Adamic Seth, erected pillars in all the countries which he conquered as monuments of his victories.

The *Polychronicon,* with which we see that the old Masons were familiar, had told them that Zoroastres, King of Bactria, had inscribed the seven liberal arts and sciences on fourteen pillars, seven of brass and seven of brick. Hercules was said to have placed at the Straits of Gades two pillars, to show to posterity how far he had extended his conquests.

In conclusion, it should be observed that the story of the pillars as inserted in the *Legend of the Craft* has exerted no influence on the modern rituals of Freemasonry, and is never referred to in any of the ceremonies of Ancient Craft Masonry. The more recent Legend of the pillars of Enoch belongs exclusively to the higher and more modern degrees. The only pillars that are alluded to in the primitive degrees are those of Solomon's temple. But these develop so important a portion of the symbolism of the Institution as to de mand our future consideration in a subsequent part of this work.

CHAPTER X

THE LEGEND OF HERMES

THE next part of the *Legend of the Craft* which claims our attention is that which relates to Hermes, who is said to have discovered one of the pillars erected by the sons of Lamech, and to have communicated the sciences inscribed on it to mankind. This may, for distinction, be called "*The Legend of Hermes*"

The name has suffered cruel distortion from the hands of the copyists in the different manuscripts. In the Dowland MS. it is *Hermarynes;* in the Landsdowne, *Herminerus;* in the York, *Hermarines;* in the Sloane, 3,848, *Hermines* and *Hermenes,* who "was afterwards called Hermes"; and worst and most intolerable of all, it is in the Harleian, *Hermaxmes.* But they all evidently refer to the celebrated Hermes Trismegistus, or the thrice great Hermes. The Cooke MS., from which the story in the later manuscripts is derived, spells the name correctly, and adds, on the authority of the *Polychronicon,* that while Hermes found one of the pillars, Pythagoras discovered the other. Pythagoras is not mentioned in any of the later manuscripts, and we first find him referred to as a founder in Masonry in the questionable manuscript of Leland, which fact will, perhaps, furnish another argument against the genuineness of that document.

As to Hermes, the Legend is not altogether without some historical support, although the story is in the Legend mythical, but of that character which pertains to the historical myth.

He was reputed to be the son of Taut or Thoth, whom the Egyptians deified, and placed his image beside those of Osiris and Isis. To him they attributed the invention of letters, as well as of all the sciences, and they esteemed him as the founder of their religious rites.

Hodges says, in a note on a passage of Sanchoniathon,[1] that "Thoth was an Egyptian deity of the second order. The Græco-Roman mythology identified him with Hermes or Mercury. He was reputed to be the inventor of writing, the patron deity of learning, the scribe of the gods, in which capacity he is represented signing the sentences on the souls of the dead." Some recent writers have supposed that Hermes was the symbol of Divine Intelligence and the primitive type of Plato's "Logos."

Manetho, the Egyptian priest, as quoted by Syncellus, distinguishes three beings who were called Hermes by the Egyptians. The first, or Hermes Trismegistus, had, before the deluge, inscribed the history of all the sciences on pillars; the second, the son of Agathodemon, translated the precepts of the first; and the third, who is supposed to be synonymous with Thoth, was the counsellor of Osiris and Isis. But these three were in later ages confounded and fused into one, known as Hermes Trismegistus. He was always understood by the philosophers to symbolize the birth, the progress, and the perfection of human sciences. He was thus considered as a type of the Supreme Being. Through him man was elevated and put into communication with the gods.

The Egyptians attributed to him the composition of 36,525 books on all kinds of knowledge.[2] But this mythical fecundity of authorship has been explained as referring to the whole scientific and religious encyclopaedia collected by the Egyptian priests and preserved in their temples.

Under the title of Hermetic books, several works falsely attributed to Hermes, but written, most probably, by the Neo-Platonists, are still extant, and were deemed to be of great authority up to the 16th century.[3]

It was a tradition very generally accepted in former times that this Hermes engraved his knowledge of the sciences on tables or pillars of stone, which were afterward copied into books.

Manetho attributes to him the invention of *stylæ,* or pillars, on which were inscribed the principles of the sciences. And Jamblichus

[1] Cory's "Ancient Fragments," edited by E. Richmond Hodges, Lond., 1876, p. 3.

[2] Jamblichus, citing Selencos, "de Mysteriis," segm. viii., c. 1.

[3] Rousse, Dictionnaire *in voc.* The principal of these is the "Pœmander," or of the Divine Power and Wisdom.

says that when Plato and Pythagoras had read the inscriptions on these columns they formed their philosophy.[1]

Hermes was, in fact, an Egyptian legislator and priest. Thirty-six books on philosophy and theology, and six on medicine, are said to have been written by him, but they are all lost, if they ever existed. The question, indeed, of his own existence has been regarded by modern scholars as extremely mythical. The Alchemists, however, adopted him as their patron. Hence Alchemy is called the Hermetic science, and hence we get Hermetic Masonry and Hermetic Rites.

At the time of the composition of the *Legend of the Craft,* the opinion that Hermes was the inventor of all the sciences, and among them, of course, Geometry and Architecture, was universally accepted as true, even by the learned. It is not, therefore, singular that the old Masons, who must have been familiar with the Hermetic myth, received it as something worthy to be incorporated into the early history of the Craft, nor that they should have adopted him, as they did Euclid, as one of the founders of the science of Masonry.

The idea must, however, have sprung up in the 15th century, as it is first broached in the Cook MS. And it was, in all probability, of English origin, since there is no allusion to it in the Halliwell poem.

The next important point that occurs in the *Legend of the Craft* is its reference to the Tower of Babel, and this will, therefore, be the subject of the next chapter.

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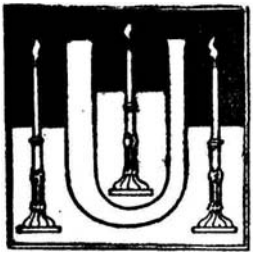
[1] Juxta antiquas Mercurii columnas, quas Plato quondam, et Pythagoras cum lectitassent, philosophiam constituerunt. Jamblichus, "de Mysteriis," segm. i., c. 2.

CHAPTER XI

THE TOWER OF BABEL



NLIKE the legend of Hermes, the story of the Tower of Babel appears in the Halliwell poem, which shows, if my theory of the origin of that poem be correct, that the Legend was not confined at an early period to the English Masons. In the second of the two poems, which I have heretofore said are united in one manuscript, the legend of Babel, or Babylon, is thus given:[1]

"Ye mow here as y do rede,
That many years after, for gret drede,
That Noee's flod was alle y-ronne,[2]
The tower of Bebyloine was begonne,
Also playne werk of lyme and ston,
As any mon schulde toke uppon,
Seven myle the heyghte shadweth the sonne.
King Nabugodonosor let hyt make
To gret strenthe for monus[3] sake
Thaygh such a flod agayne schulde come,
Over the werke hyt schulde not nome,[4]
For they hadde so hye pride, with strange bost,
Alle that werke therfore was y-lost;
An angele smot hem so with dyveres speeche,
That never won wyste what other schuld reche."[5]

The statements of this Halliwell Legend are very meagre, nor is it possible to say with any certainty whence the writer derived his details. From neither the Book of Genesis, nor Berosus, nor Josephus could he have derived the information which has given its peculiar form to the legend. The anachronism of making Nebuchadnezzar, who lived about sixteen centuries after the event, the builder of the

[1] Lines 535-550.
[2] Rain—Ang.-Sax. *rinan,* to rain—That Noah's flood would still rain.
[3] Men's sake. [4] Get—should not get over the work—cover it. [5] Say.

tower is worthy of notice. It would appear that the writer of the poem had a general acquaintance with the well-known tradition of Babel, and that in loosely giving an account of it, he had confused the time and place of the erection and the supposed name of the builder. At all events, the subsequent Masonic legendists did not accept the Halliwell writer as authority, or, more probably, were wholly unacquainted with his poem. It did not exert any influence over the subsequent manuscripts.

The next time that the Babel legend appears is in the Cooke MS., written at least a century after the Halliwell. The legend, as there given, is in the following words:

"Hit is writen in the bibull Genesis, Cap. 1mo, wo [how] that Cam, Noe's sone, gate Nembrothe, and he wax a myghty man apon the erthe, and he wax a stronge man, like a Gyant, and he was a grete kyng, and the bygynyng of his kyngdom was [the] trew kyngdom of Babilon and Arach and Archad and Calan[1] and the lond of Sennare. And this same Cam[2] he gan the towre of babilon, and he taught to his werkemen the craft of mesurie,[3] and he had with him mony masonys mo than xl. thousand, and he louyd and chereshed them well, and hit is wryten in Policronicon and in the master of stories and in other stories mo, and this a part wytnes [the] bybull in the same x. chapter where he seyth that asure [Assur] was nye kynne to Nembrothe[4] gede [went] owt of the londe of Senare, and he bylded the City Nunyve and Plateas and other mo. Thus he seyeth, 'De terra ilia et de Sennare egressus est Asure et edifiiavit Nunyven et Plateas civitates et Cale et Iesu quoque inter Nunyven et hæc est Civitas Magna.'

"Reson wolde [requires] that we schold telle opunly how and in what manner that the charges of masoncraft was fyrst foundyd and ho gaf [who gave] fyrste the name to hit of masonri. And ye schyll knaw well that hit [is] told and writen in Policronicon and in Methodus episcopus and Martyrus that Asur that was a worthy lord

[1] The names of cities.

[2] The word *Nembroth* had been first written in the manuscript, then erased, and the "Cam" (for Ham) inserted. But this correction is itself incorrect and incongruous with the rest of the legend.

[3] Mesuri—measure. The author of the manuscript had previously maintained that *measure* and geometry were identical. So here "the craft of mesuri" means the craft of geometry, and geometry was always supposed to be the same as Masonry.

[4] *Cam* originally written, then erased and *Nembrothe* inserted.

of Sennare, sende to Nembroth the kyng to sende hym masons and workemen of crafte that myght helpe hym to make his Cite that he was in wyll to make. And Nembroth sende hym xxx C. (3,000) of masons. And whan they scholde go and [he] sende hem forth he callyd hem by for hym [before him] and seyd to hem, ye must go to my cosyn Asure to helpe hym to bilde a cyte, but loke that ye be well governyd, and I shall give you a charge profitable for you and me. . . .

"And they resceyved the charge of him that was here [their] maister and here lorde, and went forth to Asure and bilde the cite of Nunyve in the country of Plateas and other cites mo, that men call Cale and lesen that is a gret cite bi twene Cale and Nunyve. And in this manner the craft of masonry was fyrst preferryd [brought forward] and chargyd for a sciens."

We next meet with the Legend in the later manuscripts, in a form differing but little from that of the Cooke MS. The Dowland, which is the earliest of these manuscript Constitutions, and the date of which is supposed to be about the year 1550, has already been printed in this work. But for the convenience of the reader, in comparing the three forms of the Legend, so much of it as refers to the Babel legend is again inserted. It is in these words, which, it may be remarked, are very closely followed by all the subsequent manuscripts up to the beginning of the 18th century:

"At the makinge of the Tower of Babylon, there was Masonrye first made much of. And the Kinge of Babylon that height Nerarothe was a mason himselfe, and loved well the science as it is said with masters of histories. And when the City of Ninyve and other citties of the East should be made, Nemrothe the Kinge of Babylon sent thither three score masons at the rogation of the Kinge of Nyneve, his cosen. And when he sent them forth he gave them a charge in this manner. . . . And this was the first tyme that ever Masons had any charge of his science."

In comparing the three forms of the Babylonish legend, which have here been cited, namely, as given in the Halliwell, the Cooke, and the Dowland MSS., we shall readily detect that there was a gradual growth of the details until the legend eventually took the shape which for a long time was accepted by the Craft.

In the Halliwell poem the legend is very brief, and by its abrupt termination would impress the opinion upon the reader that Ma-

sonry had no part in the building of the Tower of Babel, the only effect of which was to produce a confusion of languages and the dispersion of mankind. It was only "many years after" that the "craft of geometry," or Masonry, was taught by Euclid. In fact, the whole tendency of the Halliwell legend is to trace the origin of Masonry to Euclid and the Egyptians. In his account of the Tower of Babel, the writer of the Halliwell poem seems to have been indebted only to the Scriptural narrative, although he has confounded Nebuchadnezzar, the repairer of Babylon, with Nimrod, its original founder.

But the writer of the Cooke MS. took his details of the legend from another source. Only a few years before the composition of this manuscript, Caxton had published, and thus placed in the hands of the English Masons, Trevisa's translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon,* or Universal History. Of this book, rich in materials for legendary composition, the writer of the Cooke MS. readily availed himself. This he honestly acknowledges in several places. And although he quotes as other authorities Herodotus, Josephus, and Methodius, it is very evident that he knows nothing of these historians except from the citations from them made by the monk Higden in the *Polychronicon.*

The English Masons were probably already acquainted with the legend in the imperfect form in which it is given in the Halliwell poem. But for the shape which it assumed from the time of the composition of the Cooke MS., and which was adopted in the Dowland and all the later manuscripts, the Craft were, I think, undoubtedly indebted to the *Polychronicon* of the Monk of Chester, through its translation by Trevisa and its publication by Caxton.

There are two other forms of the Babylonian legend, of later date, which must be read before we can thoroughly understand the growth of that legend.

In 1723 Anderson published, by authority of the Grand Lodge of England, the *Constitutions of the Free-Masons.* Dr. Anderson was, no doubt, in possession of, or had access to, many sources of information in the way of old manuscripts which have since been lost, and with these, assisted in some measure by his own inventive genius, he has extended the brief *Legend of the Craft* to 34 quarto pages. But as this work was of an official character, and was written and published under the sanction of the Grand Lodge, and freely dis-

tributed among the Lodges and Masons of the time, the form of the Legend adopted by him was accepted by the Fraternity for a very long period as authentic. The Andersonian legend of the Tower of Babel molded, therefore, the belief of the English Craft for at least the whole of the 18th century.

Before giving any citations from the Andersonian version of the legend, it will be necessary to refer to another copy of the Old Constitutions.

Dr. Krause, the author of a learned Masonic work, entitled *The Three Oldest Documents of the Brotherhood of Freemasons,* published in that work in 1810 a German translation of a document which he calls the *York Constitutions*.[1]

Of this document Krause gives the following account. He says that Bro. Schneider, of Altenberg, had written communication from Bro. Böttger, who stated that in the year 1799 he had seen at London a copy of the York Constitutions in a very old manuscript, consisting of 107 leaves in large folio, almost one-third of which he had been unable to read, because it was written in the early English language, and hence he was forced to employ a learned Englishman äs an interpreter. Schneider made diligent inquiries after this manuscript, and eventually received a certified Latin translation, made in 1806, from which, in 1808, he composed a German version.

This document Krause supposes to be a genuine exemplar of the Constitutions enacted at York in 926. The original manuscript has, however, never been found; it is not referred to in any of the records of the old Grand Lodge of York, and seems to have remained in mysterious obscurity until seen in 1799 by this Bro. Böttger while on a visit to London.

For these reasons, Findel deems it a spurious document. Bro. Woodford, than whom there is none more competent to judge of questions of this kind, does not assent to this opinion, but, having his doubts, thinks the matter should remain in abeyance for the present. Bro. Hughan, another accomplished critic, believes that it is probably a compilation of the early part of the last century.

When the reader shall have collated the extracts about to be given from Anderson's *Constitutions* and the Krause MS., he will, I think, concur with me, that either Anderson had seen the latter

[1] "Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerbrüderschaft," vol. iii., p. 5.

manuscript, or that the author of it had been familiar with the work of Anderson. The general similarity of ideas, the collocation of certain words, and the use of particular phrases, must lead to the conclusion that one of the two writers was acquainted with the production of the other. Which was the earlier one is not easily determined, nor is it important, since they were almost contemporaneous documents, and, therefore, they both show what was the form assumed by the legend in the early part of the 18th century.[1]

The Anderson version of the Babylon legend is as follows:[2]

"About 101 years after the Flood we find a vast number of 'em [the offspring of the sons of Noah], if not the whole race of Noah, in the vale of Shinar, employed in building a city and large tower, in order to make themselves a name and to prevent their dispersion. And tho' they carried on the work to a monstrous height, and by their vanity provoked God to confound their devices, by confounding their speech, which occasioned their dispersion; yet their skill in Masonry is not the less to be celebrated, having spent above 53 years in that prodigious work, and upon their dispersion carried the mighty knowledge with them into distant parts, where they found the good use of it in the settlement of their kingdoms, commonwealths, and dynasties. And tho' afterwards it was lost in most parts of the earth it was especially preserved in Shinar and Assyria, where Nimrod, the founder of that monarchy, after the dispersion built many splendid cities, as Ereck, Accad, and Calneh in Shinar, from whence afterwards he went forth into Assyria and built Nineveh, Rehoboth, Caleh, and Rhesin.

"In these parts, upon the Tigris and the Euphrates, afterwards flourished many learned Priests and Mathematicians, known by the names of Chaldees and Magi, who preserved the good science, Geometry, as the kings and great men encouraged the Royal Art."

The Krause MS., or the reputed *York Constitutions*, gives the Babylonian legend as follows:[3]

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[1] The oftener I read this document, and the more I reflect on its internal evidence, the more I become convinced that it was written after the first edition of Anderson's "Constitutions," and, perhaps, after the second. Indeed, I am almost prepared to assign any part of the 18th century for the date of its composition.

[2] "Constitutions," 1st edition, p. 3.

[3] See it in Hughan's "Old Charges of the British Freemasons," p. 80. It must be remembered that it is there an English version of the German which had been translated from a Latin translation of the original old English—*ut dicitur.* I have corrected a few errors in the translation in the "Old Charges" by a collation with the German of Krause

"Two generations after Noah, his descendants, proud of their knowledge, built on a plain, in the land of Shinar, a great city and a high tower of lime, stones, and wood, in order that they might dwell together, under the laws which their ancestor, Noah, had made known, and that the names of Noah's descendants might be preserved for all time. This arrogance, however, did not please the Lord in heaven, the lover of humility, therefore he caused a confusion of their speech before the tower was finished, and scattered them in many uninhabited lands, whither they brought with them their laws and arts, and then founded kingdoms and principalities, as the Holy Books often testify. Nimrod, in particular, built a town of considerable size; but Noah's son, Shem, remained in Ur, in the land of the Chaldeans, and propagated a knowledge of all the arts and sciences abroad, and taught also Peleg, Serug, Nahor, Terah, and Abraham, the last of whom knew all the sciences, and had knowledge, and continued to instruct the sons of free-born men, whence afterwards the numerous learned priests and mathematicians who have been known under the name of the wise Chaldeans."

We have now five different documents presenting three different forms of the Legend of the Tower of Babel:

1. *The Halliwell poem.* This Legend briefly recounts the facts of the building of the tower and the subsequent interruption of the work by the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the builders. By an anachronism, Nebuchadnezzar is designated as the monarch who directed the construction. Not a word is said about the Institution of Masonry at that time. In fact, the theory of the Halliwell MS. seems rather to be that Masonry was, "many years after," taught for the first time in Egypt by Euclid.

The form of the Legend was never accepted by the Operative Masons of the Guild, certainly not after the end of the 15th century.

2. *The Cooke and later manuscripts.* This form of the Legend ascribes the origin of Masonry to the era of the building of the tower. Nimrod is made the Grand Master and makes the first charge—that is, frames the first Constitution that the Masons ever had. Asshur, the son of Shem, is also represented as a great Mason, the builder of the city of Nineveh, and to whom Nimrod sent workmen to assist him. From Babylon, Masonry was carried next into Egypt.

This form of the Legend, first presented in the Cooke MS., and

followed almost literally in the Dowland and all the succeeding manuscript Constitutions, seems to have embodied the prevailing belief of the Fraternity until about the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century.

3. *The Andersonian* and the *York Constitutions.* In these the form of the Legend is greatly improved. The idea that Masonry was first established with appropriate laws at the Tower of Babel under the superintendence of Nimrod is still preserved. But Asshur no longer appears as a builder of cities, assisted by "his cosen," but is transformed, and correctly too, into the kingdom of Assyria, where Nimrod himself built Nineveh and other cities. And the next appearance of Masonry is said to be, not in Egypt, as in the preceding manuscripts, but is said to have been propagated after the dispersion by the Magi in the land of the Chaldeans.

This form of the Legend prevailed during perhaps the whole of the 18th century. It became the settled conviction of the Masons of that period that Masonry was instituted at the Tower of Babel by Nimrod and thence propagated to the Chaldeans.

Thus, in Smith's *Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*,[1] published in 1783, it is said that after the Flood the Masons were first called Noachidae, and afterwards sages or wise men, Chaldeans, etc. And Northouck, who, in 1784, by order of the Grand Lodge, published an edition of the *Constitutions* far superior to that of Anderson, says[2] that Nimrod founded the empire of Babylon, and that "under him flourished those learned mathematicians whose successors were styled *Magi,* or wise men."

But about the end of the last century, or, perhaps, still later, about the beginning of the present, this legendary account of the origin of Freemasonry began to be repudiated, and another one, in contradiction of the old manuscripts, was substituted for it.

Masonry was no longer believed to have originated at the Tower of Babel; the Temple of Jerusalem was considered as the place of its birth; and Solomon and not Nimrod was called the "first Grand Master."

Accepting this Legend, as we do the other Legends of Masonry, which, in the language of Oliver,[3] "are entitled to consideration, though their authenticity may be denied and their aid rejected," we

[1] *Op. cit.,* p. 29. [2] *Op. cit.,* p. II.
[3] "Historical Landmarks," vol. i., lect. i., p. 53.

say that at the present day the Babylonish legend has assumed the present form.

Before the Flood there was a system of religious instruction which, from the resemblance of its legendary and symbolic character to that of Freemasonry, has been called by some authors "antediluvian Masonry." This system was preserved by Noah, and after the deluge was communicated by him to his immediate descendants. This system was lost at the time of the dispersion of mankind, and corrupted by the pagans in their Mysteries. But subsequently it was purified, and Freemasonry, as we now have it, was organized by the King of Israel at the time of the building of the temple.

This idea is well exemplified in the American ritual, which was, we have every reason to believe, invented about the end of the last century.

In this ritual, much of which is, however, being lost or becoming obsolete, from the necessary imperfections of oral transmission, the aspirant is supposed to represent one who is travelling from the intellectual blindness of the profane world into the brightness of Masonry, in whose arena he expects to find the light and truth, the search for which is represented by his initiation. This symbolic journey is supposed to begin at the Tower of Babel, where, in the language of the ritual, "language was confounded and Masonry lost," and to terminate at the Temple of Solomon, where "language was restored and Masonry found."

Hence, according to this latest form of the Legend, the Tower of Babel is degraded from the prominent place which was given to it in the older forms as the birth-place of Masonry, and becomes simply the symbol of the darkness and ignorance of the profane world as contradistinguished from the light and knowledge to be derived from an initiation into the system of Speculative Masonry.

But the old Masons who framed the *Legend of the Craft* were conforming more than these modern ritualists to the truth of history when they assigned to Babylon the glory of being the original source of the sciences. So far from its being a place of intellectual darkness, we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions that the Ancient Babylonians and their copyists, the Assyrians, were in possession of a wonderful literature. From the ruins of Babylon, Nineveh, and other ancient cities of the plain of Shinar tablets of terra cotta have been excavated, inscribed with legends in cuneiform

characters. The interpretation of this once unknown alphabet and language has yielded to the genius and the labors of such scholars as Grotefend, Botta, Layard, and Rawlinson.

From the fragments found at Kouyunjik, the modern Arabic name for the site of Nineveh, the late Mr. George Smith conjectured that there were in the Royal Library at Nineveh over ten thousand inscribed tablets, including almost every subject in ancient literature, all of which literature was borrowed by the Assyrians from Babylonian sources.[1]

Speaking of this literature, Smith says that "at an early period in Babylonian history a great literary development took place, and numerous works were produced which embodied the prevailing myths, religion, and science of that day. Written, many of them, in a noble style of poetry, and appealing to the strongest feelings of the people on one side, or registering the highest efforts of their science on the other, these texts became the standards for Babylonian literature, and later generations were content to copy these writings instead of making new works for themselves."[2]

We see, therefore, that the Masons of the present day are wrong when they make Babel or Babylon the symbol of intellectual darkness, and suppose that there the light of Masonry was for a time extinguished, to be re-illumined only at the Temple of Solomon.

And, again, the *Legend of the Craft* vindicates its character, and correctly clothes an historical fact in symbolic language, when it portrays Babylonia, which was undoubtedly the fountain of all Semitic science and architecture, as also the birth-place of Operative Masonry.

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[1] "Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

CHAPTER XII

THE LEGEND OF NIMROD

HE universal sentiment of the Masons of the present day is to confer upon Solomon, King of Israel, the honor of being their "first Grand Master." But the *Legend of the Craft* had long before, though there was a tradition of the temple extant, bestowed, at least by implication, that title upon Nimrod, the King of Babylonia and Assyria. It had attributed the first organization of a fraternity of craftsmen to him, in saying that he gave a charge to the workmen whom he sent to assist the King of Nineveh in building his cities. That is to say, he framed for them a Constitution, and, in the words of the Legend, "this was the first tyme that ever Masons had any charge of his science." It was the first time that the Craft were organized into a fraternity working under a Constitution or body of laws; and as Nimrod was the autocratic maker of these laws, it results as a necessary consequence, that their first legislator, legislating with dictatorial and unrestricted sovereign power, was also their first Grand Master.

This view of the early history of Masonry, presented to us by the *Legend of the Craft,* which differs so much from the modern opinion, although it has almost become obsolete, is worthy of at least a passing consideration.

Who was this Nimrod, who held so exalted a position in the eyes of the old legendists, and why had they assigned to him a rank and power which modern Craftsmen have thought to belong more justly to the King of Israel?

The answers to these questions will be an appropriate commentary on that part of the *Legend of the Craft* which contains the story of this old Assyrian monarch.

The estimation of the character of Nimrod which has been almost universally entertained by the ancients as well as the moderns,

obtains no support from the brief account of him contained in the Book of Genesis.

Josephus portrays him as a tyrant in his government of his people, vainglorious of his great power, a despiser and hater of God, and instigated by this feeling, the builder of a tower through which he would avenge himself on God for having destroyed the world.

For this view of the character of Nimrod, Josephus was in all probability indebted to the legends of the orientalists, which had clustered around the name of Nimrod, just as in ancient times legends always did cluster around great and mighty men.

Thus in the ancient chronicles he was represented as of gigantic stature, ten or twelve cubits in height. To him was attributed the invention of idolatry, and he is said to have returned to Chaldea after the destruction of the Tower of Babel, and to have persuaded the inhabitants to become fire-worshippers. He built a large furnace and commanded that all who refused the idolatrous worship should be cast into it. Among his victims were Abraham or Abram, the patriarch, and his father Terah. The latter was consumed, but the former by the interposition of a miracle came out unhurt. It is hardly necessary to say that such legends are altogether mythical and of no historical value.

The Scriptural account of Nimrod is a very brief and unsatisfactory one. It is merely that:

"Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."[1]

The most learned commentators have differed as regards the translation of the 11th verse. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, Luther's and our own recognized version say—"Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh." Higden, in the *Polychronicon,* which I have already said was the source of the Masonic Legend, adopts the same version. And the Cooke and the later manuscripts assign the building of Nineveh and the other cities of Assyria to Ashur, the son of Shem, and the kinsman of Nimrod, who assisted

[1] Genesis x. 8-12.

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him with workmen. Such was the legend until the beginning of the 18th century.

But the best modern Hebrew scholars, such as Borhart, Le Clerc, Gesenius, and a great many others, insist that *Ashur* is not the name of a person, but of a country, and that the passage should be rendered: "Out of that land he (Nimrod) went forth to Assyria and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah." This is the form of the legend that was adopted by Dr. Anderson and by the author of the Krause document, and after the publication of Anderson's work it took the place of the older form.

The Craft have in both forms of the legend recognized Nimrod as a great Mason, nor have the vituperations of Josephus and the scandalous legends of the orientalists had the slightest effect on their apparent estimation of that mighty monarch, the founder of nations and the builder of cities.

And now, in the latter part of the 19th century, comes a learned scholar,[1] well acquainted with the language of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, and with the complicated cuneiform alphabet in which it is clothed, and visiting the remains of the ruined cities which Nimrod had built, finds the fragments of twelve tablets which contain the history of a Babylonian monarch to whom he gave the provisional name of Izdubar and whom he identified with Nimrod. If this identification be correct, and there is certainly strong internal evidence in favor of it, we have in these tablets a somewhat connected narrative of the exploits of the proto-monarch of Babylon, which places his character in a more favorable light than that which had hitherto been received as the popular belief founded on the statement of Josephus and the oriental traditions.

The Izdubar legends, as Mr. Smith has called the inscriptions on these tablets, represent Nimrod as a mighty leader, a man of great prowess in war and in hunting, and who by his ability and valor had united many of the petty kingdoms into which the whole of the valley of the Euphrates was at that time divided, and thus established the first empire in Asia.[2] He was, in fact, the hero of the ancient

[1] The late George Smith, of the British Museum, the author of "Assyrian Discoveries," of the "Chaldean Account of Genesis," and many other writings in which he has given the learned result of his investigations of the cuneiform inscriptions.

[2] Smith, "Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 174.

Babylonians, and therefore it was only natural that they should consecrate the memory of him who as a powerful and beneficent king had first given them that unity which secured their prosperity as a nation.[1]

If we now refer to the *Legend of the Craft,* we shall find that the old Masonic legendist, although of course he had never seen nor heard of the discoveries contained in the cuneiform inscriptions, had rejected the traditional estimate of Nimrod's character, as well as the supposed results of the destruction of the Tower of Babel, and had wisely selected Babylon as the first seat and Nimrod (whoever may have been meant by that name) as the founder of the sciences, and especially of architecture.

In this there is a conformity of the legendary account with the facts of history, not usual with legendists.

"We must give," says Canon Rawlinson,[2] "the Babylonians credit for a genius and a grandeur of conception rarely surpassed, which led them to employ the labor whereof they had the command, in works of so imposing a character. With only 'brick for stone,' and at first only 'slime for mortar,' they constructed edifices of so vast a size that they still remain, at the present day, among the most enormous ruins in the world, impressing the beholder at once with awe and admiration."

The *Legend of the Craft* continually confounds Masonry, Geometry, and Architecture, or rather uses them as synonymous and convertible terms. It is not, therefore, surprising that it should have selected Babylon as the birth-place, and Nimrod as the founder of what they called "the science." The introduction of his name into the Legend, may be attributed, says the Rev. Bro. Woodford,[3] "to an old assumption that rulers were patrons of the building sodalities." I rather imagine that the idea may be traced to the fact that Nimrod was supposed to be a patron of architecture and the builder of a great number of cities. The mediaeval Operative Masons were always ready to accept any distinguished architect or builder as a patron and member of the Craft. Thus the history of Masonry compiled by Dr. Anderson, out of the *Old Records,* is nothing but a history of architecture, and almost every king, prelate, or nobleman who had erected a palace, a church, or a castle, is called a distinguished Freemason and a patron of the Institution.

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[1] Smith, *ib.,* p. 294.

[2] In Smith's "Diet, of the Bible," *voce,* Babel.

[3] Kenning's "Encyclopædia," in *voce* Nimrod.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LEGEND OF EUCLID

HAVING disposed of the establishment of Masonry in Babylon, the *Legend of the Craft* next proceeds by a rapid transition to narrate the history of its introduction into Egypt. This Egyp tian episode, which in reference to the principal action in it has been called the "Legend of Euclid," is found in all the old manuscripts.

It forms the opening feature of the Halliwell poem, being in that document the beginning of the history of Masonry; it is told with circumstantial minuteness in the Cooke MS., and is apparently copied from that into all the later manuscripts, where the important details are essentially the same, although we find a few circumstances related in some which are omitted in others.

Divesting the narrative of the archaic language of the manuscripts, the legend may be given as follows:

Once on a time, to use the story-teller's style, Abraham and his wife went to Egypt. Now Abraham was very learned in all the seven arts and sciences, and was accompanied by Euclid, who was his scholar, and to whom he had imparted his knowledge. At that time the lords or rich men of Egypt were in sore distress, because having a very numerous progeny of sons, for whom they could find no occupation, they knew not how they could obtain for them a livelihood.

In this strait they held a council and made proclamation that if any one could suggest a remedy, he should lay his plans before them, when he should be suitably rewarded.

Upon this Euclid presented himself and offered to supply these sons with an honest means of living, by teaching them the science of Geometry, provided they should be placed by their fathers under his exclusive control, so that he might have the power of ruling them according to the laws of the Craft.

To this proposition the Egyptian nobles gladly consented, and granted Euclid all the power that he had asked, and secured the grant to him by a sealed commission.

Euclid then instructed them in the practical part of Geometry, and taught them how to erect churches, castles, towers, and all other kinds of buildings in stone. He also gave them a code of laws for their government.

Thus did Euclid found in the land of Egypt the science which he named Geometry, but which has ever since been called Masonry.

I have said that while all the manuscripts agree in the prominent circumstances of this legend, there are in some of them a few discrepancies as to some of the minor details.

Thus the Halliwell poem makes no allusion to Abraham, but imputes the founding of Masonry to Euclid alone, and it will be remembered that the title of that poem is, "The Constitutions of the art of Geometry according to Euclid."

The Cooke MS. is far more full in details than either the Halliwell poem or the manuscripts that succeeded it. It says that Abraham taught Geometry to the Egyptians, and that Euclid was his scholar. But a few lines after, quoting St. Isidore as its authority, it says that Euclid was one of the first founders of Geometry, and that in his time there was an inundation of the Nile, and he taught them to make dykes and walls to restrain the water, and measured the land by means of Geometry, and divided it among the inhabitants, so that every man could enclose his own property with ditches and walls. In consequence of this the land became fertile, and the population increased to such a degree, that there was found a difficulty in finding for all employment that would enable them to live. Whereupon the nobles gave the government of their children to Euclid, who taught them the art of Geometry, so called because he had with its aid measured the land,[1] when he built the walls and ditches to separate each one's possession.

The needless repetitions and confusion of details in the Cooke MS. show that the author had derived the information on which he constructed his legend from various sources—partly from the authority of St. Isidore, as he is quoted in Higden's *Polychronicon,* and partly from the tradition of the Craft.

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[1] Geometry from the Greek *γη* (ge) *land* and *μετρον* (metron) *measure.*

The later manuscripts have copied the details of the Legend as contained in the Cooke codex, but with many omissions, so as to give it the form in which it was known to the Craft in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Thus the Dowland MS., whose date is supposed to be about 1550, gives the story almost exactly as it is in the Halliwell poem, except that it adds Abraham and Sarah as *dramatis personæ,* making it in this respect coincide with the Cooke MS., and probably with the form of the original Legend.

In this it is followed by the York, No. 1 (1600), the Grand Lodge (1632), the Sloane (1646), the Lodge of Hope (1680), the Alnwick (1701), and even the Papworth MS., as late as 1714.

The Landsdowne MS. (1560), and the Antiquity (1686), have the Legend in a very imperfect form, and either did not copy or greatly curtailed the Dowland MS., as they but slightly refer to Egypt and to Euclid, and not at all to Abraham.

As to the reputation for great learning which the legendists have given to Abraham, although the Bible dwells only on his piety, they found their authority in Josephus, as well as in Isidore.

Josephus says that among the Egyptians he was esteemed as a very wise man, and that besides reforming their customs, he taught them arithmetic and astronomy.

It is evident, as has been already noticed, that the *Legend of the Craft* has been indebted for much of its materials to the *Antiquities* of Josephus, and the *Etymologies* of St. Isidore, and the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden—the first two at second hand, in all probability through the citations of those works which are made in the third.

The Krause MS., which is said to have been translated from the English into the Latin, and afterward into German, and published by Dr. Krause,[1] gives the Legend in an entirely different form.

Notwithstanding that I have declared my belief that this document is spurious with a date of not earlier than the second decade, or more probably toward the middle of the 18th century, yet, as an indication of the growth and the change of the Legend at that period, it will be worth while to compare its form with that in the

[1] "Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden," iii, 59-113.

older manuscripts, at least so far as relates to the Egyptian episode, which is in the following words:

"Abraham was skilled in all the sciences and continued to teach them to the sons of the freeborn, whence afterwards came the many learned priests and mathematicians who were known by the name of the Chaldean Magi. Afterwards, Abraham continued to propagate these sciences and arts when he came to Egypt, and found there, especially in Hermes, so apt a scholar, that the latter was at length called the Trismegistus of the sciences, for he was at the same time priest and natural philosopher in Egypt; and through him and a scholar of his the Egyptians received the first good laws and all the sciences in which Abraham had instructed him. Afterwards Euclid collected the principal sciences and called them Geometry. But the Greeks and Romans called them altogether Architecture.

"But in consequence of the confusion of languages, the laws and arts and sciences could not formerly be propagated until the people had learned to make comprehensible by signs that which they could not understand by words. Wherefore, Mizraim, the son of Cham, brought the custom of making himself understood by signs with him into Egypt, when he colonized a valley of the Nile. This art was afterwards extended into all distant lands, but only the signs that are given by the hands have remained in architecture; for the signs by figures are as yet known to but few.

"In Egypt the overflowings of the Nile afforded an opportunity to use the art of measurement, which had been introduced by Mizraim, and to build bridges and walls as a protection against the water; They used burnt stone and wood and earth for these purposes. Therefore when the heathen kings had become acquainted with this, they were compelled to prepare stone and lime and bricks and therewith to erect buildings, by which, through God's will, however, they became only the more experienced artists and were so celebrated that their art spread as far as Persia."

If the reader compares this legend of the Krause manuscript with that which is given by Dr. Anderson in the first edition of his *Constitutions*, he will be constrained to admit that both documents are derived from the same source, or that one of them is an abridged or an expository copy of the other. It is evident that the statement in Anderson is merely a synopsis of that more detailed narrative contained in the Krause Legend, or that it is an

expansion of the statement in the first edition of the *Constitutions.*

If the Krause MS. was written before Anderson compiled his history, it could not have been long anterior, and must have been composed between 1714, the date of the Papworth MS., which contains the Legend in its mediaeval form, and 1723, when Anderson published his work. Within this period the Masons sought to modify the old *Legend of the Craft,* so as to deprive it of its apparent absurdities, and to omit its anachronisms so as to give it the appearance of an authentic historical narrative.

Instead, therefore, of having the date of 926, which has been ascribed to it by Dr. Krause, his manuscript is, as Bro. Hughan thinks it, "a compilation of the early part of the last century." It is, however, important, as I have said, because it shows how the old Legend was improved and divested of its anachronisms.

It is certainly a very absurd anachronism to make Euclid the contemporary of Abraham, who lived more than two thousand years before him. Nor is it less absurd to suppose that Euclid invented Masonry in Egypt, whence it was carried to India, and practiced by King Solomon, since the great geometrician did not flourish until six centuries and a half after the construction of the Temple.

Considered, then, as an historical narrative, the Legend of Euclid is a failure. And yet it has its value as the symbolical development of certain historical facts.

The prominent points in this Legend being, of course, those on which the old believers of it most strenuously dwelt, are:

1. That Geometry is the groundwork of Masonry;

2. That Euclid was the most distinguished of all geometricians; and,

3. That the esoteric method of teaching this as well as all the other sciences which was pursued by the priests of Egypt, was very analogous to that which was adopted by the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, in imparting to their disciples the geometric and architectural secrets, which constituted what they called the Mystery of the Craft.

The Legend, in fact, symbolizes the well-recognized fact, that in Egypt, in early times—of which there is no historical objection to make Abraham the contemporary—there was a very intimate connection between the science of Geometry and the religious system of the

Egyptians; that this religious system embraced also all scientific in« struction; that this instruction was secret, and communicated only after an initiation,[1] and that in that way there was a striking analogy between the Egyptian system and that of the mediaeval Masons. And this fact of an analogy, the latter sought to embody in the apparent form of an historical narrative, but really in the spirit of a symbolic picture.

Thus considered, the *Legend of the Craft,* in its episode of Euclid and his marvelous doings in the land of Egypt, is divested of its absurdity, and it is brought somewhat nearer to the limits of historical verity than the too literal reader would be disposed to admit.

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[1] Kendrick confirms this statement in his "Ancient Egypt," where he says: "When we read of foreigners (in Egypt) being obliged to submit to painful and tedious ceremonies of initiation, it was not that they might learn the secret meaning of the rites of Osiris, or Isis, but that they might partake of the knowledge of astronomy, physick, *geometry,* and theology."—(Vol. i., p. 383.)

CHAPTER XIV

THE LEGEND OF THE TEMPLE

FROM this account of the exploits of Abraham and his scholar Euclid, and of the invention of Geometry, or Masonry in Egypt, the *Legend of the Craft* proceeds, by a rapid stride, to the narrative of the introduction of the art into Judea, or as it is called in all of them, "the land of behest," or the land of promise. Here it is said to have been principally used by King Solomon, in the construction of the temple at Jerusalem. The general details connected with the building of this edifice, and the assistance given to the King of Israel, by Hiram, King of Tyre, are related with sufficient historical accuracy, and were probably derived either directly or at second hand, through the *Polychronicon,* from the first Book of Kings, which, in fact, is referred to in all the manuscripts as a source of information.[1]

The assumption that Freemasonry, as it now exists, was organized at the Temple of Solomon, although almost universally accepted by Masons who have not made Masonry a historical study, but who derive their ideas of the Institution from the mythical teachings of the ritual, has been utterly rejected by the greater part of the recent school of iconoclasts, who investigate the history of Freemasonry by the same methods which they would pursue in the examination of any other historical subject.

The fact, however, remains, that in the *Legend of the Craft* the Temple is prominently and definitely referred to as a place where Masons congregated in great numbers, and where Masonry was confirmed or established, and whence it traveled into other countries.[2]

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[1] "As it is said in the Bible, in the third book of Kings," are the words of the Cooke MS. In the canon of Scripture as then used, the two books of Samuel were called the first and second of Kings. The third book of Kings was then the first according to the present canon.

[2] "And thus was that worthy Science of Masonry confirmed in the country of Jerusalem, and in many other kingdoms."—*Dowland MS.*

Considering the *Legend of the Craft* as merely a narrative of the rise and progress of architecture in its connection with a peculiar architectural association, it was natural that in such a narrative some reference should be made to one of the most splendid specimens of ancient architectural art that the ancient world had exhibited. And since this Temple was, by its prominence in the ritual of Jewish worship, intimately connected with both the Jewish and Christian religions, we shall be still less surprised that an association not only so religious, but even ecclesiastical as mediaeval Masonry was, should have considered this sacred edifice as one of the cradles of its Institution.

Hence we find the Temple of Jerusalem occupying a place in the *Legend of the Craft* which it has retained, with many enlargements, to the present day.

But there is a difference in the aspect in which this subject of the Temple is to be viewed, as we follow the progress of the Order in its transition from an Operative to a Speculative Institution.

Originally referred to by the legendists as a purely historical fact, whose details were derived from Scripture, and connected by a sort of *esprit du corps,* with the progress of their own association, it was retained during and after the development of the Order into a Speculative character, because it seemed to be the very best foundation on which the religious symbolism of that Order could be erected.

But notwithstanding that the masses of the Institution, learned as well as unlearned, continue to accept the historical character of this part of the Legend, the Temple is chiefly to be considered in a symbolic point of view. It is in this aspect that we must regard it, and in so doing we shall relieve the Legend of another charge of absurdity. It is true that we are unable now to determine how much of true history and how much of symbolism were contemplated by the authors of the Legend, when they introduced the Temple of Jerusalem into that document as a part of their traditional narrative. But there is a doubt, and we can not now positively assert that the mediaeval Freemasons had not some impression of a symbolic idea when they incorporated it into their history.

The Temple might, indeed, from its prominence in the ritual, be almost called the characteristic symbol of Speculative Masonry. The whole system of Masonic Symbolism is not only founded on

the Temple of Jerusalem, but the Temple idea so thoroughly permeates it that an inseparable connection is firmly established, so that if the Temple symbol were obliterated and eliminated from the system of Freemasonry—if that system were purged of all the legends and myths that refer to the building of the Solomonic Temple, and to the events that are supposed to have then and there occurred, we should have nothing remaining by which to recognize and identify Speculative Masonry, as the successor of the Operative System of the Middle Ages. The history of the Roman Empire with no account of Julius Caesar, or of Pompey, or that of the French Revolution, with no allusion to Louis XVI., or to Robespierre, would present just as mutilated a narrative as Freemasonry would, were all reference to the Temple of Solomon omitted.

Seeing, then, the importance of this symbol, it is proper and will be interesting to trace it back through the various exemplars of the *Legend of the Craft* contained in the Old Constitutions, because it is to that Legend that modern Freemasonry owes the suggestion at least, if not the present arrangement and formulas of this important symbol.

In the oldest Constitution that we have, the one known as the Halliwell MS., whose date is supposed not to be later than the end of the 14th century, there is not the least allusion to the Temple of Solomon, which is another reason why I ascribe to that document, as I have before said, an origin different from that of the other and later manuscripts.

The word *temple* occurs but once in the entire poem, and then it is used to designate a Christian church or place of worship.[1] But in the Cooke MS., written, as it is estimated, about a century afterward, there are ample references to the Solomonic Temple, and the statement made in the *Legend of the Craft* is for the first time enunciated.

After this, there is not a Constitution written in which the same narrative is not repeated. There does not appear in any of them, from the Landsdowne MS. in 1560 to the Papworth in 1701, any enlargement of the narrative or any development of new occur-

[1] "He made the bothe halle and eke bowre,
And hye *tempuls* of gret honoure,
To sport hym yn bothe day and nighth,
And to worschepe hys God with all hys myght."
(Lines 63-66).

rences. Each of them dilates, in almost the same words, upon the Temple of Solomon as connected with Masonry in many words, and gives elaborate details of the construction of the edifice, of the number of Masons employed, how they were occupied in performing other works of Masonry, and, finally, how one of them left Jerusalem and extended the art into other countries. We thus see that up to the end of the 17th century the *Legend of the Craft* in all its essential details continued to be accepted as traditionary history.

In the beginning of the 18th century the Legend began to assume a nearer resemblance to its present form. The document already referred to as the Krause MS., and which Dr. Krause too hastily supposed was a copy of the original *York Constitutions* of 926, is really, as I have heretofore shown, a production of the early part of the 18th century. In this document the Legend is given in the following words:

"Although, by architecture great and excellent buildings had already been everywhere constructed, they all remained far behind the holy Temple, which the wise King Solomon caused to be erected in Jerusalem, to the honor of the true God, where he employed an uncommonly large number of workmen, as we find in the Holy Scriptures; and King Hiram of Tyre also added a number to them. Among these assistants who were sent was King Hiram's most skilful architect, a widow's son, whose name was Hiram Abif, and who afterwards made the most exquisite arrangements and furnished the most costly works, all of which are described in the Holy Scriptures. The whole of these workmen were, with King Solomon's approval, divided into certain classes, and thus at this great building was first founded a worthy Society of Architects."

Whether the author of the Krause MS. had copied from Anderson, or Anderson from him, or both from some other document which is no longer extant, is a question that has already been discussed. But the description of the Temple and its connection with the history of Masonry, are given by Dr. Anderson with much of the features of the Krause form of the Legend, except that the details are more copious. Now, what was taught concerning the Temple by Anderson in his History contained in the first edition of the *Constitutions,* although afterward polished and perfected by Preston and other ritual makers, is substantially the same as that which is taught at the present day in all the Lodges.

Therefore, notwithstanding that Dr. Krause asserts,[1] that "the Temple of Solomon is no symbol, certainly not a prominent one of the English system," I am constrained to believe that it was one of the prominent symbols alluded to in the Mediaeval Legend, and that the symbol of the Temple upon which so much of the symbolism of Modern Speculative Masonry depends, was, in fact, suggested to the revivalists by the narrative contained in the *Legend of the Craft.*

Whether the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, who seem to have accepted this Legend as authentic history, had also, underlying the narrative, a symbolic interpretation of the Temple and of certain incidents that are said to have occurred in the course of its erection, as referring to this life and the resurrection to a future one, or whether that interpretation was in existence at the time when the *Legend of the Craft* was invented, and was subsequently lost sight of, only to be recovered in the beginning of the 18th century, are questions that will be more appropriately discussed in succeeding pages of this work, when the subject of the myths and symbols of Freemasonry is under consideration.

But it is evident that between the narrative in the Legend concerning the Temple, with its three builders, the Kings of Israel and Tyre, and Solomon's Master of the Works, and the symbolism of Modern Speculative Masonry in allusion to the same building and the same personages, there has been a close, consecutive connection.

Hence, again, we find that the *Legend of the Craft* is of value in reference to the light which it throws on the progress of Masonic science and symbolism, which otherwise it would not possess, if it were to be considered as a mere mythical narrative without any influence on history.

Before concluding this subject, it will be necessary to refer to the name of the chief builder of the Temple, and whose name has undergone that corruption in all the manuscripts to which all proper names have been subjected in those documents.

Of course, it is known, from the testimony of Scripture, that the real name and title of this person, as used in reference to King Solomon and himself, was *Hiram Abif* that is, "his father Hiram."[2]

[1] "Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden," vol. i., p. 155, note 41.

[2] When the King of Tyre speaks of him, it is as *Hiram Abi,* that is, "My father Hiram," 2 Chron. ii. 13.

This Hebrew appellative is found for the first time in Masonic documents in Anderson's *Constitutions,* and in the Krause MS., both being of the date of the early part of the 18th century. Previous to that period we find him variously called in all the Old Manuscripts, from the Dowland in 1550 to the Alnwick in 1701, Aman, Amon, Aynone, Aynon, Anon, and Ajuon. Now, of what word are these a corruption?[1]

The Cooke MS. does not give any name, but only says, that "the King's son of Tyre was Solomon's Master Mason." All the other and succeeding manuscripts, without exception, admit this relation. Thus the Dowland, in which it is followed by all the others, says that King Hiram "had a son that was called AYNON, and he was a Master of Geometry, and was chief Master of all Solomon's Masons."

The idea was thus established that this man was of royal dignity, the son of a King, and that he was also a ruler of the Craft.

Now, the Hebrew word *Adon* denotes a lord, a prince, a ruler or master. It is, in short, a title of dignity. In the Book of Kings we meet with Adoniram, who was one of the principal officers of King Solomon, and who. during the construction of the Temple, performed an important part as the chief or superintendent of the levy of thirty thousand laborers who worked on Mount Lebanon.

The old Masons may have confounded this person with Hiram from the similarity of the terminational syllables. The modern Continental Masons committed the same error when they established the Rite of Adonhiram or Adoniram, and gave to Hiram Abif the title of Adon Hiram, or the Lord or Master Hiram. If the Old Masons did this, then it is evident that they abbreviated the full name and called him *Adon.*

But I am more inclined to believe that the author of the first or original old manuscript, of which all the rest are copies, called the chief builder of Solomon *Adon,* Lord and Master, in allusion to his supposed princely rank and his high position as the chief builder or Master of the Works at the Temple.

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[1] The Papworth MS., whose supposed date is 1714, rejects all these words and calls him *Benaim,* which is a misspelling of *Bonaim, builders,* and that a grammatical error for *Boneh,* the Builder. The writer had evidently got an inkling of the new form which the Legend was beginning to assume. Anderson, it will be recollected, speaks of the "Bonai, or builders in stone."

The corruption from *Adon* to *Aynon,* or *Amon,* or even *Ajuon,* is not greater than what occurs in other names in these manuscripts, as where *Hermes* is transmuted into *Hermarines,* and *Euclid* into *Engtet.* Indeed the copyists of these mediaeval documents appear to have had a Gallic facility in corrupting the orthography of all foreign names, very often almost totally destroying their identity.

As to the real meaning of Hiram Abif, either as a historic or symbolic character, that topic will be thoroughly considered in another part of this work, when the subject of Masonic Symbols comes to be considered. The topic of the corruption of the name in the old manuscripts, and its true signification, will again be treated when I come to investigate the "Legend of Hiram Abif."

The Legend of the Temple could not be appropriately completed without a reference to Solomon, King of Israel, and some inquiry as to how he became indebted for the important place he has held in mediaeval Freemasonry.

The popularity of King Solomon among the Eastern nations is a familiar fact, known not only to Oriental scholars, but even to those whose knowledge on the subject is confined to what they have learned from their youthful reading of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments.* Among the Arabians and the Persians, the King of Israel was esteemed as a great magician, whose power over the genii and other supernatural beings was derived from his possession' of the Omnific Name, by the use of which he accomplished all his wonderful works, the said name being inscribed on his signet-ring.

It is not singular, seeing the communication which took place before and after the Crusades between the East and the West, that the wise son of David should have enjoyed an equal popularity among the poets and romancers of the Middle Ages.

But among them the character that he sustains is not that of a great magician, so much as that of a learned philosopher. Whenever a Norman romancer or a Provençal minstrel composed a religious morality, a pious declamation, or a popular proverb, it was the name of Solomon that was often selected to "point the moral or adorn the tale."

Unlike the Orientalists, whose tendencies were always toward the mystical, the mediaeval writers most probably derived their opinion of the King of Israel, from the account of him and of his writ-

ings in the Bible. Now, there he is peculiarly distinguished as a proverbialist.

Proverbs are the earliest outspoken thought of the people, and they precede, in every nation, all other forms of literature. It was therefore to be expected, that at the awakening of learning in the Middle Ages, the romancers would be fascinated by the proverbial philosophy of King Solomon, rather than by his magical science, on which the Eastern fabulists had more fondly dwelt.

Legrand D'Aussy, in his valuable work *On the Fables and Romances of the 12th and 13th Centuries,* gives two interesting specimens from old manuscripts, of the use made by their writers of the traditional reputation of King Solomon.

The first of these is a romance called "The Judgment of Solomon." It is something like the Jewish story of the two mothers. But here the persons upon whom the judgment is to be passed are two sons of the Prince of Soissons. The claim advanced was for a partition of the property. To determine who was better entitled to be the heir, by the reverence he might exhibit for the memory of his father, Solomon required each to prove his knightly dexterity by transfixing a mark with his lance, and that mark was to be the body of his dead father. The elder readily complied with the odious condition. The younger indignantly refused. To him Solomon decreed the heritage.

We see here how ready these romancers of the Middle Ages were to invent a narrative and fit it into the life of their favorite Solomon. The makers of the Masonic *Legend of the Craft,* who were their contemporaries, promptly followed their example. There is in that Legend, as we have seen, some anachronisms, but none more absurd than that which makes a Prince of Soissons, who could not have been earlier than the time of Clovis, in the 6th century, the contemporary of a Jewish monarch who lived at least sixteen centuries before Soissons was known as a kingdom.

But it shows us the spirit of the age and how Legends were fabricated. We are thus prepared to form a judgment of the Masonic myths.

The Middle Ages also attributed to King Solomon a very familiar acquaintance with the science of astrology. In so doing they by no means borrowed the Oriental idea that he was a great magician; for astrology formed no part of Eastern occult magic. The

mediaeval astrologer was deemed a man of learning, just as at this day is the astronomer. Astrology was, in fact, the astronomy of the Middle Ages. Solomon's astrological knowledge was therefore only a part of that great learning for which he had the reputation.

In the collection of unpublished *Fabliaux et Contes,* edited by M. Meon, is a poem entitled, "Le Lunaire que Salemon fist"; that is, "The Lunary which Solomon made."

The lunary or lunarium was a table made by astrologers to indicate the influence exerted by the moon on human affairs.

The poem, which consists of 910 lines, written in the old French or Norman language, contains directions for the conduct of life, telling what is to be done or what omitted on every day of the month. The concluding lines assign, without hesitation, the authorship to Solomon, while it pays the mediaeval tribute to his character:

"Here is ended the lesson
Made by the good King Solomon,
To whom in his life God gave
Riches and honor and learning,
More than to any other born
Or begotten of woman."

The canonical book of Proverbs gave the writers of the Middle Ages occasion to have an exalted opinion of Solomon as a maker of those pithy sayings—a characteristic of his genius of which the Orientals seem to have been unmindful.

One of the most remarkable works of mediaeval literature is a poem by the Comte de Bretagne, entitled "Proverbs of Marcol and Solomon."

This Marcol is represented as a commentator, or rather, perhaps, a rival of King Solomon. The work is a poem divided into stanzas of six lines each. The first three lines contain a proverb of Solomon; the next three another proverb on the same subject, and in response, by Marcol.

There is another mediaeval poem in the collection of M. Meon, entitled "Of Marco and Solomon." The responsive style is the same as that of the Comte de Bretagne, but the one hundred and thirty-seven proverbs which it contains are all new.

But still more apposite to the present inquiry is the fact that among the mediaeval writers Solomon bore the reputation of an

artisan of consummate skill. He was like the Volund or Wieland of the Scandinavian and Teutonic myths—the traditional smith who fabricated the decorations of chambers, the caparison of war-horses, and the swords and lances of cavaliers. In the poems of the Middle Ages, whenever it becomes necessary to speak of any of these things as having been made with exquisite and surpassing skill, it is said to be "the work of Solomon"—*l'uevre Salemon.*

But enough has been said to show that King Solomon was as familiar to the romancers of the Middle Ages as he was to the Jews of Palestine or to the Orientalists of Arabia and Persia. Philip de Thuan, who, in the 12th century, wrote his *Bestiary,* a sort of natural history spiritualized, says that by Solomon was signified any wise man—*Sacez par Salemuon sage gent entendum.*

Now, about the same time that these fable-makers and song-writers of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries were composing these stories about King Solomon, the makers of the Masonic *Legend of the Craft* were inventing their myths about the same monarch and the Temple which he erected.

This is a concurrence of time which suggests that possibly the popularity of King Solomon with the romancers of the Middle Ages made the incorporation of his name in the Masonic Legend less difficult to those who framed that mythical story.

We might, indeed, be led to suspect that the use of Solomon in their Legends and traditions was first suggested to the Stonemasons and to the cognate associations, such as the "Compagnons de la Tour" of France, from the frequent references to it by the contemporary romancers.

But the subsequent myths connected with Solomon as the head of the association of Masons at the Temple were, at a much later period, borrowed, in great part, from the Talmudists, and have no place among the song-writers and fabulists of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XV

THE EXTENSION OF THE ART INTO OTHER COUNTRIES

HE *Legend of the Craft* next proceeds to narrate how Masonry was extended "into divers countryes," some of the Masons traveling to increase their knowledge of their art, and others to extend that which they already possessed.

This subject is very briefly treated in the different manuscripts. The Halliwell poem says nothing of the progressive march of Masonry, except that it details almost as an episode the persecution of the "Four Crowned Martyrs" as Christian Masons, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian, and we should almost be led to infer from the tenor of the poem that Masonry was introduced directly into England from Egypt.

The Cooke MS. simply says that from Egypt Masonry "went from land to land and from kingdom to kingdom," until it got to England.

The later manuscripts are a little more definite, although still brief. They merely tell us that skillful craftsmen largely traveled into various countries, some that they might acquire more knowledge and skill, and others to teach those who had but little skill.

There is certainly nothing that is mythical or fabulous in this statement. Every authentic history of architecture concurs in the statement that at an early period the various countries of Europe were perambulated by bodies of builders in search of employment in the construction of religious and other edifices. The name, indeed, of "Traveling Freemasons" which was bestowed upon them, is familiar in architectural historical works.[1]

Indeed, as Mr. George Godwin says, "There are few points in the Middle Ages more pleasing to look back upon than the existence

[1] See Hope's "Historical Essay on Architecture."

of the associated Masons; they are the bright spot in the general darkness of that period, the patch of verdure when all around is barren."[1] But this interesting subject will be more fully discussed in another part of this work, when we come to treat of the authentic history of Masonry. This portion of the Legend can not be said to belong to the prehistoric period.

It is sufficient, for the present, to have shown that in this part, as elsewhere, the *Legend of the Craft* is not a merely fictitious narrative, but that the general statement of the extension of Freemasonry throughout Europe at an early period is confirmed by historical evidence.

On examining the *Legend of the Craft,* it will be found to trace the extension of Masonry through its successive stages of progress from Babylon and Assyria to Egypt, from Egypt to Judea, from Judea to France, and from France to England. Accepting Masonry and the art of building as synonymous terms, this line of progress will not be very adverse, with some necessary modifications, to that assumed to be correct by writers on architecture. But, as I have just said, the consideration of this subject belongs not to the prehistoric, but to the historic period of the Society.

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[1] "The Builder," vol. ix., p. 463.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LEGEND OF CHARLES MARTEL AND NAMUS GRECUS

HE Legend, now approaching the domain of authentic history, but still retaining its traditional character, proceeds to narrate, but in a very few words, the entrance of Masonry into France.

This account is given in the following language in the Dowland manuscript:

"And soe it befell that there was one curious Mason that height MAYMUS GRECUS, that had been at the making of Solomon's temple, and he came into France, and there he taught the science of Masonrye to men of France. And there was one of the Regal lyne of Fraunce, that height CHARLES MARTELL; and he was a man that loved well such a science, and drew to this MAYMUS GRECUS that is above said, and learned of him the science, and tooke upon him the charges and manners; and afterwards, by the grace of God, he was elect to be Kinge of France. And whan he was in his estate, he tooke Masons and did helpe to make men Masons that were none; and he set them to worke, and gave them both the charge and the manners and good paie, as he had learned of other Masons; and confirmed them a Charter from yeare to yeare, to holde their semble wher they would; and cherished them right much; and thus came the science into France."

This Legend is repeated, almost word for word, in all the later manuscripts up to the year 1714.

It is not even alluded to in the earliest of all the manuscripts—the Halliwell poem—which is another proof that that document is of German origin.

The Cooke MS. has the Legend in the following words:

"Sumtyme ther was a worthye kyng in Frauns, that was clepyd Carolus secundus that ys to sey Charlys the secunde. And this Charlys was elyte [elected] kyng of Frauns by the grace of God and by lynage [lineage] also. And sume men sey that he was elite

[elected] by fortune the whiche is fals as by cronycle he was of the kynges blode Royal. And this same kyng Charlys was a mason bifor that he was kyng. And after that he was kyng he lovyd masons and cherschid them and gaf them chargys and mannerys at his devise the whiche sum ben yet used in fraunce and he ordeynyd that they scholde have a semly [assembly] onys in the yere and come and speke togedyr and for to be reuled by masters and felows of thynges amysse."[1]

The absence of all allusion to Namus Grecus (a personage who will directlv occupy our attention) in the Cooke document is worthy of notice.

When Dr. Anderson was putting the *Legend of the Craft* into a modern shape, he also omitted any reference to Namus Grecus but he preserved the spirit of the Legend, so far as to say, that according to the old records of Masons, Charles Martel "sent over several expert craftsmen and learned architects into England at the desire of the Saxon kings."[2]

I think it will be proved, when in the course of this work the authentic history of Masonry comes to be treated, that the statement in the *Legend of the Craft* in relation to the condition of the art in France during the administration of Charles Martel is simply a historical fact. In claiming for the "Hammerer" the title of King of France, while he assumed only the humble rank of Duke of the Franks and Mayor of the Palace, the legendists have only committed a historical error of which more experienced writers might be guilty.

The introduction of the name of Namus Grecus, an unknown Mason, who is described as being the contemporary of both Solomon and of Charles Martel, is certainly an apparent anachronism that requires explanation.

This Namus Grecus has been a veritable sphinx to Masonic antiquaries, and no Œdipus has yet appeared who could resolve the riddle. Without assuming the sagacity of the ancient expounder of enigmas, I can only offer a suggestion for what it may be considered worth.

I suppose *Grecus* to be merely an appellative indicating the fact that this personage was a Greek. Now, the knowledge of his exist-

[1] Cooke MS., lines 576-601.

[2] "Constitutions," ed. 1723, p. 30.

ence at the court of Charles Martel was most probably derived by the English legendist from a German or French source, because the *Legend of the Craft* is candid in admitting that the English Masons had collected the writings and charges from other countries. Prince Edwin is said to have made a proclamation that any Masons who "had any writing or understanding of the charges and the manners that were made before in this land [England] or in any other, that they should shew them forth." And there were found "some in French, some in Greek, some in English, and some in other languages."

Now, if the account and the name of this Greek architect had been taken from the German, the text would most probably have been "ein Maurer *Namens Grecus*"; or, if from the French, it would have been "un Maçon *nommé Grecus*." The English legendist would, probably, mistake the words *Namens Grecus,* or *nommé Grecus,* each of which means "he was named Grecus," or, literally, "a Mason by the name of Grecus," for the full name, and write him down as *Namus Grecus.* The *Maymus* in the Dowland MS. is evidently a clerical error. In the other manuscripts it is *Namus.* The corrected reading, then, would be—"there was a Mason named (or called) a Greek."

It can not be said that it is not probable that any legendist would have fallen into such an error when we remember how many others as great, if not greater, have been perpetrated in these *Old Records.* See, for instance, in these manuscripts such orthographical mistakes as *Hermarines* for *Hermes,* and *Englet* for *Euclid;* to say nothing of the rather ridiculous blunder in the Leland MS., where *Pythagore,* the French form of *Pythagoras,* has suffered transmutation into *Peter Gower.* So it is not at all unlikely that *Namens Grecus,* or *nommé Grecus,* should be changed into *Namus Grecus.*

The original Legend, in all probability meant to say merely that in the time of Charles Martel, a Greek artist, who had been to Jerusalem, introduced the principles of Byzantine architecture into France.

Now, history attests that in the 8th century there was an influx of Grecian architects and artificers into Southern and Western Europe, in consequence of persecutions that were inflicted on them by the Byzantine Emperors. The Legend, therefore, indulges in no spirit of fiction in referring to the advent in France, at that period, of one of these architects.

It is also a historical fact that Charles the Great of France was a liberal encourager of the arts and sciences, and that he especially promoted the cultivation of architecture on the Byzantine or Greek model in his dominions.

Dr. Oliver, in the second edition of the *Constitutions,* repeats the Legend with a slight variation. He says that "Ethelbert, King of Mercia, and general monarch, sent to Charles Martel, the Right Worshipful Grand Master of France (father of King Pippin), who had been educated by Brother *Mimus Græcus*; he sent over from France (about A.D. 710) some expert Masons to teach the Saxons those laws and usages of the ancient fraternity, that had been happily preserved from the havock of the Goths."

Pritchard, in his *Masonry Dissected,* gives, upon what authority I know not, the Legend in the following form:

Euclid "communicated the art and mystery of Masonry to Hiram, the Master Mason concerned in the building of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, where was an excellent and curious Mason, whose name was *Mannon Grecus,* who taught the art of Masonry to one Carolus Marcil in France, who was afterwards elected King of France."

Upon this change of the name to *Mannon Grecus,* Krause suggests a derivation as follows: In using this name he thinks that Pritchard intended to refer to the celebrated scholastic philosopher Mannon, or Nannon, who was probably celebrated in his time for his proficiency in the language and literature of Greece. Nannon lived in the reign of Charles the Bold, and was the successor of Erigena in the direction of the schools of France.

I think the derivation of the name offered by Dr. Krause is wholly untenable though ingenious, for it depends upon a name not found in any of the old manuscripts, and besides, the philosopher did not live in the time of Charles Martel, but long afterward.

Between his derivation and mine, the reader may select, and probably will be inclined to reject both.

As far as the Legend regards Charles Martel as the patron of architecture or Masonry in France, one observation remains to be made.

If there has been an error of the legendists in attributing to Charles Martel the honor that really belonged to his successor, Charles the Great, it is not surprising when we consider how great

was the ignorance of the science of chronology that prevailed in those days. However, it must be remarked, that at the present day the French Masonic writers speak of Charles Martel as the founder of Masonry in France.

The error of making the Greek architect a contemporary both of Solomon and of Charles Martel, is one which may be explained, either as the expression of a symbolic idea, alluding to the close connection that had existed between Oriental and Byzantine architecture, or may be excused as an instance of blundering chronology for which the spirit of the age, more than the writer of the Legend, is to be blamed. This objection will not, however, lie if we assume that Namus Grecus meant simply a Greek architect.

But this whole subject is so closely connected with the authentic history of Masonry, having really passed out of the prehistoric period, that it claims a future and more elaborate consideration in its proper place.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LEGEND OF ST. ALBAN

THE *Legend of the Craft* now proceeds to narrate the history of the introduction of Masonry into England, in the time of St. Alban, who lived in the 3d century.

The Legend referring to the protomartyr of England is not mentioned in the Halliwell poem, but is first found in the Cooke MS., in the following words: "And sone after that come seynt Adhabell into Englond, and he convertyd seynt Albon to cristendome. And seynt Albon lovyd well masons, and he gaf hem fyrst her charges and maners fyrst in Englond. And he ordeyned convenyent[1] to pay for their travayle."[2]

The later manuscripts say nothing of St. Adhabell, and it is not until we get to the Krause MS. in the beginning of the 18th century, that we find any mention of St. Amphibalus, who is described in that document as having been the teacher of St. Alban. But St. Amphibalus, of which the Adhabell of the Cooke MS. is undoubtedly a corruption, is so apocryphal a personage, that I am rejoiced that the later legendists have not thought proper to follow the Cooke document and give him a place in the Legend.

In fact, *amphibalum* was the ecclesiastical name of a cloak, worn by priests of the Romish Church over their other vestments.[3] It was a vestment ecclesiastically transmuted into a saint, as the hand-

[1] Cooke translates this "convenient times," supplying the second word. But a more correct word is *suitable ox proper,* which is an old meaning of *convenient.* "He ordained suitable pay for their labor," and this agrees with the later manuscripts which impress the fact that St. Alban "made their pay right good."

[2] Cooke MS., lines 602-611.

[3] It is significant that among the spurious relics sent, when fearing the Danish invasion, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, by the Abbot of St. Albans, to the monks of Ely, was a very rough, shagged old *coat,* which it was said had been usually worn by St Amphibalus.

kerchief on which Christ left the image of His face when, as it is said, it was handed to Him on His way to Calvary, by a pious Jewess, became from the Greco-Latin *vera icon*, "the true image," converted into St. Veronica. The Masonic are not the only legendists who draw deeply on our credulity.

Of St. Alban, ecclesiastical history furnishes only the following meager details, and even of these some are apocryphal, or at least lack the stamp of authenticity.

He was born (so runs the tradition) in the 3d century, in Hertfordshire, England, near the town of Verulanium. Going to Rome, he served for seven years as a soldier under the Emperor Diocletian. He then returned with a companion and preceptor Amphibalus, to Britain, and betook himself to Verulanium. When the persecutions of the Christians commenced in Britain, Amphibalus was sought for, as one who had apostatized to the new religion; but as he could not be found, St. Alban voluntarily presented himself to the judge, and after undergoing torture was imprisoned. Soon after this, the retreat of Amphibalus having been discovered, both he and St. Alban suffered death for being Christians. Four centuries after his martyrdom, Offa, King of the Mercians, erected a monastery at Holmehurst, the hill where he was buried, and soon after the town of St. Albans arose in its vicinity.

When the Christian religion became predominant in England, the Church paid great honors to the memory of the protomartyr. A chapel was erected over his grave, which, according to the Venerable Bede, was of admirable workmanship.

The Masonic Legend contains details which are not furnished by the religious one. According to it, St. Alban was the steward of the household of Carausius, he who had revolted from the Emperor Maximilian, and usurped the sovereignty of England. Carausius employed him in building the town walls. St. Alban, thus receiving the superintendence of the Craft, treated them with great kindness, increased their pay, and gave them a charter to hold a general assembly. He assisted them in making Masons, and framed for them a constitution—for such is the meaning of the phrase, "gave them charges."

Now, there is sufficient historical evidence to show that architecture was introduced into England by the Roman artificers, who followed, as was their usage, the Roman legions, habilitated them-

selves in the conquered colonies, and engaged in the construction not only of camps and fortifications, but also when peace was restored in the building of temples and even private edifices. Architectural ruins and Latin inscriptions, which still remain in many parts of Britain, attest the labors and the skill of these Roman artists, and sustain the statement of the Legend, that Masonry, which, it must be remembered, is, in the *Old Records,* only a synonym of architecture, was introduced into England during the period of its Roman colonization.

As to the specific statement that St. Alban was the patron of Masons, that he exercised the government of a chief over the Craft, and improved their condition by augmenting their wages, we may explain this as the expression of a symbolical idea, in which history is not altogether falsified, but only its dates and personages confused.

Carausius, the Legend does not mention by name. It simply refers to some King of England, of whose household St. Alban was the steward. Carausius assumed the imperial purple in the year in which St. Alban suffered martyrdom. The error of making him the patron of St. Alban is not, therefore, to be attributed to the legendist, but to Dr. Anderson, who first perpetrated this chronological blunder in the second edition of his *Constitutions.* And though he states that "this is asserted by all the old copies of the *Constitutions*"[1] we fail to find it in any that are now extant.

This "Legend of St. Alban," as it has been called, is worthy of a farther consideration.

The foundation of this symbolical narrative was first laid by the writer of the Cooke MS., or, rather, copied by him from the tradition existing among the Craft at that time. Its form was subsequently modified and the details extended in the Dowland MS., for tradition always grows in the progress of time. This form and these details were preserved in all the succeeding manuscript Constitutions, until they were still further altered and enlarged by Anderson, Preston, and other Masonic historians of the last century.

With the gratuitous accretions of these later writers we have no concern in any attempted explanation of the actual signification of the Legend. Its true form and spirit are to be found only in the Dowland MS. of the middle of the 16th century, and in those which

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edit., p. 57.

were copied from it, up to the Papworth, at the beginning of the 18th. To these, and not to anything written after the period of the Revival, we must direct our attention.

Admitting that on the conquest of England by the Roman power, the architects who had accompanied the victorious legions introduced into the conquered colony their architectural skill, it is very likely that some master workmen among them had been more celebrated than others for their skill, and, indeed, it is naturally to be supposed that to such skillful builders the control of the Craft must have been confided. Whether there were one or more of these chief architects, St. Alban, if not actually one of them, was, by the lapse of time and the not unusual process by which legendary or oral accretions are superimposed on a plain historical fact, adopted by the legendists as their representative. Who was the principal patron of the Architects or Masons during the time of the colonization of England by the Romans, is not so material as is the fact that architecture, with other branches of civilization, was introduced at that era into the island by its conquerors.

This is an historical fact, and in this point the *Legend of the Craft* agrees with authentic history.

But it is also an historical fact that when, by the pressure of the Northern hordes of barbarians upon Rome, it was found necessary to withdraw all the legions from the various colonies which they protected from exterior enemies and restrained from interior insurrection, the arts and sciences, and among them architecture, began to decline in England. The natives, with the few Roman colonists who had permanently settled among them, were left to defend themselves from the incursions of the Picts on the north, and the Danish and Saxon pirates in the east and south. The arts of civilization suffered a depression in the tumult of war. Science can not flourish amid the clang and clash of arms. This depression and suspension of all architectural progress in England, which continued for some centuries, is thus expressed in the quaint language of the Legend:

"Right soone after the decease of Saint Albone, there came divers wars into the realme of England of divers Nations, soe that the good rule of Masonrye was destroyed unto the tyme of Kinge Athelstone's days."

There is far more of history than of fiction in this part of the Legend.

The next point of the *Legend of the Craft* to which our attention is to be directed, is that which relates to the organization of Masonry at the city of York, in the 10th century. This part of the Legend is of far more importance than any of those which have been considered. The prehistoric here verges so closely upon the historic period, that the true narrative of the rise and progress of Masonry can not be justly understood until each of these prehistoric and historic elements has been carefully relegated to its appropriate period. This will constitute the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE YORK LEGEND

HE suppression of all architectural art and enterprise having lasted for so long a period in Britain, the *Legend of the Craft* next proceeds to account for its revival in the 10th century and in the reign of Athelstan, whose son Edwin called a meeting, or General Assembly, of the Masons at York in the year 926, and there revived the Institution, giving to the Craft a new code of laws.

Now, it is impossible to attach to this portion of the Legend, absolutely and without any reservation, the taint of fiction. The convocation of the Craft of England at the city of York, in the year 926, has been accepted by both the Operative Masons who preceded the Revival, and by the Speculatives who succeeded them, up to the present day, as a historical fact that did not admit of dispute. The two classes of Legends—the one represented by the Halliwell poem, and the other by the later manuscripts—concur in giving the same statement. The Cooke MS., which holds an intermediate place between the two, also contains it. But the Halliwell and the Cooke MSS., which are of older date, give more fully the details of what may be called this revival of English Masonry. Thoroughly to understand the subject, it will be necessary to collate the three accounts given in the three different sets of manuscripts.

The Halliwell poem, whose conjectural date is about 1390, contains the account in the following words. I will first give it, relieved of its archaisms, for the convenience of the reader inexpert in early English, and then follow with a quotation of the original language:

"This craft came into England, as I tell you, in the time of good King Athelstane's reign. He made them both hall and also chamber, and lofty churches of great honour, to recreate him in both day and night and to worship his God with all his strength. This good lord

loved this craft full well; and purposed to strengthen it in every part, on account of several defects which he discovered in the craft. He sent about into the land after all the masons of the craft to come straight to him, to amend all these defects by good counsel, if it could be done. Then he permitted an assembly to be made of various lords according to their rank, dukes, earls, and barons also, knights, squires, and many more, and the great burgesses of that city, they were all there in their degree; these were there, each one in every way to make laws for the society of these masons. There they sought by their wisdom how they might govern it. There they invented fifteen articles, and there they made fifteen points."[1] The original is as follows:

"Thys craft com ynto England as y you say,
Yn tyme of good kynge Athelston's day;
He made the both halle and eke boure,
And hye templus of gret honoure,
To sportyn hym yn bothe day and nyghth,
And to worschepe his God with alle hys myghth.
Thys goode lorde loved thys craft ful wel,
And purposud to strenthyn hyt ever del,
For dyvers defautys that yn the craft he fonde;
He sende aboute ynto the londe
After alle the masonus of the crafte
To come to hym ful evene strayfte,
For to amende these defaultys alle
By good counsel gef hyt mygth falle.
A semblé thenne he cowthe let make
Of dyvers lordis in here state
Dukys, erlys and barnes also,
Knygthys, sqwyers and mony mo,
And the grete burges of that syté,
They were ther alle yn here degré;
These were there uchon algate,
To ordeyne for these masonus estate,
Ther they sowgton ly here wytte
How they mygthyn governe hytte:
Fyftene artyculus they there sowgton,
And fyftene poyntys ther they wrogton."

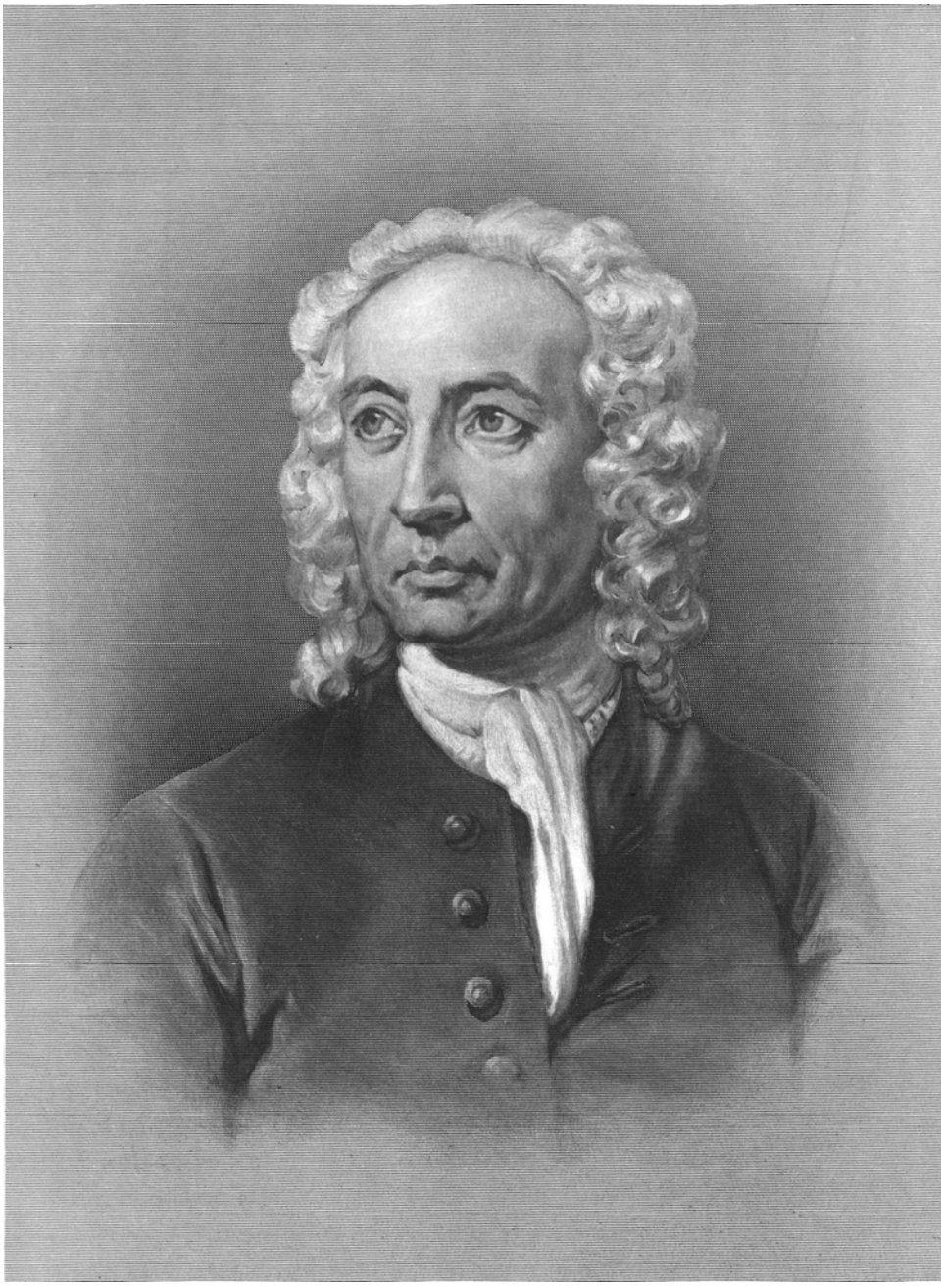
One hundred years afterward we find the Legend, in the Cooke MS., as follows:

"And after that was a worthy kynge in Englond that was callyd

[1] Halliwell MS., lines 61-87.

ANTHONY SAVER

First Grand Master of Speculative Freemasons, 1717



Athelstone, and his yongest sone lovyd well the sciens of Gemetry, and he wyst well that handcraft had the practyke of Gemetry so well as masons, wherefore he drew him to conseil and lernyd [the] practyke of that sciens to his speculatyfe.[1] For of speculatyfe he was a master, and he lovyd well masonry and masons. And he bicorne a mason hymselfe. And he gaf hem [gave them] charges and names[2] as it is now usyd in Englond and in other countries. And he ordeyned that they schulde have resonabull pay. And purchesed [obtained] a fre patent of the kyng that they schulde make a sembly when they saw resonably tyme a [to] cume togedir to her [their] counsell of the whiche charges, manors & semble as is write and taught in the boke of our charges wherefor I leve it at this tyme."[3]

In a subsequent part of the manuscript, which appears to have been taken from the aforesaid "boke of charges," with some additional details, are the following words:

"After that, many yens, in the tyme of Kyng Adhelstane, wiche was sum tyme kynge of Englonde, bi his counsell and other gret lordys of the lond by comyn [common] assent for grete defaut y-fennde [found] among masons thei ordeyend a certayne reule amongys hem [them]. On [one] tyme of the yere or in iii yere as nede were to the kyng and gret lordys of the londe and all the comente [community], fro provynce to provynce and fro countre to countre congregacions schulde be made by maisters, of all maisters masons and felaus in the forsayd art. And so at such congregacions, they that be made masters schold be examined of the articuls after written & be ransacked [examined] whether they be abull and kunnyng to the profyte of the lordys hem to serve [to serve them] and to the honour of the forsayd art."[4]

Sixty years afterward we find this Legend repeated in the Dowland MS., but with some important variations. This Legend has already been given in the *Legend of the Craft,* but for the convenience of immediate comparison with the preceding documents it will be well to repeat it here. It is in the following words:

"Right soone after the decease of Saint Albone there came divers

[1] Cooke calls particular attention to this word as of much significative import. I think it simply means that the king added a practical knowledge of Masonry or architecture to his former merely speculative or theoretical acquaintance with the art.

[2] This is evidently an error of the pen for *maners,* i.e., *usages.*

[3] Cooke MS., lines 611-642.

[4] Cooke MS., lines 693-719.

warrs into the realme of England of divers Nations, soe that the good rule of Masonrye was destroyed unto the tyme of Kinge Athelstones days that was a worthy Kinge of England, and brought this land into good rest and peace and builded many great works of Abbyes and Towres and other many divers buildings and loved well Masons. And he had a Sonn that height Edwinne, and he loved Masons much more than his father did. And he was a great practiser in Geometry, and he drew him much to talke and to commune with Masons and to learne of them science, and afterwards for love that he had to Masons and to the science he was made Mason,[1] and he gatt of the Kinge his father a Chartour and Commission to hold every yeare once an Assemble wher that ever they would within the realme of England, and to correct within themselves defaults and trespasses that were done within the science. And he held himselfe an Assemble at Yorke, and there he made Masons and gave them charges and taught them the manners, and commanded that rule to be kept ever after. And tooke them the Chartour and Commission to keepe and made ordinance that it should be renewed from kinge to kinge.

"And when the Assemble was gathered he made a cry that all old Masons and young, that had any writeings or understanding of the charges and the manners that were made before in this land, or in any other, that they should shew them forth. And when it was proved there was founden some in Frenche and some in Greek and some in English and some in other languages; and the intent of them all was founden all one. And he did make a booke thereof, and how the science was founded. And he himselfe bad and commanded that it should be readd or tould, when that any Mason should be made, for to give him his Charge. And fro that day into this tyme manners of Masons have beene kept in that forme as well as men might governe it. And furthermore divers Assembles have beene put and ordayned certain charges by the best advice of Masters and Fellowes."

It will be remarked that in neither of the two oldest manuscripts,

[1] The next MS. in date, the Landsdowne, names the place where he was made as Windsor. This statement is not found in any of the other manuscripts except the Antiquity MS. It may here be observed that nothing more clearly proves the great carelessness of the transcribers of these manuscripts than the fact that although they must have all been familiar with the name of Edwin, one of them spells it *Ladrian* and another *Hoderine.*

the Halliwell and the Cooke, is there any mention of Prince Edwin, or of the city of York. For the omission I shall hereafter attempt to account. As to that of the latter I agree with Bro. Woodford, that as the fact of the Assembly is stated in all the later traditions, and as a city is mentioned whose burgesses were present, we may fairly understand both of the oldest manuscripts also to refer to York.[1] At all events, their silence as to the place affords no sufficient evidence that it was not York, as opposed to the positive declaration of the later manuscripts that it was.

We see, then, that all the old Legends assert expressly, or by implication, that York was the city where the first General Masonic Assembly was held in England, and that it was summoned under the authority of King Athelstan.

The next point in which all the later manuscripts, except the Harleian,[2] agree is, that the Assembly was called by Prince Edwin, the King's son.

The Legend does not here most certainly agree with history, for there is no record that Athelstan had any son. He had, however, a brother of that name, who died two years before him.

Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred the Great, died in the year 925, leaving several legitimate sons and one natural one, Athelstan. The latter, who was the eldest of the sons of Edward, obtained the throne, notwithstanding the stain on his birth, in consequence of his age, which better fitted him to govern at a time when the kingdom was engaged in foreign and domestic wars.

All historians concur in attributing to Athelstan the character of a just and wise sovereign, and of a sagacious statesman. It has been said of him that he was the most able and active of the ancient princes of England. What his grandfather, the great Alfred, commenced in his efforts to consolidate the petty monarchies into which the land was divided, into one powerful kingdom, Athelstan, by his energy, his political wisdom, and his military prowess, was enabled to perfect, so that he has been justly called the first monarch of all England.

Although engaged during his whole reign in numerous wars, he

[1] "On the Connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England." By A. F. Woodford, A.M., in Hughan's "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 168.

[2] The Harleian MS. makes no mention of Prince Edwin, but attributes the organization of Masonry at York to King Athelstan himself.

did not neglect a cultivation of the employments of peace, and encouraged by a liberal patronage the arts and especially architecture.

The only stain upon his character is the charge that having suspected his brother Edwin of being engaged in a conspiracy against his throne, he caused that prince to be drowned. Notwithstanding the efforts of Preston to disprove this charge, the concurrent testimony of all the old chroniclers afford no room to doubt its truth. But if anything could atone for this cruel act of state policy, it would be the bitter anguish and remorse of conscience which led the perpetrator to endure a severe penance of seven years.

Of Edwin, the Saxon historians make no mention, except when they speak of his untimely death. If we may judge of his character from this silence, we must believe that he was not endued with any brilliant qualities of mind, nor distinguished by the performance of any important act.

Of all the half-brothers of Athelstan, the legitimate children of Edward the Elder, Edmund seems to have been his favorite. He kept him by his side on battle-fields, lived single for his sake, and when he died in 941, left to him the succession to the throne.

But there is another Edwin of prominent character in the annals of Saxon England, to whom attention has been directed in connection with this Legend, as having the best claim to be called the founder or reviver of English Masonry.

Of Edwin, King of Northumbria, it may be said, that in his narrow sphere, as the monarch of a kingdom of narrow dimensions, he was but little inferior in abilities or virtues to Athelstan.

At the time of his birth, in 590, Northumbria was divided into two kingdoms, that of Bernicia, north of the Humber, and that of the Deira, on the south of the same river. Of the former, Ethelfrith was King, and of the latter, Ella, the father of Edwin.

Ella died in 593, and was succeeded by Edwin, an infant of three years of age.

Soon after, Ethelfrith invaded the possessions of Edwin, and attached them by usurpation to his own domains.

Edwin was sent to Wales, whence when he grew older he was obliged to flee, and passed many years in exile, principally at the Court of Redwald, King of East Anglia. By the assistance of this monarch he was enabled to make war upon his old enemy, Ethelfrith, who, having been slain in battle, and his sons having fled into

Scotland, Edwin not only regained his own throne, but that of the usurper also, and in the year 617 became the King of Northumbria, of which the city of York was made the capital.

Edwin was originally a pagan, but his mind was of a contemplative turn, and this made him, says Turner, more intellectual than any of the Saxon Kings who had preceded him. He was thus led to a rational consideration of the doctrines of Christianity, which he finally accepted, and was publicly baptized at York, on Easter day, in the year 627. The ceremony was publicly performed in the Church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he had caused to be hastily constructed of wood, for the purposes of divine service, during the time that he was undergoing the religious instructions preliminary to his receiving the sacrament.

But as soon as he was baptized, he built, says Bede, under the direction of Paulinus, his religious instructor and bishop, in the same place, a much larger and nobler church of stone.

During the reign of Edwin, and of his successors in the same century, ecclesiastical architecture greatly flourished, and many large churches were built. Edwin was slain in battle in 633, having reigned for seventeen years.

The Venerable Bede gives us the best testimony we could desire as to the character of Edwin as ruler, when he tells us that in all of his dominions there was such perfect peace that a woman with a new-born babe might walk from sea to sea without receiving any harm. Another incident that he relates is significant of Edwin's care and consideration for the comforts of his people. Where there were springs of water near the highways, he caused posts to be fixed with drinking vessels attached to them for the convenience of travelers. By such acts, and others of a higher character, by his encouragement of the arts, and his strict administration of justice, he secured the love of his subjects.

So much of history was necessary that the reader might understand the argument in reference to the true meaning of *the York Legend,* now to be discussed.

In the versions of the Legend given by Anderson and Preston, the honor of organizing Masonry and calling a General Assembly is attributed to Edwin the brother, and not to Edwin the son of Athelstan. These versions are, however, of no value as historical documents, because they are merely enlarged copies of the original Legend.

But in the Roberts *Constitutions,* printed in 1722, and which was claimed to have been copied from a manuscript about five hundred years old, but without any proof (as the original has never been recovered), the name of Edwin is altogether omitted, and Athelstan himself is said to have been the reviver of the institution. The language of this manuscript, as published by J. Roberts, is as follows:[1]

"He [Athelstan] began to build many Abbies, Monasteries, and other religious houses, as also Castles and divers Fortresses for defence of his realm. He loved *Masons* more than his father; he greatly study'd *Geometry,* and sent into many lands for men expert in the science. He gave them a very large charter to hold a yearly assembly, and power to correct offenders in the said science; and the king himself caused a General Assembly of all *Masons* in his realm, at *York,* and there were made many *Masons,* and gave them a deep charge for observation of all such articles as belonged unto *Masonry* and delivered them the said Charter to keep."

In the omission of all reference to Prince Edwin, the Harleian and Roberts manuscripts agree with that of Halliwell.

There is a passage in the Harleian and Roberts MSS. that is worthy of notice. All the recent manuscripts which speak of Edwin as the procurer of the Charter, say that "he loved Masons much more than his father did"—meaning Athelstan. But the Harleian and Roberts MSS., speaking of King Athelstan, use the same language, but with a different reference, and say of King Athelstan, that "he loved Masons more than his father"—meaning King Edward, whose son Athelstan was.

Now, of the two statements, that of the Harleian and Roberts MSS. is much more conformable to history than the other. Athelstan was a lover of Masons, for he was a great patron of architecture, and many public buildings were erected during his reign. But it is not recorded in history that Prince Edwin exhibited any such attachment to Masonry or Architecture as is attributed to him in the old records, certainly not an attachment equal to that of Athelstan. On the contrary, Edward, the son of Alfred and the father of Athelstan, was not distinguished during his reign for any marked patronage of

[1] The book was republished by Spencer in 1870. The Roberts "Constitutions" and the Harleian MS. No. 1942, are evidently copies from the same original, if not one from the other. The story of Athelstan is, of course, identical in both, and the citation might as well have been made from either.

the arts, and especially of architecture; and it is, therefore, certain that his son Athelstan exhibited a greater love to Masons or Architects than he did.

Hence there arises a suspicion that the Legend was originally framed in the form presented to us by the Halliwell poem, and copied apparently by the writers of the Harleian and Roberts MSS., and that the insertion of the name of Prince Edwin was an afterthought of the copiers of the more recent manuscripts, and that this insertion of Edwin's name, and the error of making him a son of Athelstan, arose from a confusion of the mythical Edwin with a different personage, the earlier Edwin, who was King of Northumbria.

It may also be added that the son of Athelstan is not called Edwin in all of the recent manuscripts. In one Sloane MS. he is called *Ladrian,* in another *Hegme,* and in the Lodge of Hope MS. *Hoderine.* This fact might indicate that there was some confusion and disagreement in putting the name of Prince Edwin into the Legend. But I will not press this point, because I am rather inclined to attribute these discrepancies to the proverbial carelessness of the transcribers of these manuscripts.

How, then, are we to account for this introduction of an apparently mythical personage into the narrative, by which the plausibility of the Legend is seriously affected?

Anderson, and after him Preston, attempts to get out of the difficulty by calling Edwin the brother, and not the son, of Athelstan. It is true that Athelstan did have a younger brother named Edwin, whom some historians have charged him with putting to death. And in so far the Legend might not be considered as incompatible with history. But as all the manuscripts which have to this day been recovered which speak of Edwin call him the king's son and not his brother, notwithstanding the contrary statement of Anderson,[1] I prefer another explanation, although it involves the charge of anachronism.

The annals of English history record a royal Edwin, whose de-

[1] Anderson says in the second edition of the "Book of Constitutions" that in all the Old Constitutions it is written Prince Edwin, the king's brother—a statement that is at once refuted by a reference to all the manuscripts from the Dowland to the Papworth, where the word is always *son.* So much for the authority of the old writers on Masonic history.

votion to the arts and sciences, whose wise statesmanship, and whose patronage of architecture, must have entitled him to the respect and the affection of the early English Masons. Edwin, King of Northumbria, one of the seven kingdoms into which England was divided during the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, died in 633, after a reign of sixteen years, which was distinguished for the reforms which he accomplished, for the wise laws which he enacted and enforced, for the introduction of Christianity into his kingdom, and for the improvement which he effected in the moral, social, and intellectual condition of his subjects. When he ascended the throne the north ern metropolis of the Anglican Church had been placed at York, where it still remains. The king patronized Paulinus, the bishop, and presented him with a residence and with other possessions in that city. Much of this has already been said, but it will bear repetition.

To this Edwin, and not to the brother of Athelstan, modern Masonic archaeologists have supposed that the *Legend of the Craft* refers.

Yet this opinion is not altogether a new one. More than a century and a half ago it seems to have prevailed as a tradition among the Masons of the northern part of England. For in 1726, in an address delivered before the Grand Lodge of York by its Junior Grand Warden, Francis Drake, he speaks of it as being well known and recognized, in the following words:

"You know we can boast that the first Grand Lodge ever held in England was held in this city [York]; where Edwin, the first Christian King of the Northumbers, about the six hundredth year after Christ, and who laid the foundation of our Cathedral,[1] sat as Grand Master."

Bro. A. F. A. Woodford, a profound Masonic archaeologist, accepts this explanation, and finds a confirmation in the facts that the town of Derventio, now Auldby, six miles from York, the supposed seat of the pseudo-Edwin, was also the chief seat and residence of Edwin, King of Northumbria, and that the buildings, said in one of the manuscripts to have been erected by the false Edwin, were really erected, as is known from history, by the Northumbrian Edwin.

I think that with these proofs, the inquirer will have little or no

[1] Bede (L. 2., c. 13) and Rapin (p. 246) both confirm this statement that the foundations of the York Cathedral, or Minster, were laid in the reign of Edwin.

hesitation in accepting this version of the Legend, and will recognize the fact that the writers of the later manuscripts fell into an error in substituting Edwin, the son (as they called him, but really the brother) of Athelstan, for Edwin, the King of Northumbria.

It is true that the difference of dates presents a difficulty, there being about three hundred years between the reigns of Edwin of Northumbria, and Athelstan of England. But that difficulty, I think, may be overcome by the following theory which I advance on the subject:

The earlier series of manuscripts, of which the Halliwell poem is an exemplar, and, perhaps, also the Harleian and the Roberts MSS.,[1] make no mention of Edwin, but assign the revival of Masonry in the 10th century to King Athelstan.

The more recent manuscripts, of which the Dowland is the earliest, introduce Prince Edwin into the Legend and ascribe to him the honor of having obtained from Athelstan a charter, and of having held an Assembly at York.

There are, then, two forms of the Legend, which, for the sake of distinction, may be designated as the older and the later. The older Legend makes Athelstan the reviver of Masonry in England, and says nothing at all of Edwin. The later takes this honor from Athelstan and gives it to Prince Edwin, who is called his son.

The part about Edwin is, then, an addition to the older legend, and was interpolated into it by the later legendists, as will be evidently seen if the following extract from the Dowland MS. be read, and all the words there printed in italics be omitted. So read, the passage will conform very substantially with the corresponding one in the Roberts MS., which was undoubtedly a copy from some older manuscript which contained the legend in its primitive form, wherein there is no mention of Prince Edwin. Here is the extract to be amended by the omission of words in italics:

"The good rule of Masonry was destroyed unto the tyme of Kinge Athelstone dayes that was a worthy Kinge of England, and brought this land into good rest and peace; and builded many great works of Abbyes and Towres, and other many divers buildings and loved well Masons. *And he had a sonn that height Edwinne,* and

[1] The fact that the Legend in the Roberts "Constitutions" agrees in this respect with the older legend, and differs from that in all the recent manuscripts, gives some color to the claim that it was copied from a manuscript five hundred years old.

he loved Masons much more than his father did. And he was a great practiser in Geometry; and he drew him much to talke and to commune with Masons, and to learne of them science; and afterward for love that he had to Masons and to the science he was made a Mason and he gatt[1] [*i.e.,* he gave] *of the Kinge his father* a Charter and commission to hold every year once an Assemble, wher that ever they would, within the realme of England; and to correct within themselves defaults and trespasses that were done within the science. And he held himselfe an Assemble at Yorke, and there he made Masons, and gave them charges, and taught them the manners, and commanded that rule to be kept ever after, and tooke then the Chartōur and Commission to keepe, and made ordinance that it should be renewed from Kinge to Kinge."

The elimination of only thirteen words relieves us at once of all difficulty, and brings the Legend into precise accord with the tradition of the older manuscripts.

Thus eliminated it asserts:

1. That King Athelstan was a great patron of the arts of civilization — "he brought the land into rest and peace." This statement is sustained by the facts of history.

2. He paid especial attention to architecture and the art of building, and adorned his country with abbeys, towns (*towers* is a clerical error), and many other edifices. History confirms this also.

3. He was more interested in, and gave a greater patronage to, architecture than his father and predecessor, Edward—another historical fact.

4. He gave to the Masons or Architects a charter as a guild, and called an assembly of the Craft at York. This last statement is altogether traditional. Historians are silent on the subject, just as they are on the organization of a Grand Lodge in 1717. The mere silence of historians as to the formation of a guild of craftsmen or a private society is no proof that such guild or society was not formed. The truth of the statement that King Athelstan caused an assembly of Masons to be held in the year 926 at the city of York, depends

[1] This word is used in the sense of *given* or *granted,* in an undoubted historical document, Athelstan's charter to the town of Beverly.

"Yat I, the Kynge Adelston,
Has *gaten* and given to St. John
Of Beverlae, etc."

solely on a tradition, which has, however, until recently, been accepted by the whole Masonic world as an undoubted truth.

But that the city of York was the place where an assembly was convened by Athelstan in the year 926 is rendered very improbable when we refer to the concurrent events of history at that period of time.

In 925 Athelstan ascended the throne. At that time Sigtryg was the reigning King of Northumbria, which formed no part of the dominions of Athelstan. To Sigtryg, who had but very recently been converted from Paganism to Christianity, Athelstan gave his sister in marriage. But the Northumbrian king having apostatized, his brother-in-law resolved to dethrone him, and prepared to invade his kingdom. Sigtryg having died in the meantime, his sons fled, one into Ireland and the other into Scotland, and Athelstan annexed Northumbria to his own dominions.

This occurred in the year 926, and it is not likely that while pursuing the sons of Sigtryg, one of whom had escaped from his captors and taken refuge in the city of York, whose citizens he vainly sought to enlist in his favor, Athelstan would have selected that period of conflict, and a city within his newly-acquired territory, instead of his own capital, for the time and place of holding an assembly of Masons.

It is highly improbable that he did, but yet it is not absolutely impossible. The tradition may be correct as to York, but, if so, then the time should be advanced, by a few years, to that happy period when Athelstan had restored the land "into good rest and peace."

But the important question is, whether this tradition is mythical or historical, whether it is a fiction or a truth. Conjectural criticism applied to the theory of probabilities alone can aid us in solving this problem.

I say, therefore, that there is nothing in the personal character of Athelstan, nothing in the recorded history of his reign, nothing in the well-known manner in which he exercised his royal authority and governed his realm, that forbids the probability that the actions attributed to him in the *Legend of the Craft* actually took place.

Taking his grandfather, the great Alfred, as his pattern, he was liberal in all his ideas, patronized learning, erected many churches, monasteries, and other edifices of importance throughout his dominions, encouraged the translation of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon,

and, what is of great value to the present question, gave charters to many guilds or operative companies as well as to several municipalities.

Especially is it known from historical records that in the reign of Athelstan the *frith-gildan,* free guilds or sodalities, were incorporated by law. From these subsequently arose the craft-guilds or associations for the establishment of fraternal relations and mutual aid, into which, at the present day, the trade companies of England are divided.

There would be nothing improbable in any narrative which should assert that he extended his protection to the operative Masons, of whose art we know that he availed himself in the construction of the numerous public and religious edifices which he was engaged in erecting. It is even more than plausible to suppose that the Masons were among the sodalities to whom he granted charters or acts of incorporation.

Like the Rev. Bro. Woodford, whose opinion as a Masonic archaeologist is of great value, I am disposed to accept a tradition venerable for its antiquity and for so long a period believed in by the craft as an historical record in so far as relates to the obtaining of a charter from Athelstan and the holding of an assembly. "I see no reason, therefore," he says, "to reject so old a tradition that under Athelstan the operative Masons obtained his patronage and met in General Assembly."[1]

Admitting the fact of Athelstan's patronage and of the Assembly at some place, we next encounter the difficulty of explaining the interpolation of what may be called the episode of Prince Edwin.

I have already shown that there can be no doubt that the framers of the later legend had confounded the brother, whom they, by a mistake, had called the son of Athelstan, with a preceding king of the same name, that is, with Edwin, King of Northumbria, who, in the 7th century, did what the pseudo-Edwin is supposed to have done in the 10th. That is to say, he patronized the Masons of his time, introduced the art of building into his kingdom, and probably held an Assembly at York, which was his capital city.

Now, I suppose that the earlier Masons of the south of England, who framed the first *Legend of the Craft,* such as is presented to

[1] "The Connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England," inserted in Hughan's "Unpublished Records of the Craft," p. 168.

us in the old poem, first published by Mr. Halliwell in 1840, and also in the Harleian manuscript and in the one printed by Roberts in 1722, were unacquainted with the legend of Edwin of Northumbria, although, if we may believe Bro. Drake, it was a well-known tradition in the north of England. The earlier legends of the south, therefore, gave the honor of patronizing the Masons and holding an Assembly at York in 926 to Athelstan alone. This was, therefore, the primitive *Legend of the Craft* among the Masons of London and the southern part of the kingdom.

But in time these southern Masons became, in consequence of increased intercourse, cognizant of the tradition that King Edwin of Northumbria had also patronized the Masons of his kingdom, but at an earlier period. The two traditions were, of course, at first kept distinct. There was, perhaps, a reluctance among the Masons of the south to diminish the claims of Athelstan as the first reviver, after St. Alban, of Masonry in England, and to give the precedence to a monarch who lived three hundred years before in the northern part of the island.

This reluctance, added to the confusion to which all oral tradition is obnoxious, coupled with the fact that there was an Edwin, who was a near relation of Athelstan, resulted in the substitution of this later Edwin for the true one.

It took years to do this—the reluctance continuing, the confusion of the traditions increasing, until at last the southern Masons, altogether losing sight of the Northumbrian tradition as distinct from that of Athelstan, combined the two traditions into one, and, with the carelessness or ignorance of chronology so common in that age, and especially among uncultured craftsmen, substituted Edwin, the brother of Athelstan,[1] for Edwin, the King of Northumbria, and thus formed a new *Legend of the Craft* such as it was perpetuated by Anderson, and after him by Preston, and which has lasted to the present day.

Therefore, eliminating from the narrative the story of Edwin, as it is told in the recent Legend, and accepting it as referring to Edwin of Northumbria, and as told in the tradition peculiar to the Masons of the northern part of England, we reach the conclusion that there were originally two traditions, one extant in the northern

[1] To the same carelessness or ignorance are we to attribute the legendary error of making Edwin the son of Athelstan.

part of England and the other in the southern part. The former Legend ascribed the revival of Masonry in England to Edwin, King of Northumbria in the 7th century, and the latter to Athelstan, King of England in the 10th. There being little communication in those days between the two parts of the kingdom, the traditions remained distinct. But at some subsequent period, not earlier than the middle of the 16th century, or the era of the Reformation,[1] the southern Masons became acquainted with the true Legend of the York Masons, and incorporated it into their own Legend, confounding, however, the two Edwins, either from ignorance, or more probably, from a reluctance to surrender the pre-eminence they had hitherto given to Athelstan as the first reviver of Masonry in England.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion, that if there was an Assembly at York it was convened by Edwin, King of Northumbria, who revived Masonry in the northern part of England in the 7th century; and that its decayed prosperity was restored by Athelstan in the 10th century, not by the holding of an Assembly at the city of York, but by his general patronage of the arts, and especially architecture, and by the charters of incorporation which he freely granted to various guilds or sodalities of workmen.

With these explanations, we are now prepared to review and to summarize the *Legend of the Craft,* not in the light of a series of absurd fictions, as too many have been inclined to consider it, but as an historical narrative, related in quaint language, not always grammatical, and containing several errors of chronology, misspelling of names, and confusion of persons, such as were common and might be expected in manuscripts written in that uncultured age, and by the uneducated craftsmen to whom we owe these old manuscripts.

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[1] I assign this era because the Halliwell poem, which is the exemplar of the older Legend, is evidently Roman Catholic in character, while the Dowland, and all subsequent manuscripts which contain the later Legend, are Protestant, all allusions to the Virgin, the saints, and crowned martyrs being omitted.

CHAPTER XIX

SUMMARY OF THE LEGEND OF THE CRAFT

THE *Legend of the Craft,* as it is presented to us in what I have called the later manuscripts, that is to say, the Dowland and those that follow it up to the Papworth, begins with a descant on the seven liberal arts and sciences.[1] I have already shown that among the schoolmen contemporary with the legendists these seven arts and sciences were considered, in the curriculum of education, not so much as the foundation, but as the finished edifice of all human learning. The *Legend* naturally partook of the spirit of the age in which it was invented. But especially did the Masons refer to these sciences, and make a description of them, the preface, as it were, to the story that they were about to relate, because the principal of these sciences was geometry, and this they held to be synonymous with Masonry.

Now, the intimate connection between geometry and architecture, as practiced by the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages, is well known, since the secrets, of which these Freemasons were supposed to be in possession, consisted almost solely in an application of the principles of the science of geometry to the art of building.

The Legend next proceeds to narrate certain circumstances connected with the children of Lamech. These details are said in the Legend to have been derived from the Book of Genesis but were probably taken at second-hand from the *Polychronicon,* or universal history of the monk Higden, of Chester. This part of the Legend, which is not otherwise connected with the Masonic narrative, appears to have been introduced for the sake of an allusion to the pillars on which the sons of Lamech are said to have inscribed an account of the sciences which they had discovered, so that the

[1] The Halliwell poem, although it differs from the later manuscripts in so many particulars, agrees with them in giving a descant on the arts and sciences.

knowledge of them might not be lost in consequence of the destruction of the world which they apprehended.

The story of the inscribed pillars was a tradition of every people, narrated, with variations, by every historian and implicitly believed by the multitude. The legendists of Masonry got the account from Josephus, perhaps through Higden, but altered it to suit the spirit of their own narrative.

We are next told that Hermes discovered one of these pillars and was, from the information that it contained, enabled to restore the knowledge of the sciences, and especially of Masonry, to the post-diluvian world. This was a tribute of the legendists to the universally accepted opinion of the ancients, who venerated the "thrice great Hermes" as the mythical founder of all science and philosophy. We are next told that Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," availed himself of the wisdom that had been recovered by Hermes. He was distinguished for his architectural works and first gave importance to the art of Masonry at the building of the Tower of Babel. The Legend attributes to Nimrod the creation of the Masons into an organized body and he was the first who gave them a constitution or laws for their government. Masonry, according to the legendary account, was founded in Babylon, whence it passed over to the rest of the world.

In all this we find simply a recognition of the historical opinion that Chaldea was the birthplace of knowledge and that the Chaldean sages were the primitive teachers of Asia and Europe. The modern discoveries of the cuneiform inscriptions show that the Masonic legendists had, at a venture, obtained a more correct idea of the true character of Nimrod than that which had been hitherto entertained, founded on the brief allusion to him in Genesis and the disparaging account of him in the *Antiquities* of Josephus.

The monastic legends had made Abraham a contemporary of Nimrod, and the Book of Genesis had described the visit of the patriarch and his wife to the land of Egypt. Combining these two statements, the idea was suggested to the legendists that Abraham had carried into Egypt the knowledge which he had acquired from the Chaldeans and taught it to the inhabitants.

Thus it is stated that Egypt was, after Babylonia, the place where the arts and sciences were first cultivated and thence disseminated to other countries. Among these arts and sciences,

geometry, which we have seen was always connected in the Masonic mind with architecture, held a prominent place. He who taught it to the Egyptians was typically represented by the name of Euclid, because the old Masons were familiar with the fact that he was then esteemed, as he still is, as the greatest of geometricians and almost the inventor of the science.

Accepting the allusion to Euclid, not as an historical anachronism, but rather as the expression of a symbolic idea, we can scarcely class the legendary statement of the condition of learning in Egypt as a pure and unadulterated fiction. It is an undoubted fact that Egypt was the primeval land whence science and learning flowed into Southern Europe and Western Asia. Neither can it be disputed that civilization had there ripened into maturity long before Greece or Rome were known. It is moreover conceded that the ancient Mysteries whence Masonry has derived, not its organization, but a portion of its science of symbolism, received its birth in the land of the Nile, and that the Mysteries of Osiris and Isis were the prototypes of all the mystical initiations which were celebrated in Asia and in Southern Europe. They have even been claimed, though I think incorrectly, as the origin of those in Gaul, in Britain, and in Scandinavia. By a rapid transition, the Legend passes from the establishment of Masonry or architecture (for it must be remembered that in legendary acceptation the two words are synonymous) to its appearance in Judea, the "Land of Behest," where, under the patronage and direction of King Solomon the Temple of Jerusalem was constructed. All that is said in this portion of the Legend purports to be taken from the scriptural account of the same transaction and must have the same historical value.

As to the error committed in the name and designation of him who is now familiarly known to Freemasons as Hiram Abif, a sufficient explanation has been given in a preceding chapter.

We next have an account of the travels of these Masons or architects who built the Temple into various countries, to acquire additional knowledge and experience, and to disseminate the principles of their art. The carelessness of chronology, to which I have already adverted, so peculiar to the general illiteracy of the age, has led the legendists to connect this diffusion of architecture among the various civilized countries of the world with the Tyrian and Jewish Masons; but the wanderings of that body of builders known as

the "Traveling Freemasons" of the Middle Ages, through all the kingdoms of Europe, and their labors in the construction of cathedrals, monasteries, and other public edifices are matters of historical record. Thus the historical idea is well preserved in the Legend of a body of artists who wandered over Europe, and were employed in the construction of cathedrals, monasteries, and other public edifices.

The Legend next recounts the introduction of architecture into France, and the influence exerted upon it by Grecian architects, who brought with them into that kingdom the principles of Byzantine art. These are facts which are sustained by history. The prominence given to France above Spain or Italy or Germany is, I think, merely another proof that the Legend was of French origin or was constructed under French influence.

The account of the condition of Masonry or architecture among the Britains in the time of St. Alban, or the 4th century, is simply a legendary version of the history of the introduction of the art of building into England during the Roman domination by the "Collegia Artificum" or Roman Colleges of Artificers, who accompanied the victorious legions when they vanquished Hesperia, Gaul, and Britain, and colonized as they vanquished them.

The decay of architecture in Britain after the Roman armies had abandoned that country to protect the Empire from the incursions of the northern hordes of barbarians, in consequence of which Britain was left in an unprotected state, and was speedily involved in wars with the Picts, the Danes, and other enemies, is next narrated in the Legend, and is its version of an historical fact.

It is also historically true that in the 7th century peace was restored to the northern parts of the island, and that Edwin, King of Northumbria, of which the city of York was the capital, revived the arts of civilization, gave his patronage to architecture, and caused many public buildings, among others the Cathedral of York, to be built. All of this is told in the Legend, although, by an error for which I have already accounted, Edwin, the Northumbrian king, was in the later Legend confounded with the brother of Athelstan.

The second decay of architecture in England, in consequence of the invasions of the Danes, and the intestine as well as foreign wars which desolated the kingdom until the reign of Athelstan, in the early part of the 10th century, when entire peace was restored, is

briefly alluded to in the Legend, therein conforming to the history of that troublous period.

As a consequence of the restoration of peace, the Legend records the revival of Masonry or architecture in the 10th century, under the reign of Athelstan, who called the Craft together and gave them a charter. I have already discussed this point and shown that the narrative of the Legend presents nothing improbable or incredible but that it is easily to be reconciled with the facts of contemporary history. We have only to reconcile the two forms of the Legend by asserting that Edwin of Northumbria revived Masonry in an Assembly convened by him at York, and that Athelstan restored its decayed prosperity by his general patronage, and by charters which he gave to the Guilds or corporations of handicraftsmen.

Passing in this summary method over the principal occurrences related in this *Legend of the Craft,* we relieve it from the charge of gross puerility, which has been urged against it, even by some Masonic writers who have viewed it in a spirit of immature criticism. We find that its statements are not the offspring of a fertile imagination or the crude inventions of sheer ignorance, but that, on the contrary, they really have a support in what was at the time accepted as authentic history, and whose authenticity can not, even now, be disproved or denied.

Dissected as it has here been by the canons of philosophical criticism, the *Legend of the Craft* is no longer to be deemed a fable or myth, but an historical narrative related in the quaint language and in the quainter spirit of the age in which it was written.

But after the revival of Freemasonry in the beginning of the 18th century, this Legend, for the most part misunderstood, served as a fundamental basis on which were erected, first by Anderson and then by other writers who followed him, expanded narratives of the rise and progress of Masonry, in which the symbolic ideas or the mythical suggestions of the ancient "Legend" were often developed and enlarged into statements for the most part entirely fabulous.

In this way, these writers, who were educated and even learned men, have introduced not so much any new legends, but rather theories founded on a legend, by which they have traced the origin and the progress of the institution in narratives without historic authenticity and sometimes contradictory to historic truth.

The mode in which these theories have been attempted to be supported by the citation of assumed facts have caused them to take, to some extent, the form of legends. But to distinguish them from the pure Legends which existed before the 18th century, I have preferred to call them theories.

Their chief tendency has been, by the use of unauthenticated statements, to confuse the true history of the Order. And yet they have secured so prominent a place in its literature and have exerted so much influence on modern Masonic ideas, that they must be reviewed and analyzed at length, in order that the reader may have a complete understanding of the legendary history of the institution. For of that legendary history, these theories, founded as they are on assumed traditions, constitute a part.

As having priority in date, the theory of Dr. Anderson will be the first to claim our attention.

CHAPTER XX

THE ANDERSONIAN THEORY

HE Legend or theory of Dr. Anderson is detailed first in the edition of the *Book of Constitutions* which was edited by him and published in the year 1723, and was then more extensively developed in the subsequent edition of the same work published in 1738.

Anderson was acquainted with the more recent *Legend of the Craft,* and very fully cites it from a manuscript or *Record of Freemasons, written in the reign of Edward IV.,* that is, toward the end of the 15th century. If Anderson's quotations from this manuscript are correct, it must be one of those that has been lost and not yet recovered. For among some other events not mentioned in the manuscripts that are now extant, he states that the charges and laws of the Freemasons had been seen and perused by Henry VI. and his council, and had been approved by them.

He does not appear to have met with any of the earlier manuscripts, such as those of Halliwell and Roberts, which contain the Legend in its older form, for he makes no use of the Legend of Euclid, passing over the services of that geometrician lightly, as the later manuscripts do,[1] and not ascribing to him the origin of the Order in Egypt, which theory is the peculiar characteristic of the older Legend.

But out of the later Legend and from whatever manuscripts containing it to which he had access, Anderson has formed a Legend of his own. In this he has added many things of his own creation and given a more detailed narrative, if not a more correct one, than that contained in the *Legend of the Craft.*

Anderson's Legend, or theory, of the rise and progress of Ma-

[1] In the slight mention that he makes of Euclid, Anderson has observed the true chronology and placed him in the era of Ptolemy Lagus, 300 years B.C.

sonry, as it is contained in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* was for a long time accepted by the Craft as a true history of the Order, and it has exercised a very remarkable influence in the framing of other theories on this subject which from time to time have been produced by subsequent writers.

To the student, therefore, who is engaged in the investigation of the legendary history of Masonry, this Andersonian Legend is of great importance. While the *Legend of the Craft* in its pure form was very little known to the great body of Masonic writers and students until the manuscripts containing this Legend in its various forms were made common to the Masonic public by the labors of Halliwell, Cooke, and, above all, by Hughan and his earnest collaborators in Masonic archaeology, the Legend of Anderson was accessible and familiar to all, and for a century and a half was deemed an authentic history, and even at the present day is accepted by some over-credulous and not well-informed Masons as a real narrative of the rise and progress of Masonry.

Anderson, in his history of the origin of Masonry, mindful of the French proverb, to "*commencer par la commencement*," *begins by* attributing to Adam a knowledge of Geometry as the foundation of Masonry and Architecture, words which throughout his Legend he uses as synonymous terms.

These arts he taught to his sons, and Cain especially practiced them by building a city. Seth also was equally acquainted with them and taught them to his offspring. Hence the antediluvian world was well acquainted with Masonry,[1] and erected many curious works until the time of Noah, who built the Ark by the principles of Geometry and the rules of Masonry.

Noah and his three sons, who were all Masons, brought with them to the new world the traditions and arts of the antediluvians. Noah is therefore deemed the founder of Masonry in the post-diluvian world, and hence Anderson called a Mason a "true Noachida" or Noachite, a term used to the present day.

The descendants of Noah exercised their skill in Masonry in the attempted erection of the Tower of Babel, but were confounded in their speech and dispersed into various countries, whereby the

[1] Oliver has readily accepted this theory of an antediluvian Masonry and written several very learned and indeed interesting works on the subject.

knowledge of Masonry was lost.[1] It was, however, preserved in Shinar and Assyria, where Nimrod built many cities.

In those parts afterward flourished many priests and mathematicians under the name of Chaldees and Magi, who preserved the science of Geometry or Masonry, and thence the science and the art[2] were transmitted to later ages and distant climes. Mitzraim, the second son of Ham, carried Masonry into Egypt, where the overflowing of the banks of the Nile caused an improvement in Geometry, and consequently brought Masonry much into request.

Masonry was introduced into the Land of Canaan by the descendants of the youngest son of Ham, and into Europe, as he supposes, by the posterity of Japhet, although we know nothing of their works.

The posterity of Shem also cultivated the art of Masonry, and Abraham, the head of one branch of that family, having thus obtained his knowledge of Geometry and the kindred sciences, communicated that knowledge to the Egyptians and transmitted it to his descendants, the Israelites. When, therefore, they made their exodus from Egypt the Israelites were "a whole kingdom of Masons," and while in the wilderness were often assembled by their Grand Master Moses into "a regular and general Lodge."

On taking possession of Canaan, the Israelites found the old inhabitants were versed in Masonry, which, however, their conquerors greatly improved, for the splendor of the finest structures in Tyre and Sidon was greatly surpassed by the magnificence of the Temple erected by King Solomon in Jerusalem. In the construction of this edifice, Solomon was assisted by the Masons and carpenters of Hiram, King of Tyre, and especially by the King of Tyre's namesake Hiram or Huram, to whom, in a note, Anderson gives the name of Hiram Abif, which name he has ever since retained among the Craft.[3]

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[1] This part of the Legend has been preserved in the American rituals, wherein the candidate is said to come "from the lofty Tower of Babel, where language was confounded and Masonry lost," and to be proceeding "to the threshing-floor of Orneu the Jebusite (the Temple of Solomon) where language was restored and Masonry found."

[2] By the science is meant geometry, and by the art architecture—a distinction preserved in the Middle Ages; and the combination of them into "Geometrical Masonry," constitute the Mystery of the Freemasons of that period.

[3] In the first edition of this Legend, Anderson makes no allusion to the death of Hiram Abif during the building of the Temple. He mentions it, however, in the second edition of the "Constitutions" published fifteen years afterward. But this does not absolutely prove

Anderson gives in this Legend the first detailed account of the Temple of Solomon that is to be found in any Masonic work. It is, however, only an appropriation of that contained in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, with some statements for which he was probably indebted to his own invention. It has exerted a considerable influence upon other Legends subsequently framed, and especially upon all the rituals, and indeed upon all the modern ideas of speculative Masons.[1]

After the construction of the Temple, the Masons who had been engaged in it dispersed into Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Chaldea, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Arabia, Africa, Lesser Asia, Greece, and other parts of Europe, where they taught the art to many eminent persons, and kings, princes, and potentates became Grand Masters, each in his own territory.

The Legend then passes on to Nebuchadnezzar, whom it calls a Grand Master, and asserts that he received much improvement in Masonry from the Jewish captives whom he brought to Babylon after he had destroyed that city and its Temple.

Afterward Cyrus constituted Zerubbabel the leader of the Jews, who, being released from their captivity, returned to Jerusalem and built the second Temple.

From Palestine, and after the erection of the Temple, Masonry was carried into Greece, and arrived at its height during the Jewish captivity, and in the time of Thales Milesius, the philosopher, and his pupil, Pythagoras, who was the author of the 47th Proposition of Euclid, which "is the foundation of all Masonry," Pythagoras traveled into Egypt and Babylon, and acquired much knowledge from the priests and the Magi, which he dispensed in Greece and Italy on his return.[2]

The Legend now speaks, parenthetically as it were, of the prog-

that he was at the time unacquainted with the tradition, but he may have thought it too esoteric for public record, for he says, in the very place where he should have referred to it, that he has left "what must not and cannot be communicated in writing."

[1] The peculiar details of the doctrine of Anderson have not been always respected. For instance, it is a very prevalent opinion among the Craft at this day, that there was a Master Mason's Lodge at the Temple, over which Solomon presided as Master and the two Hirams as Wardens, a theory which is not supported by Anderson, who says that King Solomon was Grand Master of the Lodge at Jerusalem, King Hiram Grand Master of that at Tyre, and Hiram Abif Master of Work. Const., 1st ed., p. 14.

[2] It was probably this part of the Andersonian Legend which gave rise to a similar statement made in the spurious production known as the Leland MS.

ress of Masonry in Asia Minor, and of the labors of Euclid in Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, in the methodical digestion of Geometry into a science.

It next dwells upon the great improvement of Masonry in Greece, whose Masons arrived at the same degree of skill and magnificence as their teachers the Asiatics and Egyptians.

From Sicily, from Greece, from Egypt and Asia, Masonry was introduced into Rome, which soon became the center of learning, and disseminated the knowledge of Masonry among the nations which it conquered.

The Emperor Augustus became the Grand Master of the Lodge at Rome, and established the Augustan style of architecture. During the prosperous condition of the Roman Empire, Masonry was carefully propagated to the remotest regions of the world, and a Lodge erected in almost every Roman garrison.

But upon the declension of the empire, when the Roman garrisons were drawn away from Britain, the Angles and lower Saxons, who had been invited by the ancient Britons to come over and help them against the Scots and Picts, at length subdued the southern part of England, where Masonry had been introduced by the Romans, and the art then fell into decay.

When the Anglo-Saxons recovered their freedom in the 8th century Masonry was revived, and at the desire of the Saxon kings, Charles Martel, King of France, sent over several expert craftsmen, so that Gothic architecture was again encouraged during the Heptarchy.

The many invasions of the Danes caused the destruction of numerous records, but did not, to any great extent, interrupt the work, although the methods introduced by the Roman builders were lost.

But when war ceased and peace was proclaimed by the Norman conquest, Gothic Masonry was restored and encouraged by William the Conqueror and his son William Rufus, who built Westminster Hall. And notwithstanding the wars that subsequently occurred, and the contentions of the Barons, Masonry never ceased to maintain its position in England. In the year 1362, Edward III. had an officer called the King's Freemason, or General Surveyor of his buildings, whose name was Henry Yvele, and who erected many public buildings.

Anderson now repeats the *Legend of the Craft,* with the story

of Athelstan and his son Edwin, taking it, with an evident modification of the language, from a record of Freemasons, which he says was written in the reign of Edward IV. This record adds, as he says, that the charges and laws therein contained had been seen and approved by Henry VI. and the lords of his council, who must therefore, to enable them to make such a review, have been incorporated with the Freemasons. In consequence of this, the act passed by Parliament when the King was in his infancy, forbidding the yearly congregations of Masons in their General Assemblies, was never enforced after the King had arrived at manhood, and had perused the regulations contained in that old record.

The Kings of Scotland also encouraged Masonry from the earliest times down to the union of the crowns, and granted to the Scottish Masons the prerogative of having a fixed Grand Master and Grand Warden.[1]

Queen Elizabeth discouraged Masonry, and neglected it during her whole reign. She sent a commission to York to break up the Annual Assembly, but the members of the commission, having been admitted into the Lodge, made so favorable a report to the Queen, of the Fraternity, that she no longer opposed the Masons, but tolerated them, although she gave them no encouragement.

Her successor, James I., was, however, a patron of Masonry, and greatly revived the art and restored the Roman architecture, employing Inigo Jones as his architect, under whom was Nicholas Stone as his Master Mason.

Charles I. was also a Mason, and patronized the art whose successful progress was unhappily diverted by the civil wars and the death of the king.

But after the restoration of the royal family, Masonry was again revived by Charles II., who was a great encourager of the craftsmen, and hence is supposed to have been a Freemason.

In the reign of James II., Masonry not being duly cultivated, the London Lodges "much dwindled into ignorance."

But on the accession of William, that monarch "who by most is reckoned as a Freemason," greatly revived the art, and showed himself a patron of Masonry.

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[1] From this it appears that Anderson was acquainted with the claim of the St. Clairs of Roslin to the hereditary Grand Mastership of Scotland, a point that has recently been disputed.

His good example was followed by Queen Anne, who ordered fifty new churches to be erected in London and its suburbs, and also by George I., her successor.

With an allusion to the opinion that the religious and military Orders of knighthood in the Middle Ages had borrowed many of their solemn usages from the Freemasons,[1] the Legend here ends.

Upon a perusal of this Legend, it will be found that it is in fact, except in the latter portions, which are semi-historical, only a running commentary on the later *Legend of the Craft,* embracing all that is said therein and adding other statements, partly derived from history and partly, perhaps, from the author's invention.

The second edition of the *Constitutions* goes more fully over the same ground, but is written in the form rather of a history than of a legend, and a review of it is not, therefore, necessary or appropriate in this part of the present work, which is solely devoted to the Legends of the Order.

In this second edition of Anderson's work, there are undoubtedly many things which will be repudiated by the skeptical student of Masonic history, and many which, if not at once denied, require proof to substantiate them. But with all its errors, this work of Anderson is replete with facts that make it interesting and instructive, and it earns for the author a grateful tribute for his labors in behalf of the literature of Masonry at so early a period after its revival.

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[1] It will be seen hereafter that the Chevalier Ramsay greatly developed this brief allusion of Anderson, and out of it worked his theory of the Templar origin of Freemasonry.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PRESTONIAN THEORY

HE Legend given by Preston in his *Illustrations of Masonry,* which details the origin and early progress of the Institution, is more valuable and more interesting than that of Anderson, because it is more succinct, and although founded like it on the *Legend of the Craft,* it treats each detail with an appearance of historical accuracy that almost removes from the narrative the legendary character which, after all, really attaches to it.

In accepting the *Legend of the Craft* as the basis of his story, Preston rejects, or at least omits to mention, all the earlier part of it, and begins his story with the supposed introduction of Masonry into England.

Commencing with a reference to the Druids, who, he says, it has been suggested, derived their system of government from Pythagoras, he thinks that there is no doubt that the science of Masonry was not unknown to them. Yet he does not say that there was an affinity between their rites and those of the Freemasons, which, as an open question, he leaves everyone to determine for himself.

Masonry, according to this theory, was certainly first introduced into England at the time of its conquest by Julius Caesar, who, with several of the Roman generals that succeeded him, were patrons and protectors of the Craft.

The fraternity were engaged in the creation of walls, forts, bridges, cities, temples, and other stately edifices, and their Lodges or Conventions were regularly held.

Obstructed by the wars which broke out between the Romans and the natives, Masonry was at length revived in the time of the Emperor Carausius. He, having shaken off the Roman yoke, sought to improve his country in the civil arts, and brought into his dominions the best workmen and artificers from all parts. Among the

first class of his favorites he enrolled the Masons, for whose tenets he professed the highest veneration, and appointed his steward, Albanus, the superintendent of their Assemblies. He gave them a charter, and commanded Albanus to preside over them in person as Grand Master. He assisted in the initiation of many persons into the mysteries of the Order.

In 680 some expert brethren arrived from France and formed a Lodge under the direction of Bennet, Abbot of Wirral, who was soon afterward appointed by Kenred, King of Mercia, inspector of the Lodges and general superintendent of the Masons.

Masonry was in a low state during the Heptarchy, but in 856 it was revived under St. Swithin, who was employed by Ethelwolf, the Saxon king, to repair some pious houses; and it gradually improved until the reign of Alfred, who was its zealous protector and who maintained a number of workmen in repairing the desolations of the Danes.

In the reign of Edward, his successor, the Masons continued to hold their Lodges under the sanction of Ethred, his sister's husband, and Ethelward, his brother.

Athelstan succeeded his father in 924 and appointed his brother Edwin, patron of Masons. The latter procured a charter from Athelstan for the Masons to meet annually in communication at York, where the first Grand Lodge of England was formed in 926, at which Edwin presided as Grand Master. The *Legend of the Craft,* in reference to the collection of old writings, is here repeated.

On the death of Edwin, Athelstan undertook in person the direction of the Lodges, and under his sanction the art of Masonry was propagated in peace and security.

On the death of Athelstan, the Masons dispersed and continued in a very unsettled state until the reign of Edgar, in 960, when they were again collected by St. Dunstan, but did not meet with permanent encouragement.

For fifty years after Edgar's death Masonry remained in a low condition, but was revived in 1041 under the patronage of Edward the Confessor, who appointed Leofric, Earl of Coventry, to superintend the Craft.

William the Conqueror, who acquired the crown in 1066, appointed Gundulph Bishop of Rochester, and Roger de Montgomery,

Earl of Shrewsbury, joint patrons of the Masons. The labors of the fraternity were employed, during the reign of William Rufus, in the construction of various edifices.

The Lodges continued to assemble under Henry I. and Stephen. In the reign of the latter, Gilbert de Clare, Marquis of Pembroke, presided over the Lodges.

In the reign of Henry II., the Grand Master of the Knights Templars employed the Craft in 1135 in building their Temple. Masonry continued under the patronage of this Order until 1199, when John succeeded to the throne and Peter de Colechurch was appointed Grand Master. Peter de Rupibus succeeded him, and Masonry continued to flourish during this and the following reign.

Preston's traditionary narrative, or his theory founded on Legends, may be considered as ending here.

The rest of his work assumes a purely historical form, although many of his statements need for authenticity the support of other authorities. These will be subjects of consideration when we come to the next part of this work.

At present, before dismissing the theory of Preston, a few comments are required which have been suggested by portions of the narrative.

As to the Legend of Carausius, to whom Preston ascribes the patronage of the British craft in the latter part of the 3d century, it must be remarked that it was first made known to the fraternity by Dr. Anderson in the 2d edition of his *Constitutions.* He says that the tradition is contained in all the old Constitutions and was firmly believed by the old English Masons. But the fact is that it is to be found in none of the old records that have as yet been discovered. They speak only of a king who patronized St. Alban and who made him the steward of his household and his Master of Works. Anderson designated this until then unnamed king as Carausius, forgetting that the Saint was martyred in the same year that the monarch assumed the throne. This was a strange error to be committed by one who had made genealogy his special study and had written a voluminous work on the subject of royal successions.

From Anderson, Preston appears to have borrowed the Legend, developing it into a minuter narrative, by the insertion of several additional circumstances, a prerogative which the compilers of Masonic as well as monastic Legends have always thought proper to exercise.

The advent of French Masons into England toward the end of the 7th century, brought thither by the Abbot Bennet or Benedict, which is recorded by Preston, is undoubtedly an historical fact. Lacroix says that England from the 7th century had called to it the best workmen among the French Masons, the *Maîtres de pierre.*

The Venerable Bede, who was contemporary with that period, says that the famous Abbot Benedictus Biscopius (the Bennet of Preston) went over to France in 675 to engage workmen to build his church, and brought them over to England for that purpose

Richard of Cirencester makes the same statement. He says that "Bennet collected Masons (coementarios) and all kinds of industrious artisans from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries where he could find them, and, bringing them to England, employed them in his works."

Preston is, however, in error as to the reign in which this event occurred. Kenred, or rather Coenred, did not succeed as King of Mercia until 704, and the Abbot Benedict had died the year before. Our Masonic writers of the last century, like their predecessors, the Legendists, when giving the substance of a statement, were very apt to get confused in their dates.

Of the Legend of the "weeping St. Swithin," to whom Preston ascribes the revival of Masonry in the middle of the 9th century, it may be remarked that as to the character of the Saint as a celebrated architect, the Legend is supported by the testimony of the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers.

Roger of Wendover, who is followed by Matthew of Westminster, records his custom of personally superintending the workmen when engaged in the construction of any building, "that his presence might stimulate them to diligence in their labors."

But the consideration of the condition of Masonry at that period, in England, belongs rather to the historical than to the legendary portion of this work.

On the whole, it may be said of Preston that he has made a considerable improvement on Anderson in his method of treating the early progress of Masonry. Still his narrative contains so many assumptions which are not proved to be facts, that his theory must, like that of his predecessor, be still considered as founded on legends rather than on authentic history.

CHAPTER XXII

THE HUTCHINSONIAN THEORY

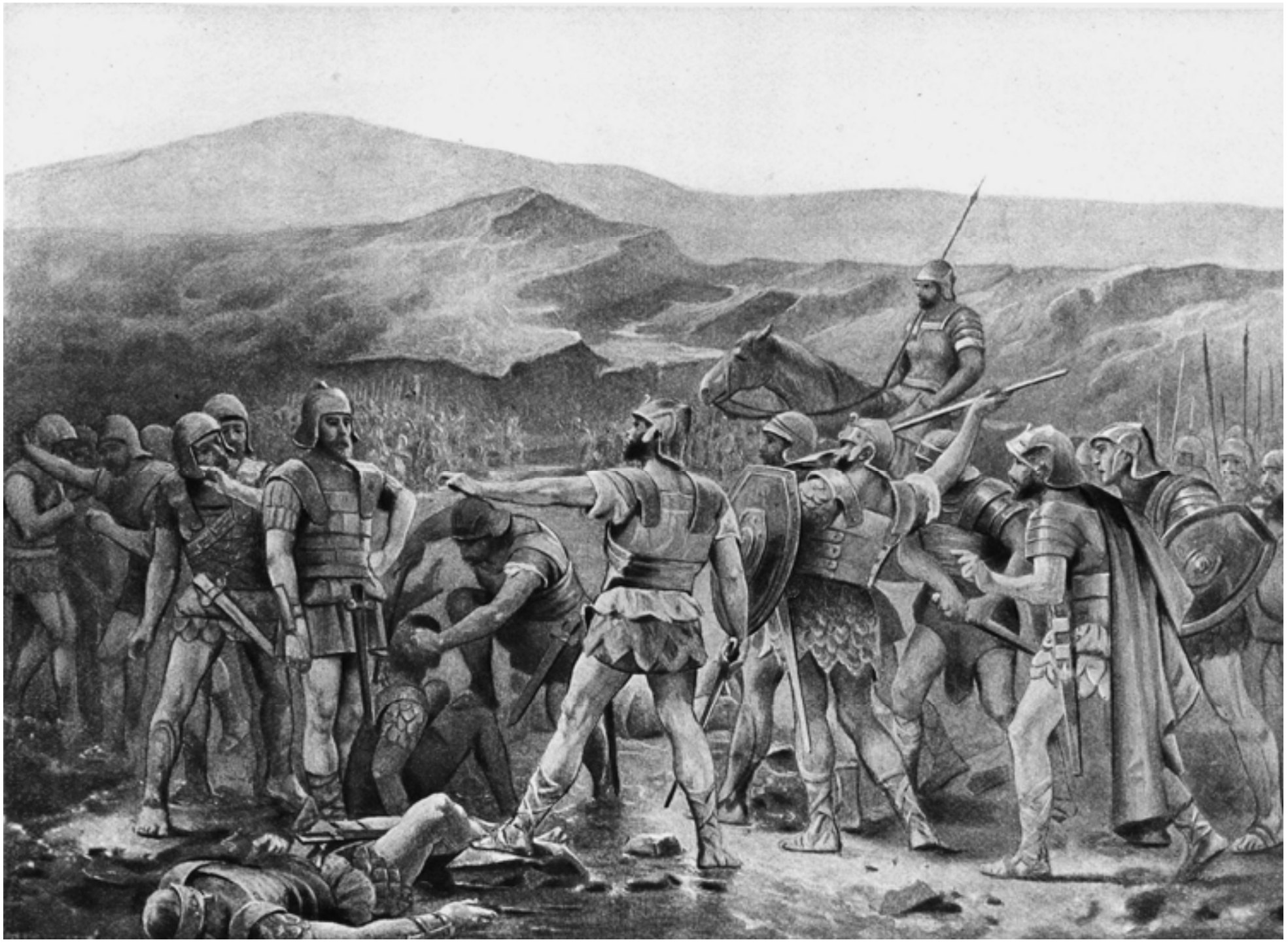
HE theory advanced by Bro. William Hutchinson as to the origin and the progress of Freemasonry, in his treatise, first published in the year 1775 and entitled *The Spirit of Masonry,* is so complicated and sometimes apparently so contradictory in its statements, as to require, for a due comprehension of his views, not only a careful perusal, but even an exhaustive study of the work alluded to. After such a study I think that I am able to present to the reader a correct summary of the opinions on the rise and progress of the Order which were entertained by this learned scholar.

Let it be said, by way of preface to this review, that however we may dissent from the conclusions of Hutchinson, he is entitled to our utmost respect for his scholarly attainments. To the study of the history and the philosophy of Masonry he brought a fund of antiquarian research, in which he had previously been engaged in the examination of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the province of Durham. Of all the Masonic writers of the 18th century, Hutchinson was undoubtedly the most learned. And yet the theory that he has propounded as to the origin of the Masonic Institution is altogether untenable and indeed, in many of its details, absurd.

Of all the opinions entertained by Hutchinson concerning the origin of Freemasonry, the most heterodox is that which denies its descent from and its connection, at any period, with an operative society. "It is our opinion," he says, "that Masons in the present state of Masonry were never a body of architects. . . . We ground a judgment of the nature of our profession on our ceremonials and flatter ourselves every Mason will be convinced that they have not relation to building and architecture, but are emblematical and imply moral and spiritual and religious tenets."[1]

[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. xiii., p. 131.

THE PASSES OF THE JORDAN



In another place, while admitting that there were in former times builders of cities, towers, temples, and fortifications, he doubts "that the artificers were formed into bodies ruled by their own proper laws and knowing mysteries and secrets which were kept from the world."[1]

Since he admits, as we will see hereafter, that Masonry existed at the Temple of Solomon, that it was there organized in what he calls the second stage of its progress, and that the builders of the edifice were Masons, one would naturally imagine that Hutchinson would here encounter an insuperable objection to his theory, which entirely disconnects Masonry and architecture. But he attempts to obviate this difficulty by supposing that the principles of Freemasonry had, before the commencement of the undertaking, been communicated by King Solomon to "the sages and religious men amongst his people,"[2] and that these "chosen ones of Solomon, as a pious and holy duty conducted the work." Their labors as builders were simply incidental and they were no more to be regarded by reason of this duty as architects by profession, than were Abel, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and David by reason of the building of their altars, which were, like the Temple, works of piety and devotion.[3]

This theory, in which all connection between operative and speculative Masonry is completely dissevered, and in which, in fact, the former is entirely ignored, is peculiar to Hutchinson. No other writer, no matter to what source he may have attributed the original rise of speculative Masonry, has denied that there was some period in the history of its progress when it was more or less intimately connected with the operative art. While, therefore, it is plain that the opinion of Hutchinson is in opposition to that of all other Masonic writers, it is equally evident that it contradicts all the well-established facts of history.

But besides these opinions concerning the non-operative character of the Institution, Hutchinson has been scarcely less peculiar in his other views in respect to the rise and progress of Freemasonry and its relations to other associations of antiquity.

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[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. x., p. 107.

[2] Hutchinson's language is here somewhat confused, but it seems that this is the only rational interpretation that can be given to it.

[3] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. x., p. 108.

The Hutchinsonian theory may indeed be regarded as especially and exclusively his own. It is therefore worthy of consideration and review, rather in reference to the novelty of his ideas than in respect to anything of great value in the pseudo-historical statements that he has advanced.

The prominent thought of Hutchinson in developing his theory is that Masonry in its progress from the earliest times of antiquity to the present day has been divided into three stages, respectively represented by the three ancient Craft degrees.[1]

He does not give a very lucid or satisfactory explanation of the reasons which induced him to connect each of these "stages of progress" with one of the symbolical degrees, and indeed the connection appears to be based upon a rather fanciful hypothesis.

The three stages into which he divides the progress of Masonry from its birth onwards to modern times are distinguished from each other, and distinctively marked by the code of religious ethics professed and taught by each. The first stage, which is represented by the Entered Apprentice degree, commences with Adam and the Garden of Eden and extends to the time of Moses.

The religious code taught in this first stage of Masonry was confined to a "knowledge of the God of Nature and that acceptable service wherewith He was well pleased."[2]

To Adam, while in a state of innocence, this knowledge was imparted, as well as that of all the science and learning which existed in the earliest ages of the world.

When our first parent fell, although he lost his innocence, he still retained the memory of all that he had been taught while in the Garden of Eden. This very retention was, indeed, a portion of the punishment incurred for his disobedience.

It, however, enabled him to communicate to his children the sciences which he had comprehended in Eden, and the knowledge that he had acquired of Nature and the God of Nature. By them these lessons were transmitted to their descendants as the cornerstone and foundation of Masonry, whose teachings at that early

[1] "It is known to the world, but more particularly to the brethren, that there are three degrees of Masons — Apprentices, Craftsmen, and Masters; their initiation, and the several advancements from the order of Apprentices, will necessarily lead us to observations in these distinct channels." — "Spirit of Masonry," lect. i., p. I.

[2] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. i., p. 6.

period consisted of a belief in the God of Nature and a knowledge of the sciences as they had been transmitted by Adam to his posterity. This system appears to have been very nearly the same as that afterward called by Dr. Oliver the "Pure Freemasonry of Antiquity."

All of the descendants of Adam did not, however, retain this purity and simplicity of dogma. After the deluge, when mankind became separated, the lessons which had been taught by the antediluvians fell into confusion and oblivion and were corrupted by many peoples, so that the service of the true God, which had been taught in the pure Masonry of the first men, was defiled by idolatry. These seceders from the pure Adamic Masonry formed institutions of their own, and degenerated, as the first deviation from the simple worship of the God of Nature, into the errors of Sabaism, or the adoration of the Sun, Moon, and Stars. They adopted symbols and allegories with which to teach esoterically their false doctrines. The earliest of these seceders were the Egyptians, whose priests secreted the mysteries of their religion from the multitude by symbols and hieroglyphics that were comprehensible to the members of their own order only. A similar system was adopted by the priests of Greece and Rome when they established their peculiar Mysteries. These examples of conveying truth by symbolic methods of teaching were wisely followed by the Masons for the purpose of concealing their own mysteries.

From this we naturally make the deduction, although Hutchinson does not expressly say so, that, according to his theory, Masonry was at that early period merely a religious profession "whose principles, maxims, language, learning, and religion were derived from Eden, from the patriarchs, and from the sages of the East," and that the symbolism which now forms so essential an element of the system was not an original characteristic of it, but was borrowed, at a later period, from the mystical and religious associations of the pagans.[1]

[1] Long after, Mr. Grote, in his "History of Greece," spoke of an hypothesis of an ancient and highly instructed body of priests having their origin either in Egypt or the East, who communicated to the rude and barbarous Greeks religious, physical, and historical knowledge under the veil of symbols. The same current of thought appears to have been suggested to the Masonic writer and to the historian of Greece, but each has directed it in a different way—one to the history of the Pagan nations, the other to that of Masonry.

Such, according to the theory of Hutchinson, was the "first stage" in the progress of Masonry represented by the Entered Apprentice degree, and which consisted simply of a belief in and a worship of the true God as the doctrine was taught by Adam and the patriarchs. It was a system of religious principles, with few rites and ceremonies and fewer symbols. The second stage in the progress of Masonry, which Hutchinson supposes to be represented by the Fellow Craft degree, commences at the era of Moses and extends through the whole period of the Jewish history to the advent of Christianity. According to the theory of Hutchinson, the Jewish lawgiver was, of course, in possession of the pure Masonry of the patriarchs which constituted the first stage of the institution, but was enabled to extend its ethical and religious principles in consequence of the instructions in relation to God and the duties of man which he had himself received by an immediate revelation. In other words, Masonry in its first stage was cosmopolitan in its religious teachings, requiring only a belief in the God of Nature as he had been revealed to Adam and his immediate descendants, but in the second stage, as inaugurated by Moses, that universal belief was exchanged for one in the Deity as He had made himself known on Mount Sinai. That is to say, the second or Mosaic stage of Masonry became Judaic in its profession.

But in another respect Masonry in its second stage assumed a different form from that which had marked its primitive state. Moses, from his peculiar education, was well acquainted with the rites, the ceremonies, the hieroglyphs, and the symbols used by the Egyptian priesthood. Many of these he introduced into Masonry, and thus began that system which, coming originally from the Egyptians and subsequently augmented by derivations from the Druids, the Essenes, the Pythagoreans, and other mystical associations, at last« was developed into that science of symbolism which now constitutes so important and essential a characteristic of modern Freemasonry.

A third change in the form of Masonry, which took place in its Mosaic or Judaic stage, was the introduction of the operative art of building among its disciples. Instances of this occurred in the days of Moses, when Aholiab, Bezaleel, and other Masons were engaged in the construction of the Tabernacle, and subsequently in the time of Solomon, when that monarch occupied his Masons in the erection of the Temple.

But, as has already been shown in a preceding part of this chapter, Hutchinson does not conclude from these facts that Masonry was ever connected in its origin with "builders, architects, or mechanics." The occupation of these Masons as builders was entirely accidental, and did not at all interfere with or supersede their character as members of a purely speculative association.

But it may be as well to give, at this point, in his own words, his explanation of the manner in which the Masons became, on certain occasions, builders, and whence arose in modern times the erroneous idea that the Masonic profession consisted of architects.[1]

"I presume," he says, "that the name of Mason in this society doth not denote that the rise or origin of such society was solely from builders, architects, or mechanics; at the times in which Moses ordained the setting up of the sanctuary, and when Solomon was about to build the Temple at Jerusalem, they selected from out of the people those men who were enlightened with the true faith, and, being full of wisdom and religious fervor, were found proper to conduct these works of piety. It was on those occasions that our predecessors appeared to the world as architects and were formed into a body, under salutary rules, for the government of those who were employed in these great works, since which period builders have adopted the name of Masons, as an honorary distinction and title to their profession. I am induced to believe the name of Mason has its derivation from a language in which it implies some indication or distinction of the nature of the society, and that it has not its relation to architects."[2]

Masonry was not organized at the Temple of Solomon, as is believed by those who adopt the Temple theory, but yet that building occupies, according to the views of Hutchinson, an important place in the history of the institution. It was erected during the second stage of the progress of Masonry, not, as we must infer from the language of our author, by the heathen operatives of Tyre, but solely by Israelitish Masons; or, if assisted by any, it was only by proselytes who on or before their initiation had accepted the Jewish faith.

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[1] In a subsequent lecture (xiii.) he attempts, in an historical argument, to show that the guild of Masons incorporated in the reign of Henry V., and the laws concerning "congregations and confederacies of Masons," passed in the succeeding reign, had no reference whatever to the speculative society.

[2] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. i., p. 2. In another place in this work the etymological ideas of Hutchinson and other writers will be duly investigated.

The language of Hutchinson is on this point somewhat obscure, yet I think that it admits only of the interpretation which has been given. He says: "As the sons of Aaron alone were admitted to the holy office and to the sacrificial rites, so none but devotees were admitted to this labour (on the temple). On this stage we see those religious who had received the truth and the light of understanding as possessed by the first men, embodied as artificers and engaged in this holy work as architects."[1]

Still more explicit is the following statement, made in a subsequent part of the work: "Solomon was truly the executor of that plan which was revealed to him from above; he called forth the sages and religious men amongst his people to perform the work; he classed them according to their rank in their religious profession, as the priests of the Temple were stationed in the solemn rites and ceremonies instituted there. . . . The chosen ones of Solomon, as a pious and holy duty, conducted the work."[2]

Solomon did not, therefore, organize, as has very commonly been believed, a system of Masonry by the aid of his Tyrian workmen, and especially Hiram Abif, who has always been designated by the Craft as his "Chief Builder," but he practiced and transmitted to his descendants the primitive Masonry derived from Adam and modified into its sectarian Jewish form by Moses. The Masonry of Solomon, like that of the great lawgiver of the Israelites, was essentially Judaic in its religious ethics. It was but a continuation of that second stage of Masonry which, as I have already said, lasted, according to the Hutchinsonian theory, until the era of Christianity.

But the wisdom and power of Solomon had attracted to him the attention of the neighboring nations, and the splendor of the edifice which he had erected extended his fame and won the admiration of the most distant parts of the world, so that his name and his artif. icers became the wonder of mankind, and the works of the latter excited their emulation. Hence the Masons of Solomon were dispersed from Jerusalem into various lands, where they superintended the architectural labors of other princes, converted infidels, initiated foreign brethren into their mysteries, and thus extended the order over the distant quarters of the known world.[3]

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[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. vii., p. 86.

[2] Ibid., lect. x., p. 108.

[3] I have employed in this paragraph the very language of Hutchinson. However mythical the statements therein contained may be deemed by the iconoclasts, there

Hence we see that, according to the theory of Hutchinson, King Solomon, although not the founder of Masonry at the Temple and not our first Grand Master, as he has been called, was the first to propagate the association into foreign countries. Until his time, it had been confined to the Jewish descendants of the patriarchs.

The next or third stage of the progress of Masonry, represented by the Master's degree, commenced at the advent of Christianity. As Hutchinson in his description of the two preceding progressive classes of Masons had assigned to the first, as represented by the Apprentices, only the knowledge of the God of Nature as it prevailed in the earliest ages of the world, and to the second, as represented by the Fellow Crafts, the further knowledge of God as revealed in the Mosaic Legation, so to this third stage, as represented by Master Masons, he had assigned the complete and perfect knowledge of God as revealed in the Christian dispensation.

Masonry is thus made by him to assume in this third stage of its progressive growth a purely Christian character.

The introduction of rites and ceremonies under the Jewish law, which had been derived from the neighboring heathen nations, had clouded and obscured the service of God, and consequently corrupted the second stage of Masonry as established by Moses and followed by Solomon. God, perceiving the ruin which was overwhelming mankind by this pollution of His ordinances and laws, devised a new scheme for redeeming His creatures from the errors into which they had fallen. And this scheme was typified in the Third or Master's stage in the progressive course of Masonry.

Hence the Master's degree is, in this theory, exclusively a Christian invention; the legend receives a purely Christian interpretation, and the allegory of Hiram Abif is made to refer to the death or abolition of the Jewish law and the establishment of the new dispensation under Jesus Christ.

A few citations from the language of Hutchinson will place this theory very clearly before the reader.[1]

The death and burial of the Master Builder, and the consequent loss of the true Word, are thus applied to the Christian dispensation. "Piety, which had planned the Temple at Jerusalem, was expunged.[2]

can be no doubt that they were accepted by the learned author as undeniably historical.

[1] They are taken from "Spirit of Masonry," lect. ix.

[2] The Master is slain.

The reverence and adoration due to the Divinity *was buried in the filth and rubbish* of the world.[1] Persecution had dispersed the few who retained their obedience,[2] and the name of the true God was almost lost and forgotten among men.[3]

"In this situation it might well be said 'That the guide to Heaven was lost and the Master of the works of righteousness was smitten.' "[4]

Again, "True religion was fled. 'Those who sought her through the wisdom of the ancients *were not able to raise her; she eluded the grasp, and their polluted hands were stretched forth in vain for her restoration*.' "[5]

Finally he explains the allegory of the Third degree as directly referring to Christ, in the following words: "The great Father of All, commiserating the miseries of the world, sent His only Son, who was innocence[6] itself, to teach the doctrine of salvation, by whom *man was raised* from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness; from the tomb of corruption unto the chambers of hope; from the darkness of despair to the celestial beams of faith." And finally, that there may be no doubt of his theory that the third degree was altogether Christian in its origin and design, he explicitly says: "Thus the Master Mason represents a man under the Christian doctrine saved from the grave of iniquity and raised to the faith of salvation. As the great testimonial that we are risen from the state of corruption, we bear the emblem of the Holy Trinity as the insignia of our vows and of the origin of the Master's order."[7]

The christianization of the Third or Master's degree, that is, the interpretation of its symbols as referring to Christ and to Christian

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[1] Burial and concealment in the rubbish of the Temple first, and then in an obscure grave.

[2] The confusion and consternation of the Craft.

[3] The Master's word is lost.

[4] In the 18th century it was supposed, by an incorrect translation of the Hebrew, that the substitute word signified "The Master is smitten." Dr. Oliver adopted that interpretation.

[5] By "the wisdom of the ancients" is meant the two preceding stages of Masonry represented, as we have seen, by the Apprentices and the Fellow Craft. In the allegory of Hiram, the knowledge of each of these degrees is unsuccessfully applied to effect the raising.

[6] Acacia. The Greek word *akakia* means innocence. Hence in the succeeding paragraph he calls Masons "true Acacians."

[7] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. ix., p. 100.

dogmas, is not peculiar to nor original with Hutchinson. It was the accepted doctrine of almost all his contemporaries, and several of the rituals of the 18th century contain unmistakable traces of it. It was not, indeed, until the revisal of the lectures by Dr. Hemming, in 1813, that all references in them to Christianity were expunged. Even as late as the middle of the 19th century, Dr. Oliver had explicitly declared that if he had not been fully convinced that Freemasonry is a system of Christian ethics—that it contributes its aid to point the way to the Grand Lodge above, through the Cross of Christ—he should never have been found among the number of its advocates.[1]

Notwithstanding that the Grand Lodge of England had authoritatively declared, in the year 1723, that Masonry required a belief only in that religion in which all men agree,[2] the tendency among all our early writers after the revival of 1717 was to Christianize the institution.

The interpretation of the symbols of Freemasonry from a Christian point of view was, therefore, at the period when Hutchinson advanced his theory, neither novel to the Craft nor peculiar to him.

The peculiarity and novelty of his doctrine consisted not in its Christian interpretation of the symbols, but in the view that he has taken of the origin and historical value of the legend of the Third degree.

At least from the time of Anderson and Desaguliers, the legend of Hiram Abif had been accepted by the Craft as an historical statement of an event that had actually occurred. Even the most skeptical writers of the present day receive it as a myth which possibly has been founded upon events that have been distorted in their passage down the stream of tradition.

Now, neither of these views appears to have been entertained by Hutchinson. We look in vain throughout his work for any reference to the legend as connected with Hiram Abif. In his lecture on "The Temple at Jerusalem," in which he gives the details of the labors of Solomon in the construction of that edifice, the name of Hiram does not once occur, except in the extracts that he makes from the Book of Kings and the *Antiquities* of Josephus. Indeed,

[1] "Antiquities of Masonry," chap. vi., p. 166, note.

[2] "Book of Constitutions," 1st ed., "Charges of a Freemason," I.

we must infer that he did not recognize Hiram Abif as a Mason, for he expressly says that all the Masons at the Temple were Israelites and believers in the Jewish faith.

In a subsequent lecture, on "The Secrecy of Masons," he, in fact, undervalues Hiram Abif as an architect, and says that he does not doubt that "Hiram's knowledge was in the business of a statuary and painter, and that he made graven images of stone and wood and molten images in metals," thus placing him in a subordinate position, and completely ignoring the rank given to him in all the Masonic rituals, as the equal and colleague of Solomon and the Master Builder of the Temple.[1]

There is nowhere to be found in the work of Hutchinson any reference, however remote, to the circumstances of the death and raising of the "Widow's Son." He must have been acquainted with the legend, since it was preserved and taught in the lodges that he visited. But he speaks, in the most general terms, of the third degree as symbolizing the corruption and death of religion, and the moral resurrection of man in the new or Christian doctrine.

If he believed in the truth of his own theory—and we are bound to suppose that he did—then he could not but have looked upon the details of the Master's legend as absolutely false, for the legend and the theory can in no way be reconciled.

If I rightly understand the language of Hutchinson, which, it must be admitted, is sometimes confused and the ideas are not plainly expressed, he denies the existence of the third degree at the Temple.

That edifice was built, according to his theory, within the period of the second stage of the progress of Masonry. Now, that stage, which was inaugurated by Moses, was represented by the Fellow Craft's degree. It was not until the coming of Christ that the Master's degree with its rites and ceremonies came into existence, in the third stage of the progress of Masonry, which was represented by that degree. Indeed, in the following passage he explicitly makes that statement.

"The ceremonies now known to Masons prove that the testimonials and insignia of the Master's order, in the present state of

[1] Hutchinson has here ventured on a truth which, however, none of his successors have accepted. See hereafter the chapter in this work on "The Legend of Hiram Abif," in which I have advanced and endeavored to sustain the same view of the character of this celebrated artist.

Masonry, *were devised within the ages of Christianity;* and we are confident there are not any records in being, in any nation or in any language, which can show them to be pertinent to any other system or give them greater antiquity."[1]

We can not explain this language with any respect for consistency and for the meaning of the words except by adopting the following explanation of the Hutchinsonian theory. At the building of the Temple, the Masonry then prevailing, which was the second or Fellow Crafts stage, was merely a system of religious ethics in which the doctrines of the Jewish faith, as revealed to Moses, had been superimposed upon the simple creed of the Patriarchs, which had constituted the first or Apprentice's stage of the institution. There was at that time no knowledge of the legend of Hiram Abif, which was a myth subsequently introduced in the Third or Master's stage of the progress of the Order. It was not until after the advent of Jesus Christ, "within the ages of Christianity," that the death and raising of the Master Builder was devised as a mythical symbol to constitute what Hutchinson calls "the testimonials and insignia of the Master's order."

The myth or legend thus fabricated was to be used as a symbol of the change which took place in the religious system of Masonry when the third stage of its progress was inaugurated by the invention of the Master's degree.

Here again Hutchinson differs from all the writers who preceded or who have followed him. The orthodox doctrine of all those who have given a Christian interpretation to the legend of the Third Degree is that it is the narrative of events which actually occurred at the building of the Temple of Solomon, and that it was afterward, on the advent of Christianity, adopted as a symbol, whereby the death and raising of Hiram Abif were considered as a type of the sufferings and death, the resurrection and ascension, of Christ.

No words of Hutchinson give expression to any such idea. With him the legend of Hiram the Builder is simply an allegory, invented at a much later period than that in which the events it details are supposed to have occurred, for the purpose of symbolizing

[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. x., p. 1,062. It is "passing strange" that a man of Hutchinson's learning should, in this passage, have appeared to be oblivious of the mythical character of the ancient Mysteries.

the death and burial of the Jewish law with the Masonry which it had corrupted, and the resurrection of this defunct Masonry in a new and perfect form under the Christian dispensation.

Such is the Hutchinsonian theory of the origin and progress of Masonry. It is *sui generis*—peculiar to Hutchinson—and has been advanced or maintained by no other Masonic writer before or since. It may be summarized in a very few words:

1. Masonry was first taught by Adam, after the fall, to his descendants, and continued through the patriarchal age. It consisted of a simple code of ethics, teaching only a belief in the God of Nature. It was the Masonry of the Entered Apprentice.

2. It was enlarged by Moses and confirmed by Solomon, and thus lasted until the era of Christ To its expanded code of ethics was added a number of symbols derived from the Egyptian priesthood. Its religion consisted in a belief in God as he had been revealed to the Jewish nation. It was the Masonry of the Fellow Craft.

3. The Masonry of this second stage becoming valueless in consequence of the corruption of the Jewish law, it was therefore abolished, and the third stage was established in its place. This third stage was formed by the teachings of Christ, and the religion it inculcates is that which was revealed by Him. It is the Masonry of the Master Mason.

4. Hence the three stages of Masonry present three forms of religion: first, the Patriarchal; second, the Jewish; third, the Christian.

Masonry, having thus reached its ultimate stage of progress, has continued in this last form to the present day. And now Hutchinson proceeds to advance his theory as to its introduction and growth in England. He had already accounted for its extension into other quarters of the world in consequence of the dispersion and travels of King Solomon's Masons, after the completion of the Temple. He thinks that during the first stage of Masonry—the Patriarchal—its principles were taught and practiced by the Druids. They received them from the Phœnicians, who visited England for trading purposes in very remote antiquity. The second stage—the Judaic—was with its ceremonials introduced among them by the Masons of Solomon, after the building of the Temple, but at what precise period he can not determine. The third and perfect form, as devel-

oped in the third stage, must have been adopted upon the conversion of the Druidical worshippers to Christianity, having been introduced into England, as we should infer, by the Christian missionaries who came from Rome into that country.

While Hutchinson denies that there was ever any connection between the Operative and the Speculative Masons, he admits that among the former there might have been a few of the latter. He accounts for this fact in the following manner:

After Christianity had become the popular religion of England, the ecclesiastics employed themselves in founding religious houses and in building churches. From the duty of assisting in this pious work, no man of whatever rank or profession was exempted. There were also a set of men called "holy werk folk," to whom were assigned certain lands which they held by the tenure of repairing, building, or defending churches and sepulchers, for which labors they were released from all feudal and military services. These men were stone-cutters and builders, and might, he thinks, have been Speculative Masons, and were probably selected from that body. "These men," he says, "come the nearest to a similitude of Solomon's Masons, and the title of Free and Accepted Masons, of any degree of architects we have gained any knowledge of." But he professes his ignorance whether their initiation was attended with peculiar ceremonies or by what laws they were regulated. That they had any connection with the Speculative Order whose origin from Adam he had been tracing, is denied.

Finally, he attributes the moral precepts of the Masonry of the present day to the school of Pythagoras and to the Basilideans, a sect of Christians who flourished in the 2d century. For this opinion, so far as relates to Pythagoras, he is indebted to the celebrated Leland manuscript, of whose genuineness he had not the slightest doubt. These precepts and the Egyptian symbols introduced by Moses with Jewish additions constitute the system of modern Masonry, which has, however, been perfected by a Christian doctrine.

Such is the theory of Hutchinson as to the origin and progress of Speculative Masonry. That it has been accepted as a whole by no other writer, is not surprising, as it not only is not supported by the facts of history, but is actually contradicted by every Masonic document that is extant.

It is, indeed, a mere body of myths, which are not clad with the slightest garment of probability.

And yet there are here and there some glimmerings of truth, such as the appropriation of his real character to Hiram Abif, and the allusions to the "holy werk folk," as showing a connection between Operative and Speculative Masonry, which, though not pushed far enough by Hutchinson, may afford valuable suggestions, if extended, to the searcher after historic truth in Freemasonry.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE OLIVERIAN THEORY

IN commendation of the Rev. Dr. Oliver as a learned and prolific writer on Freemasonry, too much can not be said. His name must ever be *clarum et venerabile* among the Craft. To the study of the history and the philosophy of the Institution he brought a store of scholarly acquirements, and a familiarity with ancient and modern literature which had been possessed by no Masonic author who had preceded him. Even Hutchinson, who certainly occupied the central and most elevated point in the circle of Masonic students and investigators who flourished in the 18th century, must yield the palm for erudition to him whose knowledge of books was encyclopedical.

In his numerous works on Freemasonry, of which it is difficult to specify the most important, the most learned, or the most interesting, Dr. Oliver has raised the Institution of Masonry to a point of elevation which it had never before reached, and to which its most ardent admirers had never aspired to promote it.

He loved it for its social tendencies, for he was genial in his inclination and in his habits, and he cherished its principles of brotherly love, for his heart was as expanded as his mind. But he taught that within its chain of union there was a fund of ethics and philosophy, and a beautiful science of symbolism by which its ethics was developed to the initiated, which awakened scholars to the contemplation of the fact never before so completely demonstrated, that Speculative Masonry claimed and was entitled to a prominent place among the systems of human philosophy.

No longer could men say that Freemasonry was merely a club of good fellows. Oliver had proved that it was a school of inquirers after truth. No longer could they charge that its only design was the cultivation of kindly feelings and the enjoyment of good cheer.

He had shown that it was engaged in the communication to its disciples of abstruse doctrines of religion and philosophy in a method by which it surpassed every other human scheme for imparting such knowledge.

But, notwithstanding this eulogium, every word of which is merited by its subject, and not one word of which would I erase, it must be confessed that there were two defects in his character that materially affect the value of his authority as an historian.

One was, that as a clergyman of the Church of England he was controlled by that clerical *esprit du corps* which sought to make every opinion subservient to his peculiar sectarian views. Thus, he gave to every symbol, every myth, and every allegory the interpretation of a theologian rather than of a philosopher.

The other defect, a far more important one, was the indulgence in an excessive credulity, which led him to accept the errors of tradition as the truths of history. In reading one of his narratives, it is often difficult to separate the two elements. He so glosses the sober facts of history with the fanciful coloring of legendary lore, that the reader finds himself involved in an inextricable web of authentic history intermixed with unsupported tradition, where he finds it impossible to discern the true from the fabulous.

The canon of criticism laid by Voltaire, that all historic certainty that does not amount to a mathematical demonstration is merely extreme probability, is far too rigorous. There are many facts that depend only on contemporaneous testimony to which no more precise demonstration is applied, and which yet leave the strong impression of certainty on the mind.

But here, as in all other things, there is a medium—a measure of moderation—and it would have been well if Dr. Oliver had observed it. But not having done so, his theory is founded not simply on the *Legend of the Craft,* of which he takes but little account, but on obscure legends and traditions derived by him, in the course of his multifarious reading, sometimes from rabbinical and sometimes from unknown sources.[1]

[1] He divides the legends of Masonry into two classes, neither of which embraces the incredible. He says that "many of them are founded in fact, and capable of unquestionable proof, whilst others are based on Jewish traditions, and consequently invested with probability, while they equally inculcate and enforce the most solemn and important truths."—"Historical Landmarks," vol. i., p. 399.

The theoretical views of Oliver as to the origin and progress of Masonry from a legendary point of view are so scattered in his various works that it is difficult to follow them in a chronological order. This is especially the case with the legends that relate to the periods subsequent to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. Up to that era, the theory is enunciated in his *Antiquities of Freemasonry,* upon which I shall principally depend in this condensation. It was, it is true, written in the earlier part of his life, and was his first contribution to the literature of Masonry, but he has not in any of his subsequent writings modified the views he there entertained. This work may therefore be considered, as far as it goes, as an authoritative exposition of his theory. His *Historical Landmarks,* the most learned and most interesting of his works, if we except, perhaps, his *History of Initiation,* will furnish many commentaries on what he has advanced in his *Antiquities,* but as it is principally devoted to an inquiry into the origin and interpretation of the symbols and allegories of Masonry, we can not obtain from its pages a connected view of his theory.

Preston had introduced his history of Masonry by the assertion that its foundations might be traced "from the commencement of the world." Dr. Oliver is not content with so remote an origin, but claims, on the authority of Masonic traditions, that the science "existed before the creation of this globe, and was diffused amidst the numerous systems with which the grand empyreum of universal space is furnished."[1]

But as he supposes that the globes constituting the universe were inhabited long before the earth was peopled, and that these inhabitants must have possessed a system of ethics founded on the belief in God, which he says is nothing else but Speculative Masonry, we may regard this opinion as merely tantamount to the expression that truth is eternal.

Passing by this empyreal notion as a mere metaphysical idea, let us begin with Oliver's theory of the mundane origin of the science of Masonry.

While in the Garden of Eden, Adam was taught that science which is now termed Masonry.[2] After his fall, he forfeited the gift of inspiration, but certainly retained a recollection of those degrees

[1] "Antiquities," Period L, ch. ii., p. 26.

[2] Oliver, "Antiquities," I., ii., 37.

of knowledge which are within the compass of human capacity, and among them that speculative science now known as Freemasonry.[1]

These, in the course of time, he communicated to his children. Of these children, Seth and his descendants preserved and cultivated the principles of Masonry which had been received from Adam, but Cain and his progeny perverted and finally abandoned it. However, before his complete secession, the latter, with some of his descendants, reduced the knowledge he had received from Adam to practice, and built a city which he called Hanoch. The children of Lamech, the sixth in descent from Cain, also retained some faint remains of Masonry, which they exerted for the benefit of mankind.

It is in this way that Dr. Oliver attempts to reconcile the story of the children of Lamech, as detailed in the *Legend of the Craft,* with his theory, which really ousts Cain and all his descendants from the pale of Masonry. The sons of Lamech were Masons, but their Masonry had been greatly corrupted.

Dr. Oliver makes the usual division of Masonry into Operative and Speculative. The former continued to be used by the Cainites after they had lost all pretensions to the latter, and the first practical application of the art was by them in the building of the city of Hanoch, or, as it is called in Genesis, Enoch.

Thus Masonry was divided, as to its history, into two distinct streams, that of the Operative and that of the Speculative; the former cultivated by the descendants of Cain, the latter by those of Seth. It does not, however, appear that the Operative branch was altogether neglected by the Sethites, but was only made subordinate to their Speculative science, while the latter was entirely neglected by the Cainites, who devoted themselves exclusively to the Operative art. Finally they abandoned it and were lost in the corruptions of their race, which led to their destruction in the flood.

The Speculative stream, however, flowed on uninterruptedly to the time of Noah. Oliver does not hesitate to say that Seth, "associating himself with the most virtuous men of his age, they formed lodges and discussed the great principles of Masonry," and were called by their contemporaries the "Sons of Light."

Seth continued to preside over the Craft until the time of

[1] Oliver, "Antiquities," I., ii., 40.

Enoch, when he appointed that patriarch as his successor and Grand Superintendent.[1]

Enoch, as Grand Master, practiced Masonry with such effect that God vouchsafed to reveal to him some peculiar mysteries, among which was the sacred WORD, which continues to this day to form an important portion of Masonic speculation, and for the preservation of which from the impending destruction of the world he constructed a subterranean edifice in which he concealed the sacred treasure. He also erected two pillars, one of brass and one of stone, on which he engraved the elements of the liberal sciences, including Masonry.[2] Enoch then resigned the government of the Craft to Lamech, who afterward surrendered it to Noah, in whose hands it remained until the occurrence of the flood.

Such is Oliver's legendary narrative of the progress of Masonry from the creation to the flood. The Craft were organized into lodges and were governed during that long period by only five Grand Masters—Adam, Seth, Enoch, Lamech, and Noah.

To the Institution existing at that time he gives the appropriate title of "Antediluvian Masonry," and also that of "Primitive Masonry."

Of its character he says that it had but few symbols or ceremonies, and was indeed nothing else but a system of morals or pure religion. Its great object was to preserve and cherish the promise of a Messiah.

On the renewal of the world by the subsidence of the waters of the deluge, it was found that though Enoch's pillar of brass had given way before the torrent of destruction, the pillar of stone had been preserved, and by this means the knowledge of the state of Masonry before the flood was transmitted to posterity.

Of the sons of Noah, all of whom had been taught the pure system of Masonry by their father, Shem and his descendants alone preserved it. Ham and Japhet having dispersed into Africa and Europe, their descendants became idolaters and lost the true principles

[1] Anderson gives the direction of the Craft, after Seth, successively to Enoch, Kainan, Mahalaleel, and Jared, whom Enoch succeeded. Const. 2d edit., p. 3.

[2] This legend of the vault of Enoch was not known to the mediaeval Masons. It forms, therefore, no part of the ritual of Ancient Craft Masonry. It is an invention of a later period, and is recognized only by the more modern "high degrees." The form of the legend as known to Anderson in 1722 was that he erected pillars on which the science of Masonry was inscribed.

of Masonry, which consisted in the worship of the one true God, The descendants of Japhet not only fell from the worship of God and embraced the adoration of idols, but they corrupted the form of Masonry by the establishment on its basis of a system of secret rites which are known in history as the "Mysteries."

This secession of the children of Japhet from the true system which their ancestor had received from Noah, has been called by Dr. Oliver "Spurious Freemasonry," while that practiced by the descendants of Shem he styles "Pure Freemasonry."

Of these two divisions the Spurious Freemasons were more distinguished for their cultivation of the Operative art, while the Pure Freemasons, although not entirely neglectful of Operative Masonry, particularly devoted themselves to the preservation of the truths of the Speculative science.

Shem communicated the secrets of Pure Freemasonry to Abraham, through whose descendants they were transmitted to Moses, who had, however, been previously initiated into the Spurious Masonry of the Egyptians.

Masonry, which had suffered a decay during the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt, was revived in the wilderness by Moses, who held a General Assembly, and, as the first act of the reorganized Institution, erected the Tabernacle.

From this time Masonry was almost exclusively confined to the Jewish nation, and was propagated through its judges, priests, and kings to the time of Solomon.

When Solomon was about to erect the Temple at Jerusalem, he called to his assistance the artists of Tyre, who were disciples of the Spurious Masonry and were skillful architects, as members of the Dionysiac fraternity of artificers.

By this association of the Tyrian Masons of the spurious order with the Jewish workmen who practiced the pure system, the two classes were united, and King Solomon reorganized the system of Freemasonry as it now exists.

For the subsequent extension of Masonry throughout the world and its establishment in England, Dr. Oliver adopts the legendary histories of both Anderson and Preston, accepting as genuine every mythical narrative and every manuscript. From the Leland manuscript he quotes as if he were citing an authority universally admitted to be authentic. Receiving the narrative of the General Assembly

which was called at York by Prince Edwin as an event of whose occurrence there can be no possible doubt, he claims that the Halliwell poem is a veritable copy of the Constitutions enacted by that Assembly.

On the subject of the religious character of Freemasonry, Dr. Oliver in the main agrees with Hutchinson, that it is a Christian Institution, and that all its myths and symbols have a Christian interpretation. He differs from Hutchinson in this, that instead of limiting the introduction of the Christian element to the time of Christ, he supposes it to have existed in it, from the earliest times. Even the Masonry of the patriarchs he believes to have been based upon the doctrine of a promised Messiah.

But his views will be best expressed in his own language, in a passage contained in the concluding pages of his *Historical Landmarks:* "The conclusion is therefore obvious. If the lectures of Freemasonry refer only to events which preceded the advent of Christ, and if those events consist exclusively of admitted types of the Great Deliverer, who was preordained to become a voluntary sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, it will clearly follow that the Order was originally instituted in accordance with the true principles of the Christian religion; and in all its consecutive steps bears an unerring testimony to the truth of the facts and of their typical reference to the founder of our faith."

He has said, still more emphatically, in a preceding part of the same work, that "Freemasonry contains scarcely a single ceremony, symbol, or historical narration which does not apply to this glorious consummation of the divine economy of the Creator towards his erring creatures"; by which economy he, of course, means the Christian dispensation and the Christian scheme of redemption.

If in the multifarious essays in which he has treated the subject Dr. Oliver meant to announce the proposition that in the very earliest ages of the world there prevailed certain religious truths of vast importance to the welfare and happiness of mankind, which had been communicated either by direct inspiration or in some other mode, and which have been traditionally transmitted to the present day, which truths principally consisted in an assertion of a belief in God and in a future life, such a proposition will hardly meet with a denial.

But if he also meant to contend that the transmission of these

truths to posterity and to the present age was committed to and preserved by an order of men, an association, or a society whose form and features have been retained in the Freemasonry of the present day, it will, I imagine, be admitted that such a proposition is wholly untenable. And yet this appears to be the theory that was entertained by this learned but too credulous scholar.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TEMPLE LEGEND

THE Temple Legend is a name that I give to that legend or tradition which traces the origin of Freemasonry as an organized institution to the Temple of Solomon and to the builders, Jewish and Tyrian, who were employed in the construction of that edifice.

This is the legend that is now almost universally accepted by the great mass of the Masonic fraternity. Perhaps nine out of ten of the Freemasons of the present day—that is to say, all those who receive tradition with the undoubting faith that should be given to history only—conscientiously believe that Freemasonry, as we now see it, organized into lodges and degrees, with Grand Masters, Masters, and Wardens, with the same ritual observances, was first devised by Solomon, King of Israel, and assumed its position as a secret society during the period when that monarch was engaged in the construction of the Temple on Mount Moriah.[1]

This theory is not a new one. It was probably at first suggested by the passage in the *Legend of the Craft* which briefly describes the building of the Temple and the confirmation by Solomon of the charges which his father David had given to the Masons.

There can be no doubt from this passage in the Legend that the Temple of Solomon occupied a prominent place in the ideas of the mediaeval Masons. How much use they made of it in their esoteric ceremonies we, of course, are unable to learn. It is, however, a

[1] In a sermon by the Rev. A. N. Keigwin, at the dedication of the Masonic Temple in Philadelphia (1873), we find the following passage: "Historically, Masonry dates from the building of the Temple of Solomon. No one at the present day disputes this claim." I cite this out of hundreds of similar passages in other writers, to show how universal among such educated Masons is the belief in the Temple theory. It is, in fact, very true that only those scholars who have made the history of the Order an especial study have any doubts upon the subject.

significant coincidence, if nothing more, that there was a somewhat similar legend among the "Compagnons de la Tour," those mystical associations of workmen who sprang up in France about the 12th century, and who are supposed to have been an offshoot of dissatisfied journeymen from the body of oppressive Masters, who at that period constituted the ruling power of the corporate guilds of operative Masons and other crafts.

As the traditions of this society in reference to the Temple of Solomon are calculated to throw much light on the ideas which prevailed among the Masons in respect to the same subject, and as the Temple legends of the "Compagnons" are better known to us than those of the mediaeval operative Masons, and finally, as it is not at all unlikely that the ideas of the former were derived from those of the latter, it will not be inexpedient to take a brief view of the Temple legend of the Compagnonage.

The Compagnons de la Tour have three different legends, each of which traces the association back to the Temple of Solomon, through three different founders, which causes the Compagnonage to be divided into three distinct and, unfortunately, hostile associations. These are the Children of Solomon, the Children of Maître Jacques, and the Children of Père Soubise.

The Children of Solomon assert that they were associated into a brotherhood by King Solomon himself at the building of the Temple.

The Children of Maître Jacques and those of Père Soubise declare that both of these workmen were employed at the Temple, and after its completion went together to Gaul, where they taught the arts which they had learned at Jerusalem.[1]

The tradition of Maître Jacques is particularly interesting. He is said to have been the son of a celebrated architect named Jacquain, who was one of the chief Masters of Solomon and a colleague of Hiram Abif. From the age of fifteen he was employed as a stone-cutter. He traveled through Greece, where he acquired a knowledge of architecture and sculpture. He then went to Egypt and thence to Jerusalem, where, being engaged in the construction of the Temple, he fabricated two pillars with such consummate skill that he was at once received as a Master of the Craft.

[1] The reader will remember the story in the "Legend of the Craft" of one Namus Grecus, who came from Jerusalem and from the Temple in the time of Charles Martel and propagated Masonry in France.

It is not necessary to pursue the legend of the French Compagnonage any further. Sufficient has been told to show that they traced their origin to the Temple of Solomon and that the legend referred to events connected with that edifice.

Now, as these traveling Journeymen (for thus may we translate their French title) are known to have separated themselves in the 12th century from the corporations of Master Workmen in consequence of the narrow and oppressive policy of these bodies, making what in modern times would be called a "strike," it is reasonable to suppose that they carried with them into their new and independent organization many of the customs, ceremonies, and traditions which they had learned from the main body or Master's guilds of which they were an offshoot. Therefore, although we have not been able to find any legend or tradition of the mediaeval operative Masons which traced their origin to the Temple of Solomon, yet as we find such a tradition prevailing among an association of workmen who, as we know, were at one time identified with the Operative Masons and seceded from them on a question of policy, we have a reasonable right to believe that the legend of the Compagnons de la Tour, or Traveling Journeymen, which traced their origin to the Temple of Solomon, was derived by them from the Corporations of Masters or Guilds of Operative Masons, among whom it was an accepted tradition.

And therefore we have in this way the foundation for a reasonable belief that the Legend of the Temple origin of Masonry is older than the era of the Revival in the beginning of the 18th century, and that it had been a recognized doctrine among the operative Masons of the Middle Ages.

The absence of the Legend in any formal detail from all the old manuscripts does not prove that there was no such Legend, for being of an esoteric character, it may, from conscientious motives, or in obedience to some regulation, never have been committed to writing. This is, however, a mere supposition and can not in any way interfere with deductions drawn from positive data in reference to the Legend of the Third Degree. There may have been a Temple Legend, and yet the details narrated in it may have been very incomplete and not have included the events related in the former Legend.

The first reference in the old records to the Temple of Solomon

as connected with the origin of Freemasonry is to be found in the Cooke MS. and is in the following words:

"What tyme that the children of isrl dwellid in Egypte they lernyd the craft of masonry. And afterward they were driven out of Egypte they come into the lond of bihest (promise) and is now callyd Jerl'm (Jerusalem) and it was ocupied and chsrgys yholde. And the makyng of Salomonis tempull that kyng David began. Kyng David lovyd well masons and he gaf hem rygt nye as thay be nowe. And at the makyng of the temple in Salomonis tyme as hit is seyd in the bibull in the iij boke of Regum in teicio Regum capito quinto (1 Kings, Cap. 5) That Salomon had iiij score thowsand masons at his werke. And the kyngis sone of Tyry was his master mason, And (in) other cronyclos hit is seyd and in olde bokys of masonry that Salomon confirmed the chargys that David his fadir had geve to masons. And Salomon hymself taught hem here (their) maners (customs) but lityll differans fro the maners that now ben usyd. And fro thens this worthy sciens was brought into Fraunce and into many other regions."[1]

The Dowland MS., whose supposed date is some fifty or sixty years later than the Cooke, gives substantially the same Legend, but with the additional circumstances, that David learned the charges that he gave, from Egypt, where they had been made by Euclid; that he added other charges to these; that Solomon sent into various countries for Masons, whom he gathered together; that the name of the King of Tyre was Iram, and that of his son, who was Solomon's chief Master, was Aynon; and finally that he was a Master of Geometry and of carving and graving.

In this brief narrative, the first edition of which dates back as far as the close of the 15th century, we see the germs of the fuller Legend which prevails among the Craft at the present day. That there was an organization of Masons with "Charges and Manners," that is, laws and customs at the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, and that King Solomon was assisted in the work by the King of Tyre and by a skillful artist who had been sent to him by Hiram, are the two most important points in the theory of the Temple origin of Masonry, and both are explicitly stated in these early legends. We next find the Legend repeated, but with more

[1] Cooke MS., lines 539-575.

elaborate details, most of which, however, are taken from the Book of Kings as referred to in the *Legend of the Craft* by Anderson. in the first edition of the *Constitutions,* and with a few additional particulars in the second edition of the same work.

Preston, the next important Masonic writer after Anderson, does not indeed relate or refer to the Legend in any part of his *Illustrations of Masonry,* but the theory that Masonry found its origin at the Temple is to be deduced from the historical traditions contained in the third lecture of the Prestonian system, from which Webb derived it, and has perpetuated it among American Masons to the present day.

Hutchinson, who followed Preston, although, as has been seen, he inclined to a remoter origin of the Order, repeatedly refers in his *Spirit of Masonry,* and especially in his Sixth Lecture, to the Temple of Solomon as the place where "the true craftsmen were proved in their work," and where Solomon distinguished them into different ranks, giving to each appropriate signs and secret tokens, and organized them for the first time into an association of builders, the predecessors of the Masons being previous to that time sages who, though acquainted with the principles of geometry and architecture, were engaged solely in philosophical speculations. In this way Hutchinson gave the weight of his influence in favor of the Legend which ascribed the origin of operative and speculative Masonry to Solomon and to his Temple, although his views on this subject differ from those of other writers.

Dr. Oliver, one of the latest and the most prolific of the legendary writers, although in his own theory he seeks to trace the origin of Freemasonry to a much more remote antiquity, yet speaks so much in detail in most of his works, but principally in his *Antiquities* and in his *Historical Landmarks,* of the system which was for the first time organized at the building of the Solomonic Temple, that most readers who do not closely peruse his writings and carefully scan his views are under the impression that he had fully adopted the Legend of the Temple origin, and hence his authority has been lent to the popular belief.

Existing, as may be supposed from the analogy of a similar legend of the Compagnons de la Tour, among the craftsmen of the Middle Ages; transmitted to the Revival era of the beginning of the 18th century, and since then taught in all the rituals and sus-

tained by the best Masonic writers up to a recent period, this Legend of the Temple origin of Freemasonry, or, in plainer words, the theory that Freemasonry received at the time of the building of the Temple of Jerusalem that form and organization which it holds at the present day, has been and continues to be a dogma of faith implicitly believed by the masses of the fraternity.

It is well, therefore, that we should now see what precisely is the form and substance of this popular Legend. As received at the present day by the body of the Craft, it may be stated as follows:

When Solomon was about to commence the building of his Temple, his own people not being expert or experienced architects, he applied to his friend Hiram, the monarch of the neighboring kingdom of Tyre, for assistance. Hiram, in complying with his request, sent to him a numerous body of workmen, and at their head a distinguished artist called, as a mark of distinction, Hiram Abif,[1] equivalent to the title, "Hiram his father," who is described as "a cunning man endued with understanding."

King Solomon then proceeded to organize the institution into a form, which has been adopted as the model of that which exists at the present day in every country where Freemasonry exists. The Legend that contains the classification of the workmen at the Temple, which has been adopted in the rituals of modern Masonry, is derived partly from Scripture and partly from tradition. An examination of it will not be inappropriate.

There are two accounts, slightly conflicting, in the Scriptural narrative. In the Second Book of Chronicles, chapter ii., verses 17 and 18, are the following words:

"And Solomon numbered all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the number wherewith David his father had numbered them, and there were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three thousand and six hundred.

"And he set three score and ten thousand of them to be bearers of burdens and four score thousand to be hewers in the mountains and three thousand six hundred overseers to set the people at work."

The same numerical details are given in the second verse of the

[1] Of Hiram Abif a more detailed account will be given when we come to consider the legend connected with him.

same chapter. Again in the First Book of Kings, chapter v., verses 13 and 14, it is said:

"And King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty thousand men.

"And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses; a month they were in Lebanon, and two months at home: and Adoniram was over the levy."

In the *Legend of the Craft* this enumeration was not strictly adhered to. The Cooke MS. says that there were "four score thousand masons at work," out of whom three thousand were chosen as Masters of the work. The Landsdowne MS. says that the number of Masons was twenty-four thousand. But this number must have been a clerical error of the copyist in which he is followed only by the Antiquity MS. All the other manuscripts agree with the Dowland and make the number of Masons eighty thousand, including the three thousand overseers or Masters of the Work.

This statement does not accord with that which is in the Book of Kings nor with that in Chronicles, and yet it is all that the *Legend of the Craft* furnishes.

Dr. Anderson, who was the first author after the Revival who made an enumeration and classification of the workmen at the Temple, abandoned the Legend altogether and made up his account from the Bible. This he published in the first edition of the *Constitutions* and tempered it with some traditional information, whence derived I do not know. But it is on this classification by Anderson that all the rituals that have been in use since his time are framed. Hence he may justly be considered as the author of the Legend of the Workmen at the Temple; for notwithstanding the historical element which it contains, derived from Scripture, there are so many traditional interpolations that it properly assumes a legendary character.

Anderson's account is that there were employed on the building three thousand six hundred Master Masons, to conduct the work according to Solomon's directions; eighty thousand hewers of stone in the mountains who he says were Fellow Craftsmen, and seventy thousand laborers who were not Masons, besides the levy of thirty thousand who worked under the superintendence of Adoniram, making in all one hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred. For this great number, Anderson says Solomon was "much obliged"

to Hiram, King of Tyre, who sent his Masons and carpenters to Jerusalem.

Over this immense number of builders and laborers, Anderson says that King Solomon presided as Grand Master at Jerusalem, King Hiram in the same capacity at Tyre, and Hiram Abif was the Master of Work.

Fifteen years afterward, Anderson, in the second edition of his *Constitutions* somewhat modified these views and added certain other particulars. He promotes Hiram Abif from the position of *Magister Operis* or Master of the Work, to that of Deputy Grand Master in Solomon's absence and to that of Senior Grand Warden in his presence. He also says:

"Solomon partitioned the Fellow Crafts into certain Lodges with a Master and Wardens in each; that they might receive commands in a regular manner, might take care of their tools and jewels, might be paid every week, and be duly fed and clothed, etc., and the Fellow Crafts took care of their succession by educating Entered Apprentices."[1]

Anderson adds in a marginal note that his authority for this statement is "the traditions of old Masons, who talk much of these things."

If such a tradition ever existed, it is now lost, for it can not be found in any of the old manuscripts which are the record of the Masonic traditions. It is admitted that similar usages were practiced by the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, but we have no historical authority, nor even legendary, outside of Anderson's work, for tracing them to the Temple of Jerusalem.

Out of these materials the ritualists have manufactured a Legend; which exists in all the Masonic rituals and which must have been constructed in London, at a very early period after the Revival, to have secured such an universal acceptance among all the nations who derived their Masonry from the Grand Lodge of England. The Legend of the Temple origin of Masonry, as generally accepted by the Craft at the present day, is that there were one hundred and fifty-three thousand, three hundred workmen employed in the construction of the Temple. Three thousand three hundred of these were overseers, who were among as well as over the Craft, but who at

[1] "Constitutions," 2d edit., p. 13.

the completion of the Temple were promoted to the rank of Master Masons. The remaining workmen were divided into eighty thousand Fellow Crafts and seventy thousand Entered Apprentices.

Three Grand Masters presided over the large number of work. men, namely, Solomon, King of Israel; Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram Abif. These were the only persons who at the building of the Temple were Master Masons and in possession of the secrets of the Third Degree.

The statement in the ritual is that the workmen were divided into Lodges. The Lodge of Master Masons, for there could be only one of that degree, consisted of three members; the Lodges of Fellow Crafts, of which there must have been sixteen thousand, was composed of five members each; and the Lodges of Entered Apprentices, of which there must have been ten thousand, was composed of seven each.

But as this statement has neither historical authority nor logical possibility to support it, it must be considered, as it undoubtedly was originally intended to be considered, merely as a reference to the symbolic character of those sacred numbers in Masonry—three, five, and seven. In the same spirit of symbolic reference the steps of the winding stairs leading to the middle chamber were divided into a series of three, five, and seven, with the addition in the English ritual of nine and eleven. All of this is, therefore, to be rejected from the class of legends and referred to that of symbols.

Viewing then this Legend or theory of the origin of Masonry at the Temple, tracing it from the almost nude state in which it is presented in the *Legend of the Craft* through the extraneous clothing which was added by Anderson and I suppose by Desaguliers, to the state of tinsel ornamentation in which it appears in the modern ritual, we will come to the following conclusion:

In the *Legend of the Craft* we find only the following statement: That King Solomon was assisted in the building of the Temple by the King of Tyre, who sent him materials for the edifice and a skillful artist, on whose name scarcely any two of them agree, and whom Solomon appointed as his Master of the Work; that Solomon invited Masons from all lands and having collected them together at Jerusalem, organized them into a body by giving them a system of laws and customs for their government. Now, most of these facts are sustained by the historical authority of the Books of Kings and

Chronicles, and those that are not have the support of extreme probability.

That Solomon, King of Israel, built a Temple in Jerusalem is an historical fact that can not be doubted or denied. Richard Carlile, it is true, says, "My historical researches have taught me that that which has been called Solomon's Temple never existed upon earth; that a nation of people called Israelites never existed upon earth, and that the supposed history of the Israelites and their Temple is nothing more than an allegory."[1]

But the measure of the moral and mental stature of Carlile has long been taken, and even among the most skeptical critics he remains alone in his irrational incredulity.

Doubtless there are Oriental exaggerations in respect to the amount of money expended and the number of workmen employed on the building, which have been overestimated. But the simple, naked fact that King Solomon built a temple remains uncontradicted, and is as historically true and undoubted as that of the construction of any other public edifice in antiquity.

It is equally historical that the King of Tyre gave assistance to Solomon in carrying out his design. However fiercely the skeptics may have attacked certain portions of the Bible, the Books of Kings and Chronicles have been placed upon the footing of other ancient historical records and subjected to the same canons of criticism.

Now we are distinctly told that Hiram, King of Tyre, "sent masons and carpenters to David to build him a house;"[2] we learn subsequently that the same Hiram (some say his son) was equally friendly with Solomon, and although there is no distinct mention either in Kings or Chronicles that he sent workmen to Jerusalem,[3] except his namesake, the artificer, yet we may infer that he did so, from the friendship of the two kings, from the need of Solomon for expert workmen, and from the fact which we learn from the First Book of Kings, that the stones for the edifice were hewn by "Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the Giblim." The authorized version, on what authority I know not, translates this word "Giblim" as "stone-squarers." They were, however, the inhabitants

[1] "Manual of Freemasons," Part I., p. 4.

[2] 1 Chronicles, xiv., 1.

[3] We are told in I Kings, v., and it is repeated in 2 Chron., ii., that Hiram sent his workmen to Lebanon to cut down trees. The timber they were to carry to Joppa, where Solomon was to receive it, and, presumably, the workmen were to return to the forest.

of the city of Gebal, called by the Greeks, Byblos, which was the principal seat of the worship and the mysteries of Adonis. The inhabitants were celebrated for their skill in stone-carving and in shipbuilding.

Thus we see that there were, according to the Scriptural account, three classes of Masons engaged at the building of the Temple. First there were the workmen of Solomon: these were of the "four score thousand hewers in the mountains"[1] who were taken by Solomon from "the strangers that were in the land of Israel"[2]—men whom Dr. Adam Clarke supposes to have been not pure Israelites, but proselytes to the Jewish religion so far as to renounce idolatry and to keep the precepts of Noah. But we must believe that among these four score thousand strangers were to be enumerated the workmen who came from Tyre, or there will be no place allotted to them in the distribution in the First Book of Kings. The three thousand three hundred who were "over the work," are said to have been chief officers of Solomon and therefore Israelites, and the remaining seventy thousand were mere laborers or bearers of burden—a class for whom Solomon need not have been indebted to the King of Tyre.

Secondly, there were the workmen of Hiram, King of Tyre. These I have already said were probably, and indeed necessarily, included in the number of four score thousand strangers or foreigners. The words in the original are *anoshim gherim,* men who are foreigners, for Gesenius defines the word *gherim,* to be *"sojourners, strangers, foreigners,* men living out of their country."[3]

Thirdly, we have the Giblim, the inhabitants of the city of Gebal in Phœnicia, who came to Jerusalem, invited there by Solomon, to assist in the construction of the Temple, and who must also be reck oned among the four score thousand strangers.

Thus the *Legend of the Craft* is justified in saying that Solomon "sent after Masons into divers countries and of divers landes," and that he had "four score workers of stone and were all named Masons." For these were the foreigners or sojourners, whom he found in Jerusalem, many of whom had probably come there on his invitation, and the Tyrians who had been sent to him by King Hiram, and the Phoenicians, whom he had called out of Gebal on account of their well-known skill in stone-cutting. And all of these

[1] 1 Kings, v., 15. [2] 2 Chron. ii., 17. [3] Lexicon, *in voce.*

amounted to eighty thousand, the number stated in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and just the number mentioned in the *Legend of the Craft.*

It will be seen that the *Legend of the Craft* takes no notice of the levy of thirty thousand who worked under Adoniram on Mount Lebanon, nor of the seventy thousand who were employed as bearers of burdens. As the former were merely wood-cutters and the latter common laborers, the *Legend* does not class them among the Masons, any more than it does the three thousand three hundred who were, according to the Biblical account, officers of the court of Solomon, who were appointed merely to overlook the Masons and to see that they worked faithfully; perhaps also to pay them their wages, or to distribute their food, and to supervise generally their conduct.

In all this, the *Legend of the Craft* differs entirely from the modern rituals, which have included all these classes, and therefore reckon that at the building of the Temple there were one hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred Masons, instead of eighty thousand. The *Legend* is certainly more in accord with the authority of the Bible than are the rituals.

The *Legend of the Craft* is also justified in saying that Solomon organized these Masons into what might be called a guild, that is, a society or corporation,[1] by giving them "charges and manners"—in other words, a code of laws and regulations. On this question the Bible account is silent, but it amounts to an extreme probability, the nearest approximation to historical evidence, that there must have been some regulations enacted for the government of so large a number of workmen. It is also equally probable that to avoid confusion these workmen must have been divided into sections, or what, in modern parlance, would be called "gangs," engaged in various parts of the building and in different employments. There must have been a higher and more skillful class occupied in directing the works of these several sections; there must have been others less skillful and yet competent to discharge the duties of stone-cutters and layers, and there must have been another and still inferior class who were only acquiring the rudiments of the profession.

Founded on these evident propositions, Anderson made his

[1] The Latin original of the Krause MS. calls it "Societas architedonica"—an architectural society.

division of the workmen at the Temple into the three classes of Master Masons, Fellow Crafts, and Entered Apprentices. But he abandoned the *Legend* in calling the three thousand six hundred officers of King Solomon Master Masons, and making the whole number, exclusive of the seventy thousand laborers and the thirty thousand wood-cutters on Mount Lebanon, eighty-three thousand, and afterward stating that there were one hundred and eighty-three thousand Masons in all—a contradiction of his own previous statement as well as of the *Legend of the Craft* which states the whole number of Masons to have been eighty thousand.

The modern ritual may, however, be considered as having adopted the Temple of Jerusalem as a type of that abstruse symbol of a spiritual temple, which forms, as will be hereafter seen, one of the most important and most interesting symbolic lessons on which the philosophy of Speculative Masonry depends. But viewing it as an historical statement, it is devoid of all claims to credence. The facts stated in the ritual are an outgrowth of those contained in the *Legend of the Craft* which it has greatly altered by unauthorized additions, and it is in entire contradiction to those given in the Books of Kings and Chronicles.

The claim that Freemasonry took its origin at the building of the Temple is without any historical authority. The *Legend of the Craft,* upon which, to be consistent, all Masonic rituals should be founded, assigns its origin equally to two other periods—to that of the building of the Tower of Babel, when Nimrod was Grand Master, and to Egypt under the geometrician Euclid. Why the Temple of Solomon was exclusively selected by the modern Masons as the incunabulum of their Order can be only conjecturally accounted for.

I am not unwilling to believe, for reasons that have been already assigned, that the Operative or Stone Masons of the Middle Ages had some tradition or Legend of the origin of the Institution at the Temple of Solomon. If so, I am inclined to attribute their selection of this in preference to any other stately edifice of antiquity to these reasons.

The mediæval Masons were, as an association of builders, most intimately connected with the ecclesiastics of that age. Their principal home at one time was in the monasteries, they worked under the immediate patronage and supervision of bishops and abbots, and

were chiefly engaged in the construction of cathedrals and other religious edifices. Private houses at that early period were mostly built of wood, and the building of them was the business of carpenters. The *treow-wyr-hta,* literally the tree-workman, in modern phrase the carpenter, was one of the most important handicrafts of the early Anglo-Saxons. He was the builder of their ships as well as of their houses, and the trade is frequently spoken of in ancient Saxon documents. He was constantly employed in the construction of vessels for the carrying on of trade, or the erection of dwellings for the residences of the people.

To the stone-masons was exclusively entrusted the nobler vocation of building religious edifices.

Imbued, from their connection with the priests as well as from their peculiar employment, with religious sentiments, they naturally looked for the type of the great cathedrals which they were erecting, not to Pagan temples, however splendid might be their architecture, but rather to that Jewish cathedral which had been consecrated on Mount Moriah to the worship of the true God. Hence the brief notice of that building in the *Legend of the Craft* was either the suggestion of that esoteric Legend of the Temple which has not, from its necessarily oral character, been handed down to us, or if the written Legend was posterior in time to the oral one, then it was a brief record of it.

But I do not believe that this lost Legend of the stone-masons was ever intended to be historical. It was simply a symbol to illustrate the idea that the Temple at Jerusalem was the type of all Christian cathedrals.

This symbolic Legend, which I suppose to have existed among the stone-masons of the Middle Ages, was probably lost before the revival of Masonry in the year 1717. Anderson therefore framed a new Legend out of the *Legend of the Craft,* the Scriptural account, and his own invention.

Upon this Andersonian Legend, simple in the first edition of the *Constitutions,* but considerably expanded in the second, the modern ritualists have framed another Legend, which in many important details differs from Anderson's, from the *Legend of the Craft,* and from the account in the Bible.

This is the Legend now accepted and believed by the great body of the Craft to be historically true. That it has no claim to histori-

cal credence is evident from the fact that it is, in its most important details, unauthorized, and in fact contradicted by the Scriptural account, which is the only authentic memorial that we have of the transactions that took place at the building of the Solomonic Temple.

And moreover, the long period that elapsed between the building of the Temple, a thousand years before the Christian era, and the time, not earlier than the 3d century after Christ, during which we have no traces of the existence of such an architectural association connected with Jewish Masons and transmitted from them to the Christian architects, presents an extensive lacuna which must be filled by authentic records, before we can be enabled, as scholars investigating truth, to consent to the theory that the Freemasons of the present day are, by uninterrupted successions, the representatives of the Masons who wrought at King Solomon's Temple.

The Legend of the ritual is, in fact, a symbol—but a very important and a very interesting one, and as such will be fully discussed when the subject of Masonic symbols comes to be treated in a subsequent part of this work.

CHAPTER XXV

LEGEND OF THE DIONYSIAC ARTIFICERS

E now approach a very interesting topic in the legendary history of Masonry. The reader has already seen in the last chapter that the Masons of the kingdom of Tyre were invited to join with the Jewish builders in the construction of the Temple. Who these Tyrian Masons were, what was their character, whence they came, and what was the influence exerted by them on the Jewish workmen with whom they were united in a common labor, are questions which can only be solved by a reference to what may be called the *Legend of the Dionysiac Artificers.*

This Legend was entirely unknown to the old Masons of the Middle Ages. There is no reference to it in any of the manuscripts. The brief allusion to the Dionysiacs of Asia Minor in Robison's anti-Masonic work does not necessarily connect them with the Masons of King Solomon.[1]

The first writer who appears to have started the theory that the Masons sent by King Hiram to the King of Israel were members of the Dionysiac fraternity, is Sir David Brewster, who presented the Legend under the guise of an historic statement in the *History of Freemasonry,* published in the beginning of this century, and the authorship of which, although it was actually written by him, has been falsely attributed to Alexander Lawrie, the bookseller of Edinburgh and at the time the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Brewster may therefore, I think, be fairly considered as the original framer of the Legend.

The origin of the mystical and architectural society which Brew-

[1] "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 20.

ster closely connects with the Masons of the Temple may be given in almost his own words:[1]

Between 1055 and 1044 years before Christ, or something more than half a century anterior to the building of the Temple, the inhabitants of Attica, complaining of the narrowness of their territory and the unfruitfulness of the soil, went in quest of more extensive and fertile settlements. Being joined by a number of the inhabitants of the surrounding provinces of Greece, they sailed to Asia Minor and drove out the inhabitants of that portion of the western coast from Phocœa in the north to Miletus in the south. To this narrow strip of land they gave the name of Ionia, because the greatest number of the adventurers were natives of that Grecian state. After partly subduing and partly expelling the original inhabitants, they built several towns, of which one of the principal was Teos.

Prior to this emigration the Greeks had made considerable progress in the arts and sciences, which the adventurers carried with them into their new territory, and they introduced into Ionia the Mysteries of Pallas and Dionysus, before they had become corrupted by the licentiousness of the Athenians.

Especially popular, not only in Ionia but throughout Asia Minor, were the Mysteries of Dionysus, the Roman Bacchus. In these, as in all the religious Mysteries of antiquity, there was a funereal legend.

In the Dionysiac Mysteries the legend of initiation recounted or represented the death of the demi-god Dionysus, the search for and discovery of his body, and his subsequent restoration to life.

In the initiations the candidate was made to represent in his own person, the events connected with the slaying of the hero-god. After a variety of preparatory ceremonies, intended to call forth all his fortitude and courage, the aphanism or mystical death of Dionysus—torn to pieces by the Titans—was presented in a dramatic form and followed by the confinement or burial of the candidate, as the representative of Dionysus in the pastos, couch, or coffin, all of which constituted the first part of the ceremony of initiation. Then began the search for the remains of Dionysus, which was continued amid scenes of the greatest confusion and tumult, until at last, the search having been successful, the morning was turned to joy, light suc-

[1] Lawrie's "History of Freemasonry," 1st edit., p. 27.

ceeded to darkness, and the candidate was invested with the knowledge of the secret doctrine of the Mysteries—the belief in the existence of one God and a future and immortal state.[1]

Now these Mysteries of Dionysus were very intimately connected with a society of architects. As this association, according to the Legend which we are now considering, had much to do with the organization of Masonry at the Solomonic Temple, it is necessary to take a brief notice of its origin and character.

It is an historical fact that at the time of the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, there existed at Tyre as well as in other parts of Asia Minor an association known as the *Dionysian Architects,* because they joined to the practice of operative architecture the observance of the religious rites of the Dionysiac Mysteries.

It has been already stated that the priests of Dionysus had devoted themselves to the study and the practice of architecture, and about one thousand years before the Christian era, or at the time that King Solomon began the construction of the Temple at Jerusalem, had emigrated from Greece and established themselves as a society or fraternity of builders in Asia Minor, and devoted themselves to the construction of temples and other public edifices.[2]

Hiram, who then reigned over the kingdom of Tyre, and who from his cultivation of the sciences has been styled the Augustus of his age, is said to have patronized these religious builders, and to have employed them in the magnificent works by which he adorned and strengthened his capital.

The internal government and the usages of this association were very similar to those exhibited by the Masonic society in the present day, and which the legendary theory supposes to have prevailed among the builders of the Solomonic Temple.

The fraternity was divided into communities called synœcise,[3] having houses or dwellings in common, which might well be com-

[1] Le meurtre de Bacchus mis à mort et déchiré en pièces par les Titans, et son retour à la vie, ont été le sujet d'explications allegoriques tout-à-fait analogues à celles que l'on à données de l'enlèvement de Proserpine et du meurtre d'Osiris.—Sylvestre de Tracy in Sainte-Croix's "Recherches sur les Mysteres du Paganisme," T. ii., p. 86.

[2] Chandler says "the Dionysiasts were artificers or contractors for the Asiatic theaters, and were incorporated and settled at Teos, under the Kings of Pergamum." — "Travels in Asia Minor," vol. i., ch. xxviii., p. 123. [This was at a later period than the era of the Temple.]

[3] "Antiquitates Asiaticæ Christianam Aeram Antecedentes," p. 139.

pared to the Masonic Lodges of the present day. Their plans of meeting were also called in Greek koina, which signifies communities, and each received a distinctive name, just as our Lodges do. Thus Chishull speaks in his account of the pre-Christian antiquities of Asia of a koinon ton Attaliston, or a "community of the Attalistæ," so called, most probably in honor of King Attalus, who was their patron.[1]

There was an annual festival, like the General Assembly or Grand Lodge of the Masons, which was held with great pomp and ceremony. Chandler says (but he speaks of a later period, when they were settled at Teos) that it was the custom of their synod to hold yearly a General Assembly, at which they sacrificed to the gods and poured out libations to their deceased benefactors. They likewise celebrated games in honor of Bacchus, when the crowns which had been bestowed by any of the communities as rewards of merit were announced by heralds, and the wearers of them were applauded by the other members. These meetings, he adds, were solemnized with great pomp and festivity.[2]

The same traveler mentions a long decree made by one of the communities in honor of its magistrates, which he found inscribed on a slab in a Turkish burying-ground. The thanks of the community with a crown of olives are given as a recompense to these officers for their great liberality and trouble while in office; and to perpetuate their memory and to excite an emulation of their merit, it is besides enacted that the decrees be engraved, but at their expense, "so desirable," says Chandler, "was the testimony to the individuals and so frugal the usage in bestowing it."[3]

Of course as an architectural association the Dionysiacs used many of the implements employed by Operative Masons, and as a secret brotherhood they had a system of signs and tokens by which any one of the members could make himself known to the others. Professor Robison, who may be accepted on this point as authority, admits that they were "distinguished from the uninitiated or profane inhabitants by the science which they possessed and by many private signs and tokens by which they recognized each other."[4]

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[1] Rollin's "Universal History" places Attalus in the rank of those princes who loved and patronized letters and the arts.

[2] Chandler, "Travels in Asia Minor," vol. i., ch. xxx., p. 126.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., ch. xxviii., p. 124.

[4] "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 20.

Each of the *koina* or separate communities into which they were divided was under the direction of officers corresponding to a Master and Wardens.[1]

The Masonic principle of charity was practiced among them and the opulent members were bound to provide for the wants and necessities of their poorer brethren.

The Legend which connects these architects with the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, assumes that Hiram Abif was a member of this secret association. Although the Scriptural narrative is adverse to this theory, since it states that he was simply a worker in metals and precious stones, yet we may reconcile it with possibility by supposing that such craftsmen were admitted into the association of the Dionysiacs because their decorative art was necessary for the completion and perfection of the temples and public buildings which they constructed. This is, however, merely conjectural.

The Legend, now connecting itself in part with history, proceeds to state that when Solomon was about to build a temple to Jehovah, he made his intention known to his friend and ally, Hiram, King of Tyre, and because he was well aware of the architectural skill of the Tyrian Dionysiacs, he besought that monarch's assistance to enable him to carry his pious design into execution. Hiram complied with his request and sent him the necessary workmen, who by their skill and experience might supply the mechanical deficiencies and ignorance of the Israelites.

With the body of builders he sent this Hiram Abif, who as "a curious and cunning workman," highly recommended by his patron, was entrusted by King Solomon with the superintendence of the construction and placed at the head of both the Tyrian and Jewish craftsmen as the chief builder and principal conductor of the work.

To this distinguished artist, on account of the large influence which his position gave him and the exalted personal virtues which are traditionally supposed to have characterized him, is to be attributed, according to the Legend, the intimate union of two peoples so dissimilar in manners and so antagonized in religion as the Jews and the Tyrians, which resulted in the organization of the Institution of Freemasonry.

Supposing Hiram Abif, as the Legend does, to have been con-

[1] Brewster in Lawrie's "History," p. 29.

nected with the Dionysiac fraternity, we may also suppose that he could not have been a very humble or inconspicuous member, if we may judge of his rank in the society, from the amount of talent which he is said to have possessed, and from the elevated position that he held in the affections and at the court of the King of Tyre.

He must therefore have been very familiar with all the ceremonial usages of the Dionysiac artificers and must have enjoyed a long experience of the advantages derived from the government and discipline which they practiced in the erection of the many sacred edifices which they had constructed. A portion of these ceremonial usages and of this discipline he would naturally be inclined to introduce among the workmen at Jerusalem. He therefore united them in a society, similar in many respects to that of the Dionysiac artificers. He inculcated lessons of charity and brotherly love; he established a ceremony of initiation to test experimentally the worth and fortitude of the candidate; adopted secret methods of recognition; and impressed the obligations of duty and the principles of morality by means of symbols and allegories.

Just at this point a difficulty must have arisen in reconciling the pagan symbolic instruction of the Tyrians with the religious notions of the Jews, which, however, the Legend ingeniously overcomes.

The most prominent symbol of Speculative Masonry, that, indeed, on which the whole of the ethical instructions is founded, is contained in the lesson of resurrection to a future life as developed in the allegorical Legend of the Master's Degree.

In the Pagan Mysteries, of which the Dionysia were a part, this doctrine was also illustrated by an allegorical legend. In the Mysteries of Dionysus which were practiced by the Tyrian architects the legend related to the death and subsequent resuscitation of Bacchus or Dionysus.

But it would have been utterly impossible to have introduced such a legend as the basis of any instructions to be communicated to Jewish initiates. Any allusion to the mythological fables of their Gentile neighbors would have been equally offensive to the taste and repugnant to the religious prejudices of a nation educated from generation to generation in the worship of a Divine Being, who, they had been taught, was jealous of his prerogatives, and who had made himself known to their ancestors as the JEHOVAH, the only God of time present, past, and future.

The difficulty of obtaining a legend on which the dogma of the Third Degree might be founded was obviated by substituting Hiram Abif, after his death (at which time only the system could have been perfected), in the place of Dionysus. The lesson taught in the Mysteries practiced by the Dionysiac artificers was thus translated into the Masonic initiation, the form of the symbolism remaining the same, but the circumstances of the legend necessarily varying.

By this union of the Dionysiacs with the Jewish workmen and the introduction of their mystical organization, the Masonic Order assumed at the building of the Temple that purely speculative form connected with the operative which it has ever since retained.

From its Jewish element it derived its religious character as a pure theism.

From its Tyrian element it borrowed its peculiar mystical character and its system of symbolism, which so much assimilated it to the ancient Pagan Mysteries, that a Legend has been framed (to be hereafter considered) which traces its origin directly to those secret associations of antiquity.

Upon the completion of the Temple, the workmen, invested with all the secrets which had been promised in their initiation, and thus becoming Master Masons, dispersed, that they might be enabled to extend their knowledge and to renew their labors in other lands.

Such is the Legend which seeks to attribute the present form of Freemasonry to the connection of the Dionysiac artisans of Tyre with the Jewish workmen at the building of the Temple. So much of the Legend as relates to the existence of a building sodality at Tyre (leaving out the question whether they were or were not Dionysiacs), some of whose members went to Jerusalem to assist in the construction of the Solomonic Temple, may, I think, be accepted as indisputably historic. What Were the real influences exerted by them on the Jewish people, is a question whose answer finds no place in the realm of history, but must be relegated to the doubtful domain of conjecture. Brewster has described the Dionysiacs as they existed in about the 3d century before Christ, and after their incorporation by King Attalus, as if they maintained the same condition in the reign of Hiram of Tyre seven hundred years before. For this statement there is no warrant in any historical record. The supposition that the Dionysiacs of Tyre and those of Teos were identical in organization, is simply a theory based on a mere assump-

tion. It is, however, certain that they who adopt the legendary theory that Freemasonry was first organized at the Temple of Solomon, will find much to sustain their theory in the Legend of the Dionys. iac Artificers.

It is equally certain that those who deny the Temple theory will have to reject the Dionysiac, for the two are too closely connected to be arbitrarily dissevered.

But laying the subject of Freemasonry altogether aside, and considering the connection of the Tyrians and the Jews at the Temple as a mere historical question, it would present a very interesting study of history to determine what were the results of that connection, if there were any way of solving it except by mere conjecture.

The subsequent history of the association of Dionysiac Architects forms no part of the Legend which has just been recited; but it may be interesting to trace their progress. About seven hundred years after the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, they are said to have been incorporated by the King of Pergamum, an ancient province of Mysia, as a society exclusively engaged in the erection of public buildings such as theaters and temples. They settled at Teos, an Ionian city, on the coast of Asia Minor, where, notwithstanding its intestine troubles, they remained for several centuries. Among the works accomplished by them were a magnificent theater and a splendid temple of Dionysus, some ruins of which still remain.

But proving turbulent and seditious they were at length expelled from Teos and removed to the city of Ephesus. Thence they were transferred by King Attalus to the town of Myonessus. The Teians having sent an embassy to Rome to request that the Myonessians should not be permitted to fortify their city, the Dionysiacs removed to Lebedos, about fifteen miles from Teos, where they were joyfully welcomed.

In the 5th century of the Christian era the Emperor Theodosius abolished all mystical associations, but the Dionysiacs are said to have continued their existence until the time of the Crusades, when they passed over into Europe and were merged in the association of builders known as the *Traveling Freemasons* of the Middle Ages. This latter part of the narrative is, I think, merely legendary or traditional, and will find no support in authentic history. It is, however, an historical study to be examined hereafter.

CHAPTER XXVI

FREEMASONRY AND THE ANCIENT MYSTERIES

THE theory which ascribes the origin of Freemasonry as a secret society to the Pagan Mysteries of the ancient world, and which derives the most important part of its ritual and the legend of its Third Degree from the initiation practiced in these religious organizations, necessarily connects itself with the Legend of the Temple origin of the Institution, because we can only link the initiation in the Mysteries with that of Freemasonry by supposing that the one was in some way engrafted on the other, at the time of the building of the Temple and the union of the Jewish and Tyrian workmen.

But before we can properly appreciate the theory which associates Freemasonry with the Pagan Mysteries, we must make ourselves acquainted with the nature and the design as well as with something of the history of those mystical societies.

Among all the nations of antiquity in which refinement and culture had given an elevated tone to the religious sentiment, there existed two systems of worship, a public and a private one. "Each of the pagan Gods," says Warburton, "had (besides the public and open) a secret worship paid unto him, to which none were admitted but those who had been selected by preparatory ceremonies, called INITIATION. This secret worship was called the MYSTERIES."[1]

The public worship was founded on the superstitious polytheism whose numerous gods and goddesses were debased in character and vicious in conduct. Incentive to virtue could not be derived from their example, which furnished rather excuses for vice. In the *Eunuchus* of Terenie, when Chærea is meditating the seduction of the virgin Pamphila, he refers to the similar act of Jupiter,

[1] "Divine Legation of Moses," B. I., sect. iv., p. 193.

who in a shower of gold had corrupted Danse, and he exclaims, "If a god, who by his thunders shakes the whole universe, could commit this crime, shall not I, a mere mortal, do so also?"[1] Plautus, Euripides, and other Greek and Roman dramatists and poets repeatedly used the same argument in defense of the views of their heroes, so that it became a settled principle of the ancient religion. The vicious example of the gods thus became an insuperable obstacle to a life of purity and holiness.[2]

The assurance of a future life of compensation constituted no part of the popular theology. The poets, it is true, indulged in romantic descriptions of an Elysium and a Tartarus, but their views were uncertain and unsatisfactory, as to any specific doctrine of immortality, and were embodied in the saying of Ovid[3] that of the four elements which constituted the human organization, "the earth covers the flesh; the shade flits around the tomb; the spirit seeks the stars."

Thus did the poet express the prevalent idea that the composite man returned after death to the various primordial elements of which he had been originally composed. In such a dim and shadowy hypothesis there was no incentive for life, no consolation in death. And hence Alger, to whom the world has been indebted for a most exhaustive treatise on the popular beliefs of all nations, ancient and modern, on the subject of the future life, has after a full and critical examination of the question, come to the following conclusion:

"To the ancient Greek in general, death was a sad doom. When he lost a friend, he sighed a melancholy farewell after him to the faded shore of ghosts. Summoned himself, he departed with a lingering look at the sun and a tearful adieu to the bright day and the green earth. To the Roman death was a grim reality. To meet it himself he girded up his loins with artificial firmness. But at its ravages among his friends, he wailed in anguished abandonment. To his dying vision there was indeed a future, but shapes of distrust and shadow stood upon its disconsolate borders; and

[1] At quem Deum, qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit;
Ego homuncio hoc non facerem?
—Act iii., sc. 5.

[2] Warburton, "Divine Legation," B. II., sect. iv.

[3] Terra tegit carnem; tumulum circumvolat umbra; orcus habet manes; spiritus astra petit.

when the prospect had no horror, he still shrank from the poppied gloom."[1]

Yet as each nation advanced in refinement and intellectual culture the priests, the poets, and the philosophers[2] aspired to a higher thought and cherished the longing for and inculcated the consoling doctrine of an immortality, not to be spent in shadowy and inert forms of existence, but in perpetual enjoyment, as a compensation for the ills of life.

The necessary result of the growth of such pure and elevated notions must have been a contempt and condemnation of the absurdities of polytheism. But as this was the popular religion it was readily perceived that any open attempt to overthrow it and to advance, publicly, opinions so antagonistic to it would be highly impolitic and dangerous. Whenever any religion, whether true or false, becomes the religion of a people, whoever opposes it, or ridicules it, or seeks to subvert it, is sure to be denounced by popular fanaticism and to be punished by popular intolerance.

Socrates was doomed to drink the poisoned bowl on the charge that he taught the Athenian youth not to worship the gods who are worshipped by the state, but new and unknown deities. Jesus was suspended from the cross because he inculcated doctrines which, however pure, were novel and obnoxious to the old religion of his Jewish countrymen.

The new religious truths among the Pagan peoples were therefore concealed from common inspection and taught only in secret societies, admission to which was obtained only through the ordeal of a painful initiation, and the doctrines were further concealed under the veil of symbols whose true meaning the initiated only could understand. "The truth," says Clemens of Alexandria, "was taught involved in enigmas, symbols, allegories, metaphors, and tropes and figures."[3]

The secret associations in which the principles of a new and

[1] "Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life," p. 196.

[2] Many of the philosophers were, however, skeptics. The Stoics, for instance, and they were the leading sect, denied the survival of the soul after the death of the body; or, if any of them conceded its survival, they attributed to it only a temporary duration before it is dissolved and absorbed into the universe. Seneca ("Troades," I., 397) says "there is nothing after death, and death itself is nothing." *Post mortem nihil, est ipsaque mors nihil.*

[3] "Stromat.," lib. v., p. 658.

purer theology were taught have received in history the name of the MYSTERIES.

Each country had its own Mysteries peculiar to itself. In Egypt were those of Osiris and Isis; in Samothrace those of the Cabiri; in Greece they celebrated at Eleusis, near Athens, the Mysteries of Demeter; in Syria of Adonis; in Phœnicia of Dionysus; and in Persia those of Mithras, which were the last to perish after the advent of Christianity and the overthrow of polytheism.

These Mysteries, although they differed in name and in some of the details of initiation, were essentially alike in general form and design. "Their end as well as nature," says Warburton, "was the same in all: to teach the doctrine of a future state."[1] Alger says: "The implications of the indirect evidence, the leanings and guidings of all the incidental clews now left us as to the real aim and purport of the Mysteries, combine to assure us that their chief teaching was a doctrine of a future life in which there should be rewards and punishments."[2]

Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, than whom no better modern authority on this subject could be cited, says that "the initiated were instructed in the doctrine of a state of future rewards and punishments,"[3] and that the greater Mysteries "obscurely intimated, by mystic and splendid visions, the felicity of the soul both here and hereafter, when purified from the defilements of a material nature and constantly elevated to the realities of intellectual vision."[4]

All the ancient writers who were contemporary with these associations, and must have been familiar with their character, concur in the opinion that their design was to teach the doctrine of a future life of compensation.

Pindar says, "Happy the man who descends beneath the hollow earth having beheld these Mysteries. He knows the end, he knows the divine origin of life."

Sophocles says that "they are thrice happy who descend to the shades below, after having beheld these rites; for they alone have life in Hades, while all others suffer there every kind of evil."

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[1] "Divine Legation," B. I., sect. iv., p. 194.

[2] "Crit. Hist. of the Doctrine of a Future Life," p. 454.

[3] "Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries" *apud Pamphleteer,* vol. viii, p. 40.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

And lastly, Isocrates declares that "those who have been initiated in the Mysteries of Ceres entertain better hopes both as to the end of life and the whole of futurity."

It is then evident from all authorities that the great end and design of the initiation into these Mysteries was to teach the aspirant the doctrine of a future life—not that aimless, uncertain, and shadowy one portrayed by the poets and doubtfully consented to by the people, but that pure and rational state of immortal existence in which the soul is purified from the dross of the body and elevated to eternal life. It was, in short, much the same in its spirit as the Christian and Masonic doctrine of the resurrection.

But this lesson was communicated in the Mysteries in a peculiar form, which has in fact given rise to the theory we are now considering that they were the antetype and original source of Speculative Masonry. They were all dramatic in their ceremonies; each one exhibited in a series of scenic representations the adventures of some god or hero; the attacks upon him by his enemies; his death at their hands; his descent into Hades or the grave, and his final resurrection to renewed life as a mortal, or his apotheosis as a god.

The only important difference between these various Mysteries was, that there was to each one a different and peculiar god or hero, whose death and resurrection or apotheosis constituted the subject of the drama, and gave to its scenes the changes which were dependent on the adventures of him who was its main subject. Thus, in Samothrace, where the Mysteries of the Cabiri were celebrated, it was Atys, the lover of Cybele, who was slain and restored; in Egypt it was Osiris whose death and resurrection were represented; in Greece it was Dionysus, and in Persia Mithras.

But in all of these the material points of the plot and the religious design of the sacred drama were identical. The dramatic form and the scenic representation of the allegory were everywhere preserved.

This dramatic form of the initiatory rites in the Mysteries—this acted allegory in which the doctrine of the resurrection was shadowed forth by the visible representation of some fictitious event—was, as the learned Dr. Dollinger[1] has justly observed, "eminently calculated to take a powerful hold on the imagination and the heart,

[1] "Jew and Gentile," I., p. 136, Darnell's Translation.

and to excite in the spectators alternately conflicting sentiments of terror and calmness, of sorrow and fear and hope."

As the Mysteries were a secret society, whose members were separated from the rest of the people by a ceremony of initiation, there resulted from this form of organization, as a necessary means of defense and of isolation, a solemn obligation of secrecy, with severe penalties for its violation, and certain modes of recognition known only to those who had been instructed in them.

There was what might be called a progressive order of degrees, for the neophyte was not at once upon his initiation invested with a knowledge of the deepest arcana of the religious system.

Thus the Mysteries were divided into two classes called the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries, and in addition there was a preliminary ceremony, which was only preparatory to the Mysteries proper. So that there was in the process of reception a system of three steps, which those who are fond of tracing analogies between the ancient and the modern initiations are prone to call degrees.

A brief review of these three steps of progress in the Mysteries will give the reader a very definite idea of the nature of this ancient system in which so many writers have thought that they had found the incunabulum of modern Freemasonry, and will enable him to appreciate at their just value the analogies which these writers have found, as they suppose, between the two systems. The first step was called the *Lustration,* or purification by water. When the neophyte was ready to be received into any of the ancient Mysteries, he was carried into the temple or other place appropriated to the ceremony of initiation, and there underwent a thorough cleansing of the body by water. This was the preparation for reception into the Lesser Mysteries and was symbolic of that purification of the heart that was absolutely necessary to prepare the aspirant for admission to a knowledge of and participation in the sacred lessons which were to be subsequently communicated to him. It has been sought to find in this preparatory ceremony an analogy to the first degree of Masonry. Such an analogy certainly exists, as will hereafter be shown, but the theory that the Apprentice's degree was derived from and suggested by the ceremony of Lustration in the Mysteries is wholly untenable, because this ceremony was not peculiar to the Mysteries.

An ablution, lustration, or cleansing by water, as a religious rite was practiced among all the ancient nations. More especially was

it observed among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. With the Hebrews the lustration was a preliminary ceremony to every act of expiation or sin-offering. Hence the Jewish prophets continually refer to the ablution of the body with water as a symbol of the purification of the heart. Among the Greeks lustration was always connected with their sacrifices. It consisted in the sprinkling of water by means of an olive or a laurel branch. Among the Romans, the ceremony was more common than among the Greeks. It was used not only to expiate crime, but also to secure the blessing of the Gods. Thus, fields were lustrated before the corn was put into the ground; colonies when they were first established, and armies before they proceeded to battle. At the end of every fifth year, the whole people were thus purified by a general lustration. Everywhere the rite was connected with the performance of sacrifice and with the idea of a moral purification.

The next step in the ceremonies of the ancient Mysteries was called the *Initiation.* It was here that the dramatic allegory was performed and the myth or fictitious history on which the peculiar Mystery was founded was developed. The neophyte personated the supposed events of the life, the sufferings, and the death of the god or hero to whom the Mystery was dedicated, or he had them brought in vivid representation before him. These ceremonies constituted a symbolic instruction in the *initia*—the beginnings—of the religious system which it was the object of the Mysteries to teach.

The ceremonies of initiation were performed partly in the Lesser, but more especially and more fully in the Greater Mysteries, of which they were the first part, and where only the allegory of death was enacted. The Lesser Mysteries, which were introductory to the Greater, have been supposed by the theorists who maintain the connection between the Mysteries and Freemasonry to be analogous to the Fellow Craft's degree of the latter Institution.

There may be some ground for this comparison in a rather inexact way, for although the Lesser Mysteries were to some extent public, yet as they were, as Clemens of Alexandria[1] says, a certain groundwork of instruction and preparation for the things that were to follow, they might perhaps be considered as analogous to the Fellow Craft's degree.

[1] "Stromat.," v., p. 424.

The third and last of the progressive steps or grades in the Mysteries was *Perfection.* It was the ultimate object of the system. It was also called the autopsy, from a Greek word which signifies *seeing with one's own eyes.* It was the complete and finished communication to the neophyte of the great secret of the Mysteries; the secret for the preservation of which the system of initiation had been invented, and which, during the whole course of that initiation, had been symbolically shadowed forth.

The communication of this secret, which was in fact the explanation of the secret doctrine, for the inculcation of which the Mysteries in every country had been instituted, was made in the most sacred and private place of the temple or place of initiation.

As the *autopsy* or *Perfection* of the Mysteries concluded the whole system, the maintainers of the doctrine that Freemasonry finds its origin in the Mysteries have compared this last step in the ancient initiation to the Master's degree. But the analogy between the two as a consummation of the secret doctrine is less patent in the third degree, as it now exists, than it was before the disseverance from it of the Royal Arch, accepting, however, the Master's degree as it was constituted in the earlier part of the 18th century, the analogies between that and the last stage of the Mysteries are certainly very interesting, although not sufficient to prove the origin of the modern from the ancient systems. But of this more hereafter.

This view of the organization of the Pagan Mysteries would not be complete without some reference to the dramatized allegory which constituted so important a part of the ceremony of initiation, and in connection with which their relation to Freemasonry has been most earnestly urged.

It has been already said that the Mysteries were originally invented for the purpose of teaching two great religious truths, which were unknown to, or at least not recognized, in the popular faith. These were the unity of God and the immortality of the soul in a future life. The former, although illustrated at every point by expressed symbols, such, for instance, as the all-seeing eye, the eye of the universe, and the image of the Deity, was not allegorized, but taught as an abstract doctrine at the time of the autopsy or the close of the grade of *Perfection.* The other truth, the dogma of a future life, and of a resurrection from death to immortality, was communicated by an allegory which was dramatized in much the same way

in each of the Mysteries, although, of course, in each nation the person and the events which made up the allegory were different. The interpretation was, however, always the same.

As Egypt was the first country of antiquity to receive the germs of civilization, it is there that the first Mysteries are supposed to have been invented.[1] And although the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were introduced into Greece long after the invention of the Osiriac in Egypt, were more popular among the ancients, yet the Egyptian initiation exhibits more purely and more expressively the symbolic idea which was to be developed in the interpretation of its allegory. I shall therefore select the Osiriac, which was the most important of the Egyptian Mysteries, as the exemplar from which an idea may be obtained of the character of all the other Mysteries of paganism.

All the writers of antiquity, such as Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and Herodotus, state that the Egyptian Mysteries of Osiris, Isis, and Horus were the model of all the other systems of initiation which were subsequently established among the different peoples of the Old World. Indeed, the ancients held that the Demeter of the Greeks was identical with the Isis of the Egyptians, and Dionysus with Osiris. Their adventures were certainly very similar.

The place of Osiris in Egyptian history is unknown to us. The fragments of Sanchoniathon speak of Isiris, the brother of Chna or Canaan; in the lists of Manetho, he is made the fifth king under the dynasty of the demi-gods, being conjoined with Isis; but as the four preceding kings are named as Hephœstus, Helios, Agathodomon and Kronos, the whole is evidently a mere mythological fable, and we have as far to seek as ever. Herodotus is not more satisfactory, for he says that Osiris and Isis were two great deities of the Egyptians. Banier, however, in his *Mythology* thinks that he was the same as Mizraim, the son of Cham, and grandson of Noah. Bishop Cumberland concurs in this and adds that Cham was the first king of Egypt, that Osiris was a title appropriated by him, signifying Prince, and that Isis was simply Ishah, his wife. Lastly, Diodorus Siculus says that he was Menes, the first King of Egypt. Some later writers have sought to identify Osiris and Isis with the

[1] The first and original Mysteries of which we have any account were those of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, from whence they were derived by the Greeks-—Warburton, "Divine Legation," I., p. 194. Diodorus says the same thing in the first book of his "History," I., xxxvi.

Iswara and Isi of India. There is certainly a great deal of etymological plausibility in this last conjecture.

The ubiquitous character of Osiris as a personality among the ancients is best shown in an epigram of Ausonius, wherein it is said that in Greece, at Eleusis, he was called Bacchus; the Egyptians thought that he was Osiris, the Mysians of Asia Minor named him Phanœus or Apollo; the Indians supposed that he was Dionysus; the sacred rites of the Romans called him Liber; and the Arabians, Adonis.[1]

But the only thing that is of any interest to us in this connection is that Osiris was the hero of the earliest of the Mysteries, and that his death and apotheosis—his change from a mortal king to an immortal God—symbolized the doctrine of a future life.

His historical character was that of a mild and beneficent sovereign, who had introduced the arts of civilization among his subjects, and had then traveled for three years for the purpose of extending them into other nations, leaving the government of his kingdom, during his absence, to his wife Isis. According to the legend, his brother Typhon had been a rival claimant for the throne, and his defeat had engendered a feeling of ill-will. During the absence of Osiris, he, therefore, formed a secret conspiracy with some of his adherents to usurp the throne.

On the return of Osiris from his travels he was invited by Typhon to a banquet, ostensibly given in his honor, at which all the conspirators were present. During the feast Typhon produced a chest, inlaid with gold, and promised to present it to that person of the company, whose body, upon trial, would be found most exactly to fit it. Osiris tried the experiment, but as soon as he had laid himself in the chest, Typhon closed and nailed down the lid.

The chest was then thrown into the river Nile, whence it floated into the sea, and, after being for some time tossed upon the waves, it was finally cast ashore at the town of Byblos, in Phœnicia, and left at the foot of a Tamarisk tree. Isis, the wife of Osiris, over-

[1] Ogygia me Bacchum vacat;
Osisin Egyptus putat;
Mysi Phanacem nominant;
Dionuson Indi existimant;
Romana sacra Liberum;
Arabica gens Adoneum.
—Ausonius, Ep. 30.

whelmed with grief for the loss of her husband, commenced a search for the body, being accompanied by her son, Anubis, and his nurse, Nepthe.

After many adventures Isis arrived on the shores of Phoenicia and in the neighborhood of Byblos, where she at length discovered the body at the foot of the Tamarisk tree. She returned with it to Egypt. It was received by the people with great demonstrations of joy, and it was proclaimed that Osiris had risen from the dead and had become a god.

The sufferings of Osiris, his death, his resurrection, and his subsequent office as judge of the dead in a future state, constituted the fundamental principles of the Egyptian religion. They taught the secret doctrine of a future life, and initiation into the mysteries of Osiris was initiation into the rites of the religion of Egypt. These rites were conducted by the priests, and into them many sages from other countries, especially from Greece, such as Herodotus, Plutarch, and Pythagoras, were initiated.

In this way it is supposed that the principles and general form of the Mysteries were conveyed into other countries, although they everywhere varied in the details. The most important of the Mysteries besides the Egyptian were those of Mithras in Persia, of Atys or of the Cabiri in Thrace, of Adonis in Syria, and of Dionysus in Greece. They extended even beyond the then more civilized parts of the world into the northern regions of Europe, where were practiced the Scandinavian rites of the Norsemen and the Druidical Mysteries of Gaul and Britain, though these were probably derived more directly from a primitive Aryan source.

But wherever they existed we find in them a remarkable unity of design and a similarity of ceremonies from which we are compelled to deduce a common origin, while the purity of the doctrines which they taught evidently show that this common origin was not. to be sought in the popular theology.

In all of the Mysteries the ceremonies of initiation were of a funereal character. They allegorized in a dramatic form the sufferings, the death, and the resurrection of some god or hero. There was a death, most generally by violence,[1] to symbolize, as certain

[1] Thus Clemens of Alexandria describes the legend or allegory of the Cabiri Mysteries as the sacred mystery of a brother slain by his brethren, "frater trucidatus a fratribus."

interpreters of the Mysteries have supposed, the strife of certain antagonistic powers in nature, such as life and death, virtue and vice, light and darkness, or summer and winter.

The person thus slain was represented in the allegorical drama by the candidate. After the death followed the disappearance of the body, called by the Greeks the *aphanism,* and the consequent search for it. This search for the body, in which all the initiates joined, constituted what Faber calls "the doleful part," and was succeeded by its discovery, which was known as the *heuresis.*[1] This was accompanied by the greatest demonstrations of joy. The candidate was afterward instructed in the *apporheta,* or secret dogmas of the Mysteries.

In all of the Pagan Mysteries this dramatic form of an allegory was preserved, and we may readily see in the groans and lamentations on the death of the god or hero and the disappearance of the body a symbol of the death of man, and in the subsequent rejoicings at his discovery and restoration, a symbol of the restoration of the spirit to eternal life.

In view of the purity of the lessons taught in the Mysteries and their inculcation of the elevated dogmas of the unity of God and the immortality of the soul, it is not surprising to read the encomiums passed upon them by the philosophers of antiquity.

The reader, if he has carefully considered the allegorical drama which was represented in the ancient Mysteries, and compared it with the drama which constitutes the principal portion of the initiation in Freemasonry, will be at no loss to account for the reasons which have led so many writers to attribute the origin of the Masonic system to these mystical associations of antiquity.

It has been a favorite theory with several German, French, and British scholars to trace the origin of Freemasonry to the Mysteries of Paganism, while others, repudiating the idea that the modern association should have sprung from them, still find analogies so remarkable between the two systems as to lead them to suppose that the Mysteries were an offshoot from the pure Freemasonry of the Patriarchs.

In my opinion there is not the slightest foundation in historical

[1] "Concerning Adonis, whom some call Osiris, there are two things remarkable: *aphanismos,* the death or loss of Adonis; and *heuresis,* the finding of him again."—Godevyn in "Moses and Aaron," lib. iv., c. 2.

evidence to support either theory, although I admit the existence of many analogies between the two systems, which can, however, be easily explained without admitting any connection in the way of origin and descent between them.

Of the theory that the Mysteries were an offshoot or imitation of the pure patriarchal Freemasonry, Hutchinson and Oliver are the most distinguished supporters.

While Hutchinson strongly contends for the direct derivation of Freemasonry from Adam, through the line of the patriarchs to Moses and Solomon, he does not deny that it borrowed much from the initiations and symbols of the Pagans.

Thus he unhesitatingly says, that "there is no doubt that our ceremonies and Mysteries were derived from the rites, ceremonies, and institutions of the ancients, and some of them from the remotest ages!"[1]

But lest the purity of the genuine patriarchal Masonry should be polluted by borrowing its ceremonies from such an impure source, he subsequently describes, in that indefinite manner which was the peculiarity of his style, the separation of a purer class from the debasement of the popular religion, wherein he evidently alludes to the Mysteries. Thus he says:

"In the corruption and ignorance of after ages, those hallowed places[2] were polluted with idolatry; the unenlightened mind mistook the type for the original, and could not discern the light from darkness; the sacred groves and hills became the objects of enthusiastic bigotry and superstition; the devotees bowed down to the oaken log and the graven image as being divine. Some preserved themselves from the corruptions of the times, and we find those sages and select men to whom were committed, and who retained, the light of understanding and truth, unpolluted with the sins of the world, under the denomination of Magi among the Persians; wise men, soothsayers, and astrologers among the Chaldeans; philosophers among the Greeks and Romans; Brahmins among the Indians; Druids and bards among the Britons; and with the people of God, Solomon shone forth in the fullness of human wisdom."[3]

Dr. Oliver expresses almost the same views, but more explicitly.

[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. ii., p. 15.

[2] "The highest hills and lowest valleys."

[3] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. iv., p. 59.

He was, I think, the first to advance the theory that two systems of Masonry had come down the course of time, both derived from a common source, which he called the Pure and the Spurious Freemasonry of antiquity—the former descending without interruption from the Patriarchs, and especially from Noah, and which system was the progenitor of that which is now practiced, and the latter, being a schism, as it were, from the former, and impure and corrupted in its principles, and preserved in the Pagan Mysteries. He admits, however, that there were certain analogies between the two in their symbols and allegories. His own language on this subject, which is as follows, leaves no doubt of the nature of his views. In a note to his *History of Initiation,* an elaborate and learned work on certain of these Mysteries, he says:

"I have denominated the surreptitious initiations *earth-born,* in contra-distinction to the purity of Freemasonry, which was certainly derived from above; and to those who contend that Masonry is nothing more than a miserable relic of the idolatrous Mysteries (vide *Fab. Pag. Idol.,* vol. iii., p. 190), I would reply, in the words of an. inspired apostle, 'Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? Can the fig tree bear olive berries or a vine figs? So can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh. The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, full of mercy and good fruits' (James iii. 11, 12, 17). I wish to be distinct and intelligible on this point, as some misapprehensions are afloat respecting the immediate object of my former volume of Signs and Symbols; and I have been told that the arguments there used afford an indirect sanction to the opinion that Masonry is derived from the Mysteries. In answer to this charge, if it requires one, I only need reply to the general tenor of that volume, and to declare explicitly my firm opinion, founded on intense study and abstruse research, that the science which we now denominate Speculative Masonry, was coeval, at least, with the creation of our globe, and the far-famed Mysteries of idolatry were a subsequent institution founded on similar principles, with the design of conveying unity and permanence to the false worship, which it otherwise could never have acquired."[1]

I do not know of any other prominent Masonic writer who en-

[1] "History of Initiation," lect. i., p. 13, notes.

tertains the theory of the common origin but diverse descent of the Mysteries and Freemasonry, although there are many who, subscribing with implicit faith to the teachings of Dr. Oliver as a Masonic historian, necessarily give their assent to his opinion on this subject.

There is another class of Masonic scholars who have advanced the theory that the Speculative Freemasonry of the present day is derived directly from and is a legitimate successor of the Mysteries of antiquity. They found this theory on the very many and striking analogies that are to be found in the organization, the design, and the symbols of the two systems, and which they claim can only be explained on the theory that the one is an offshoot from the other.

The Abbé Robin was, perhaps, the first writer who advanced this idea in a distinct form. In a work on the Ancient and Modern Initiations,[1] published in 1780, he traces the origin of the ancient systems of initiation to that early period when wicked men, urged by the terror of guilt, sought among the virtuous for intercessors with the Deity. The latter, he says, retired into solitary places to avoid the contagion of the growing corruption, and devoted themselves to a life of contemplation and to the cultivation of the arts and sciences. In order to associate with them in their labors and functions only such as had sufficient merit and capacity, they appointed strict courses of trial and examination. This, he thinks, must have been the source of the initiations which distinguished the celebrated Mysteries of antiquity. The Magi of Chaldea, the Brahmins and Gymnosophists of India, the Priests of Egypt, and the Druids of Gaul and Britain thus lived in sequestered places and obtained great reputation by their discoveries in astronomy, chemistry, and mechanics, by the purity of their morals, and by their knowledge of the science of legislation.

It was in these schools, says the abbé, that the first sages and legislators of antiquity were formed, where the doctrines taught were the unity of God and the immortality of the soul, and it was from these Mysteries that the exuberant fancy of the Greeks drew much of their mythology. From these ancient initiations he deduces the orders of Chivalry which sprang into existence in the Middle Ages,

[1] "Recherches sur les Initiations Anciennes et Modernes."

and certain branches of these, he thinks, produced the institution of Freemasonry.

The theory of the Abbé Robin therefore traces the institution of Masonry to the ancient Mysteries, but in an indirect way, through the orders of Chivalry. He might therefore more correctly be classed among those who maintain the doctrine of the Templar origin of Freemasonry.

But it is Alexander Lenoir, the French archaeologist, who has attempted in the most explicit and comprehensive manner to establish the doctrine of the direct descent of Freemasonry from the ancient Mysteries, and especially from the Egyptian. In the year 1814 he published an elaborate work on this subject.[1] In this he begins by affirming that we cannot expect to find in the Egyptian and Greek initiations those modes of recognition which are used by the Freemasons of the present day, because these methods, which are only conventional and had been orally communicated under the obligation of secrecy, can not be known to us, for they could not have been transmitted through the lapse of ages. Omitting, therefore, all reference to these as matters of no real importance, he confines himself to a comparison of the Masonic with the ancient rites of initiation. In this view he comes to the conclusion that Freemasonry in all the points that it essentially comprehends is in direct relation with the Mysteries of the ancient world, and that hence, abstracting certain particular usages practiced by the modern Freemasons, it is evident that Freemasonry in no respect differs from the ancient initiations of the Egyptians and the Greeks.

This theory has been embraced by nearly all the French Masonic writers except Rebold, who traces Masonry to the Roman Colleges of Artificers.

Unfortunately for the general acceptance of this theory, M. Lenoir has in the first place drawn his comparisons from the system of ceremonies of initiation which are practiced in the lodges of France, and especially from the "proofs and trials" of the Entered Apprentice's degree. But the tedious ceremonies and painful trials of the candidate as they are practiced in the French Rite constitute no part of the original English Masonry whence the French Masonry derives its existence, and were adopted as a pure innovation

[1] "La Franche-Maçonnerie rendue à sa veritable origine," etc. Par M. Alexander Lenoir. Paris, 1814.

long after the establishment of the Order in France by the Grand Lodge of England.

And again, the Egyptian initiations, with which they have been compared by Lenoir, were not those which were actually practiced by the priests of Egypt, or at least we have no authentic proof of that fact, but were most probably suggested by the imaginative details given by the Abbé Terrasson in his romance entitled *Sethas,* in which he pretends to portray the initiation of an Egyptian prince.

The truth is that Lenoir and those writers who have followed him and adopted his theory have not instituted a comparison between the original ceremonies of Masonic initiation and those of the ancient Mysteries, but merely a comparison between a recent system of ceremonies, certainly not earlier than the middle of the last century, and a fictitious system indebted for its birth to the inventive genius of a French abbé, and first promulgated in a work published by him in the year 1731.

As well might Mr. Turner or any other writer on Anglo-Saxon history have cited, as authentic materials for his description of the customs of the Anglo-Saxon, the romantic incidents given by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of *Ivanhoe.*

Hence all the references of the *voyages* of an Entered Apprentice in a French Lodge to the similar voyages of an Aspirant in the Mysteries of Osiris or Isis become nothing more than "the baseless fabric of a vision," which must fade and dissolve like an "insubstantial pageant" when submitted to the crucial test of authentic historical investigation.[1]

The Rev. Mr. King, the author of a very interesting treatise on the Gnostics,[2] has advanced a theory much more plausible than either of those to which I have adverted. He maintains that some of the Pagan Mysteries, especially those of Mithras, which had been instituted in Persia, extended beyond the period of the advent of Christianity, and that their doctrines and usages were adopted by the secret societies which existed at an early period in Europe and

[1] "Many of the explanations given as to the ceremonies used in Egyptian initiations are modern inventions, abounding in absurdities and purely imaginary."—Tho. Pryer, "On the study of Masonic Antiquities," in *Freemasons' Quarterly Review,* 1847, p. 262. Wilkinson was of the same opinion. See "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. i.

[2] "The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediaeval." By C. W. King, M.A., London, 1865, p. 47 *et seq.*

which finally assumed the form of Freemasonry. I have said that this theory is a plausible one. It is so because its salient points are sustained by historical evidence.

It is, for instance, a fact that some of the Mysteries of Paganism were practiced in Europe long after the commencement of the Christian era. They afforded a constant topic of denunciation to the fathers of the church, who feared and attacked what they supposed to be their idolatrous tendencies. It was not until the middle of the 5th century that they were proscribed by an edict of the Emperor Theodosius. But an edict of proscription is not necessarily nor always followed by an immediate abolition of the thing proscribed.

The public celebration of the Mysteries must, of course, have ceased at once when such celebration had been declared unlawful. But a private and secret observance of them may have continued, and probably did continue, for an indefinite time, perhaps even to as late a period as the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century.

Mosheim tells us that in the 4th century, notwithstanding the zeal and severity of the Christian emperors, there still remained in several places, and especially in the remoter provinces, temples and religious rites consecrated to the Pagan deities; that rites instituted in honor of them were, in the 5th century, celebrated with the utmost freedom and impunity in the western empire; and that even in the 6th century remains of the Pagan worship were to be found among the learned and the officers of state.[1]

During all this time it is known that secret associations, such as the Roman Colleges of Artificers, existed in Europe, and that from them ultimately sprang up the organizations of Builders, which, with Como in Lombardy as their center, spread over Europe in the Middle Ages, and whose members, under the recognized name of *Traveling Freemasons*, were the founders of Gothic architecture.

There is no forced or unnatural succession from them to the Guilds of Operative Masons, who undoubtedly gave rise, about the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century, to the Speculative Order or the Free and Accepted Masons, which is the organization that exists at the present day.

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[1] Mosheim, "Ecclesiast. History," Maelaine's Translation, vol. i., pp. 251, 332, 401.

There is, therefore, nothing absolutely untenable in the theory that the Mithraic Mysteries which prevailed in Europe until the 5th or perhaps the 6th century may have impressed some influence on the ritual, form, and character of the association of early Builders, and that this influence may have extended to the Traveling Freemasons, the Operative Guilds, and finally to the Free and Accepted Masons, since it can not be proved that there was not an uninterrupted chain of succession between these various organizations.

The theory of Mr. King can not, therefore, be summarily rejected. It may not be altogether true, but it has so many elements of truth about it that it claims our serious consideration.

But, after all, we may find a sufficient explanation of the analogy which undoubtedly exists between the rites of the ancient Mysteries and those of the modern Freemasons in the natural tendency of the human mind to develop its ideas in the same way when these ideas are suggested by the same or similar circumstances. The fact that both institutions have taught the same lessons by the same method of instruction may be attributed not to a direct and uninterrupted succession of organizations, each one a link of a long chain leading consequentially to another, but rather to a natural and usual coincidence of human thought.

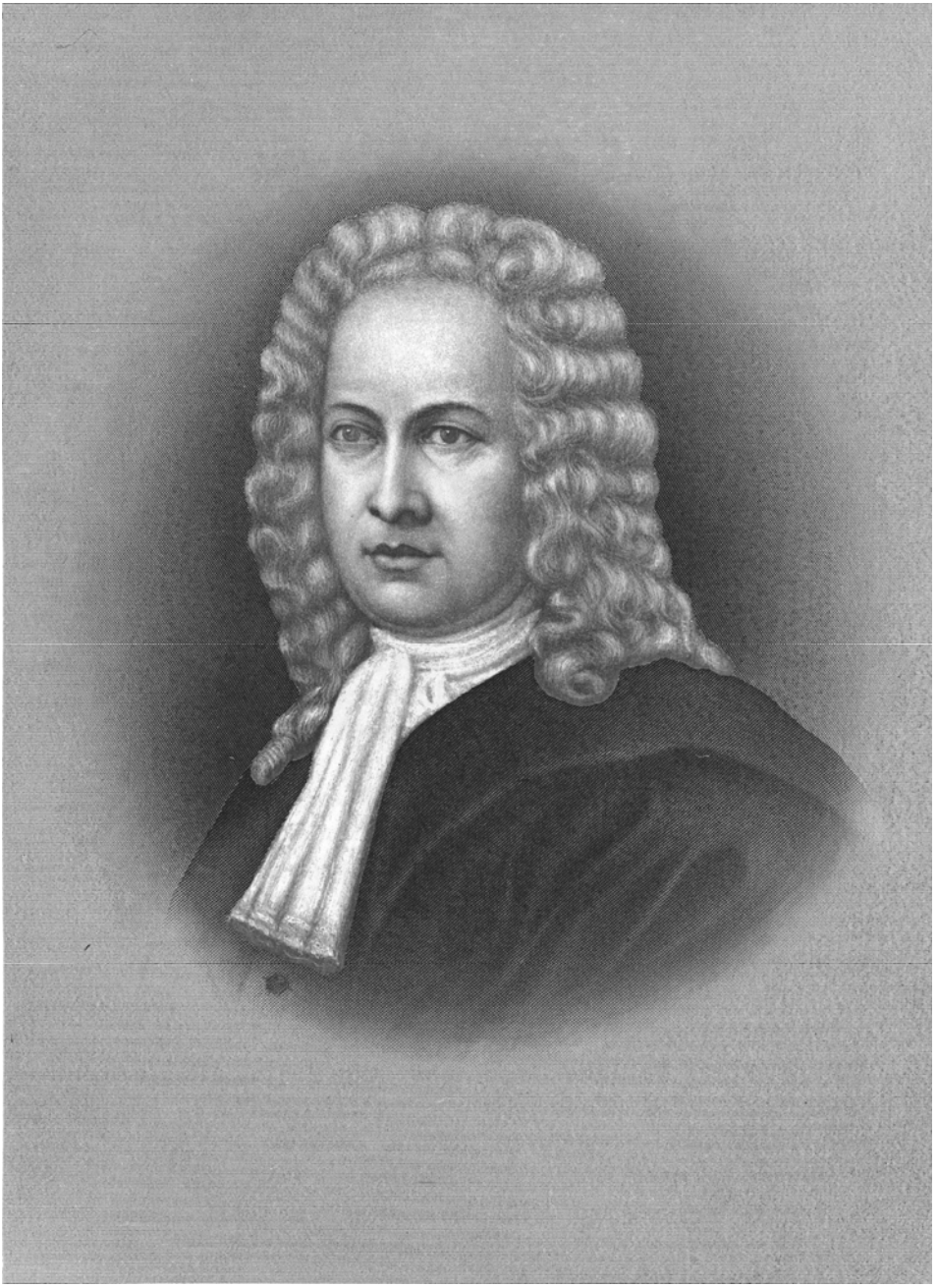
The believers in the lineal and direct descent of Freemasonry from the ancient Mysteries have of course discovered, or thought that they had discovered, the most striking and wonderful analogies between the internal organizations of the two institutions. Hence the most credulous of these theorists have not hesitated to compare the *Hierophant,* or the Explainer of the sacred rites in the Mysteries, with the *Worshipful Master* in a Masonic Lodge, nor to style the *Dadouchos,* or Torch-Bearer, and the *Hieroceryx,* or Herald of the Mysteries, *Wardens,* nor to assign to the *Epibomos,* or Altar-Server, the title and duties of a *Deacon.*

That there are analogies, and that many of them are very curious, can not be denied, but I shall attempt, before leaving this subject, to explain the reason of their existence in a more rational way than by tracing the modern as a succession from the ancient system.

The analogies existing between the ancient Mysteries and Freemasonry, upon which the theory of the descent of the one from the other has been based, consist in the facts that both were secret societies, that both taught the same doctrine of a future life, and that

DANIEL COXE

First Deputized Grand Master *in* North American Colonies, 1730



both made use of symbols and allegories and a dramatic form of instruction. But these analogies do not necessarily support the doctrine of descent, but may be otherwise satisfactorily explained.

Whether the belief in a personal immortality was communicated to the first man by a divine revelation, and subsequently lost as the intellectual state of future generations declined into a degraded state of religious conceptions; or whether the prehistoric man, created but little superior to the wild beast with whom he daily contended for dominion with insufficient weapons, was at first without any conception of his future, until it had by chance dawned upon some more elevated intellect and by him been communicated to his fellows as a consoling doctrine, afterward to be lost, and then in the course of time to be again recovered, but not to be universally accepted by grosser minds, are questions into which we need not enter here.

It is sufficient to know that there has been no period in the world's history, however dark, in which some rays of this doctrine have not been thrown upon the general gloom. The belief in a future life and an immortal destiny has always been so inseparably connected with elevated notions of God that the deep and reverent thinkers in all ages have necessarily subscribed to its truth. It has inspired the verses of poets and tempered and directed the discussions of philosophers.

As both the Mysteries of the ancients and the Freemasonry of the moderns were religious institutions, the conceptions of the true nature of God which they taught to their disciples must of course have involved the ideas of a future life, for the one doctrine is a necessary consequence of the other. To seek, therefore, in this analogy the proof of a descent of the modern from the ancient institution is to advance an utterly fallacious argument.

As to the secret character of the two institutions, the argument is equally untenable. Under the benighted rule of Pagan idolatry the doctrine of a future life was not the popular belief. Yet there were also some who aspired to a higher thought—philosophers like Socrates and Plato, who nourished with earnest longing the hope of immortality. Now, it was by such men that the Mysteries were originally organized, and it was for instruction in such a doctrine that they were instituted. But opposed as this doctrine was to the general current of popular thought, it became, necessarily and defen-

sively, esoteric and exclusive. And hence we derive the reason for the secret character of the Mysteries. "They were kept secret," says Warburton, "from a necessity of teaching the initiated some things improper to be communicated to all."[1] The learned bishop assigns another reason, which he sustains with the authority of ancient writers, for this secrecy. "Nothing," he says, "excites our curiosity like that which retires from our observation, and seems to forbid our search."[2]

Synesius, who lived in the 4th century, before the Mysteries were wholly abolished, says that they owed the veneration in which they were held to a popular ignorance of their nature.[3]

And Clemens of Alexandria, referring to the secrecy of the Mysteries, accounts for it, among other reasons, because the truth seen through a veil appears greater and more venerable.[4]

Freemasonry also teaches the doctrine of a future life. But although there was no necessity, as in the Pagan Mysteries, to conceal this doctrine from the populace; yet there is, for the reasons that have just been assigned, a proneness in the human heart, which has always existed, to clothe the most sacred subjects with the veil of mystery. It was this spirit that caused Jesus to speak to the Jewish multitudes in parables whose meaning his disciples, like initiates, were to comprehend, but which would be unintelligible to the people, so that "seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand."

The Mysteries and Freemasonry were both secret societies, not necessarily because the one was the legitimate successor of the other, but because both were human institutions and because both partook of the same human tendency to conceal what was sacred from the unhallowed eyes and ears of the profane. In this way may be explained the analogy between the two institutions which arises from their secret character and their esoteric method of instruction.

The symbolic form of imparting the doctrines is another analogy which may be readily explained. For when once the esoteric or secret system was determined on, or involuntarily adopted by the force of those tendencies to which I have referred, it was but natural that the secret instruction should be communicated by a method of symbolism, because in all ages symbols have been the cipher by which

[1] "Div. Legat.," I., p. 201. [2] Ibid., I., p. 200. [3] "De Providentia." [4] "Stromat.," v., 419.

secret associations of every character have restricted the knowledge which they imparted to their initiates only.

Again, in the Mysteries, the essential doctrine of a resurrection from death to eternal life was always taught in a dramatic form. There was a drama in which the aspirant or candidate for initiation represented, or there was visibly pictured to him, the death by violence and then the resuscitation or apotheosis—the resurrection to life and immortality of some god or hero, in whose honor the peculiar mystery was founded. Hence in all the Mysteries there were the *thanatos,* the death or slaying of the victim; the *aphanism,* the concealment or burial of the body by the slayers; and the *heuresis,* the finding of the body by the initiates. This drama, from the character of the plot, began with mourning and ended with joy.

The traditional "*heureka*" sometimes attributed to Pythagoras when he discovered the forty-seventh problem, and sometimes to Archimedes when he accidentally learned the principle of specific gravity, was nightly repeated to the initiates when, at the termination of the drama of the Mysteries, they had found the hidden body of the Master.

Now, the recognized fact that this mode of inculcating a religious or a philosophical idea by a dramatic representation was constantly practiced in the ancient world, for the purpose of more permanently impressing the conception, would naturally lead to its adoption by all associations where the same lesson was to be taught as that which was the subject of the Mysteries. The tendency to dramatize an allegory is universal, because the method of dramatization is the most expedient and has been proved to be the most successful. The drama of the third or Master's degree of Freemasonry is, as respects the subject and the development of the plot and the conduct of the scenes, the same as the drama of the ancient Mysteries. There is the same *thanatos,* or death; the same *aphanism,* or concealment of the body, and the same *heuresis,* or discovery of it. The drama of the Master's degree begins in sorrow and ends in joy. Everything is so similar that we at once recognize an analogy between Freemasonry and the ancient Mysteries; but it has already been explained that this analogy is the result of natural causes, and by no means infers a descent of the modern from the ancient institution.

Another analogy between the Mysteries and Freemasonry is

the division of both into steps, classes, or degrees—call them what you may—which is to be found in both. The arrangement of the Masonic system into three degrees certainly bears a resemblance to the distribution of the Mysteries into the three steps of Preparation, Initiation, and Perfection which have been heretofore described.

But this analogy, remarkable as it may at first view appear, is really an accidental one, which in no way shows an historical connection between the two institutions.

In every system of instruction, whether open or secret, there must be a gradual and not an immediate attainment of that which is intended to be imparted. The ancient adage that "no one suddenly becomes wicked" might with equal truth be read that "no one suddenly becomes learned." There must be a series of gradual approaches to the ultimate point in every pursuit of knowledge, like the advancing parallels of a besieging army in its efforts to attain possession of a beleaguered city. Hence the ladder, with its various steps, has from the earliest times been accepted as a symbol of moral or intellectual progress from an inferior to a superior sphere.

In this progress from the simplest to the most profound arena of initiation—from the inception to the full accomplishment of the instruction whereby the mind was to be gradually purged of many errors, by preparatory steps, before it could bear the full blaze of truth—both the Mysteries and Freemasonry have obeyed a common law of intellectual growth, independently of any connection of the one with the other institution.

The fact that there existed in both institutions secret modes of recognition presents another analogy. It is known that in the Mysteries, as in Freemasonry, there was a solemn obligation of secrecy, with penalties for its violation, which referred to certain methods of recognition known only to the initiates. But this may safely be attributed to the fact that such peculiarities are and always will be the necessary adjuncts of any secret organization, whether religious, social, or political. In every secret society isolated from the rest of mankind, we must find, as a natural outgrowth of its secrecy and as a necessary means of defense and isolation, an obligation of secrecy and methods of recognition. On such analogies it is, therefore, scarcely worth while to dilate.

Thus, then, I have traced the analogies between the ancient

Mysteries and modern Freemasonry in the following points of resemblance.

1. The *Preparation*, which in the Mysteries was called the *Lustration.* It was the first step in the Mysteries, and is the Entered Apprentice's degree in Freemasonry. In both systems the candidate was purified for the reception of truth by washing. In one it was a physical ablution; in the other a moral cleansing; but in both the symbolic idea was the same.

2. The *Initiation*, which in the ancient system was partly in the Lesser Mysteries, but more especially in the Greater. In Masonry it is partly in the Fellow Craft's, but more especially in the Master's degree.

3. The *Perfection*, which in the Mysteries was the communication to the aspirant of the true dogma—the great secret symbolized by the *Initiation.* In Freemasonry it is the same. The dogma communicated in both is, in fact, identical. This *Perfection* came in the Mysteries at the end of the Greater Mysteries. In Masonry it is communicated at the close of the Master's degree. In the Mysteries the communication was made in the *saceeum* or holiest place. In Masonry it is made in the Master's Lodge, which is said to represent the holy of holies of the Temple.

4. The secret character of both institutions.
5. The use of symbols.
6. The dramatic form of the initiation.
7. The division of both systems into degrees or steps.
8. And the adoption by both of secret methods of recognition.

These analogies, it must be admitted, are very striking, and, if considered merely as coincidences, must be acknowledged to be very singular.

It is not, therefore, surprising that scholars have found it difficult to resolve the following problem:

Is modern Freemasonry a lineal and uninterrupted successor of the ancient Mysteries, the succession being transmitted through the Mithraic initiations which existed in the 5th and 6th centuries; or is the fact of the analogies between the two systems to be attributed to the coincidence of a natural process of human thought, common to all minds and showing its development in symbolic forms?

For myself, I can only arrive at what I think is a logical con-

clusion; that if both the Mysteries and Freemasonry have taught the same lessons by the same method of instruction, this has arisen not from a succession of organizations, each one a link of a long chain of historical sequences leading directly to another, until Hiram is simply substituted for Osiris, but rather from those usual and natural coincidences of human thought which are to be found in every age and among all peoples.

It is, however, hardly to be denied that the founders of the Speculative system of Masonry, in forming their ritual, especially of the third degree, derived many suggestions as to the form and character of their funereal legend from the rites of the ancient initiations.

But how long after Freemasonry had an organized existence this funereal legend was devised, is a question that must hereafter be entitled to mature consideration.

CHAPTER XXVII

DRUIDISM AND FREEMASONRY

R. PRESTON, in commencing his history of Masonry in England, asserts that there are convincing proofs that the science of Masonry was not unknown to the early Britons even before the time of the invasion of the Romans. Hence he suggests the probability that the Druids retained among them many usages similar to those of Masons; but he candidly admits that this is a mere conjecture.[1]

Hutchinson thinks it probable that many of the rites and institutions of the Druids were retained in forming the ceremonies of the Masonic society.[2]

Paine, who knew, by the way, as little of Masonry as he did of the religion of the Druids, dogmatically asserts that "Masonry is the remains of the religion of the ancient Druids, who, like the Magi of Persia and the priests of Heliopolis in Egypt, were priests of the sun."[3]

The learned Faber, a much more competent authority than Paine, expresses the opinion that the Druidical Bards "are probably the real founders of English Freemasonry."[4]

Godfrey Higgins, whose inventive genius, fertile imagination, and excessive credulity render his great work, the *Anacalypsis,* altogether unreliable, says that he has "no doubt that the Masons were Druids, Culidei, or Chaldei, and Casideans."[5]

Dr. Oliver, it is true, denies that the Masons of the present day were derived from the Druids. He thinks that the latter were a branch of what he calls the Spurious Freemasonry, which was a secession from the Pure Freemasonry of the Patriarchs. But he finds many analogies in the rites and symbols of the two institu-

[1] "Illustrations of Masonry," B. IV., sec. i., p. 121, Oliver's ed.
[2] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. iii., p. 41.
[3] "Essay on Freemasonry," p. 6.
[4] "Pagan Idolatry."
[5] "Anacalypsis," vol. i., p. 718.

tions which indicate their common origin from a primitive system, namely, the ancient Mysteries of the Pagans.

The theory of those who find a connection either in analogy or by succession between the Druids and the Freemasons accounts for this connection by supposing that the Druids derived their system either from Pythagoras or from the ancient Mysteries through the Phoenicians, who visited Britain at an early period for commercial purposes.

But before we can profitably discuss the relations of Druidism to Freemasonry, or be prepared to determine whether there were any relations whatever between the two, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the history and character of the former. This is a topic which, irrespective of any Masonic reference, is not devoid of interest.

Of all the institutions of antiquity, there is none with which we are less acquainted than that of the Druidism of Britain and Gaul. The investigations of recent archaeologists have tended to cast much doubt on the speculations of the antiquaries of the 17th and 18th centuries. Stukely, for instance, one of the most learned of those who have sought to establish out of the stone monuments of England a connected history of Druidism, has been said by Ferguson, in his work on *Rude Stone Monuments,* to have been indebted more to a prolific imagination than to authentic facts for the theory which he has sought to establish.

The skepticism of Ferguson is, however, not less objectionable in a critical inquiry than the credulity of Stukely. There is evidently a middle way between them.

Ferguson can not deny the existence of Druids in Gaul and Britain, since the fact is stated by Caesar. He supposes that there were two distinct races in the island; the original inhabitants, who were of Turanian origin, and, being more uncivilized, were driven by the other race, who were Celts, into the fastnesses of the Welsh hills long before the Roman invasion. Among the former he thinks that the religion of Druidism, consisting of tree and serpent worship, may have been practiced. And he accounts for the error of the classical writers in describing the priests of the latter race as Druids by attributing it to the confounding of the two races by the "uncritical Romans."[1]

[1] "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 29.

Very recently a bold and very skeptical theory has been advanced by Dr. Ignaz Goldziher, in his work on *Mythology Among the Hebrews*,[1] which aims at a total annihilation of Druidism as a system of secret initiation among the ancient Britons (whose Druidism was only a national religion), and attributes its invention to the modern Welsh, who created it for the purpose of elevating and strengthening their own nationality in their rivalry with the English. He says:

"The Cymri of Wales, becoming alive to the opposition in nationality between themselves and the English, felt the need of finding a justification of this opposition in the oldest prehistoric times. It was then first suggested to them that they were descendants of the ancient, renowned Celtic nation; and to keep alive this Celtic national pride they introduced an institution of New Druids, a sort of secret society like the Freemasons. The New Druids, like the old ones, taught a sort of national religion, which, however, the people having long become Christian and preserved no independent national traditions, they had mostly to invent themselves. Thus arose the so-called Celtic mythology of the god Hu and the goddess Ceridolu (Ceridwen), etc.—mere poetical fictions which never lived in popular belief."

The questions involved in this difference of opinion are as yet not critically decided, and I shall therefore content myself with giving the views of the history and religion of the Druids as they have been generally received and believed, without confusing the subject with the contending speculations which have been fostered by the credulity or the imagination of one side and impugned by the skepticism of the other.

The Druids, which word signifies magicians,[2] were the priests of the religion of the ancient Britons, among whom they exercised almost unlimited influence and authority. They presided over and directed the education of the youths; they decided without appeal all judicial controversies; they were exempted from all taxes and legal impositions; and whoever refused to submit to their decisions on any question was subjected to excommunication, by which he was forbidden access to the altars or the performance of religious

[1] Ably translated from the German by Mr. Russell Martineau, of the British Museum, with valuable additions. For the passage quoted, see p. 252.

[2] In Anglo-Saxon *dry* is a magician; and *drycroft,* magic.

rites, and was debarred from all intercourse with his relatives, his friends, or his countrymen. Hence no superstition was ever more terrible than that of the priest-ridden Britons.

The Druids were under the chief authority of an Archdruid, which office was for life, but originally elective. They were divided into three orders, the highest being the *Druids*, below which were the *Prophets* and the *Vates* or *Bards.* They held an annual assembly, at which litigated questions were decided and new laws were made or old ones abrogated. They held also four quarterly meetings, on the days of the equinoxes and the solstices.

They permitted none of their doctrines or ceremonies to be committed to common writing, but used a cipher for their concealment. This, Caesar says, consisted of the letters of the Greek alphabet; a statement by no means probable, since it would infer a knowledge by them of the Greek language, of which we have no evidence.

The opinion of Toland is more plausible—that the characters used were those of the Irish *Ogum* alphabet. Sir James Ware, who wrote in Latin, about the middle of the 17th century, a work on the *Antiquities of Ireland,* says that "the ancient Irish, besides the vulgar characters, used also various occult or artificial forms of writing, called *Ogum,* in which they wrote their secrets;" and he adds that he himself was in possession of an ancient book or parchment filled with these characters.[1]

Their places of worship were, according to the contemporaneous authority of Cæsar and Tacitus, in sacred groves. Stukely and other antiquaries of his school suppose that the megalithic monuments found in Britain, such as at Stonehenge and Avebury, were Druidical temples, but Ferguson denies this, and asserts that "there is no passage in any classical author which connects the Druids either directly or indirectly with any stone temples or stones of any sort."[2] The question remains unadjudicated, but the position taken by Ferguson seems to be supported by better archaeological evidence.

Their worship, like that of the ancient Mysteries, was accompanied by a secret initiation. Their doctrines were communicated only to the initiated, who were strictly forbidden to expose them to the profane.

What were the precise forms of this initiation it is impossible to

[1] "Antiq. Hibern.," cap. 2.

[2] "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 20.

say. The Druids themselves, wedded to their oral system of instruction, have left no records. But Dr. Oliver, depending on inferences that he has drawn from the Welsh triads, from the poem of the ancient bard Taleisin, and some other Cambrian authorities, aided by the inventive genius of his own imagination, has afforded us a very minute, if not altogether accurate, detail of these initiatory ceremonies. The account is entirely too long for reproduction, but a condensed view of it will not be uninteresting.[1]

Previous to admission to the first degree, or that of the *Vates,* the candidate was submitted to a careful preparation, which in especial cases extended to the long period of twenty years.

The ceremony of initiation began by placing the candidate in the *pastos,* chest or coffin, in which he remained enclosed for three days, to represent death, and was liberated or restored to life on the third day.[2]

The sanctuary being now prepared for the business of initiation, the Druids are duly arranged, being appropriately clothed and crowned with ivy. The candidate, representing a blind man, is then introduced while a hymn to the Sun is being chanted. He is placed under the care of an officer whose duty it is to receive him in the land of rest, and he is directed to kindle the fire under the cauldron of Ceridwen, the Druidical goddess. A pageant is then formed, and the candidate makes a circumambulation of nine times around the sanctuary, in circles from east to west by the south. The procession is first slow and amid a death-like silence; at length the pace is increased into a rapid and furious motion, accompanied with the tumultuous clang of musical instruments and the screams of harsh and dissonant voices reciting in verse the praises of those heroes who were brave in war, courteous in peace, and patrons of religion.[3]

This sacred ceremony was followed by the administration of an oath of secrecy, violation of which could be expiated only by death.

Then succeeded a series of ceremonies in which, by means of masks, the candidate was made to assume the character of various animals, such as the dog, the deer, the mare, the cock, etc.[4]

This, according to Oliver, concluded the first part of the cere-

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[1] "History of Initiation," lect. viii., p. 199 *et seq.*

[2] Ibid., p. 201. That this ceremony represented a death and resurrection is altogether conjectural.

[3] Ibid., p. 204.

[4] Ibid., p. 205.

mony of initiation. The second part began with striking the candidate a violent blow on the head with an oar, and a pitchy darkness immediately ensued, which was soon changed into a blaze of light which illuminated the whole area of the shrine.

This sudden transition from darkness to light was intended to shadow forth the same transition which Noah experienced on emerging from the gloom of the ark to the brightness of the renovated world.[1]

Thus it is contended that the Druids were Arkite worshippers—a concession by Oliver to the theories of Faber and Bryant.

The light was then withdrawn and the candidate was again involved in chaotic darkness The most dismal howlings, shrieks, and lamentations salute his astonished ear. Thus the figurative death of Noah, typified by his confinement in the ark, was commemorated with every external mark of sorrow. Alarmed at the discordant noises, the candidate naturally sought to escape, but this was rendered impossible, for wherever he turned he was opposed by dogs who pursued him. At length the gigantic goddess Ceridwen seized him and bore him by main force to the mythological sea which represented the flood of waters over which Noah floated.

Here he is supposed to have remained for a year in the character of Arawn, or Noah.[2] The same appalling sounds continued, until at length, having emerged from the stream, the darkness was removed and the candidate found himself surrounded by the most brilliant coruscations of light. This change produced in the attendants corresponding emotions, which were expressed by shouts and loud paeans that testified their rejoicings at the resuscitation of their god.[3]

The aspirant was then presented to the Archdruid, who explained to him the design of the mysteries and imparted some portion of the secret knowledge of Druidism, and recommended to him the practice of fortitude, which was considered as one of the leading traits of perfection.

With the performance of these painful ceremonies, the first degree of initiation into the Druidical Mysteries was concluded.

In the second degree, where the trials appear, from Oliver's

[1] "History of Initiation," p. 208.

[2] This detention of a year in the waters of the deluge was, I presume, like the fourteen days of interment in the Master Mason's degree, which period passes in the space of a few minutes—only a symbolic idea.

[3] "History of Initiation," p. 211.

description, to have been of a less severe character, the candidate underwent lustration, or a typical ablution, which was followed by his enlightenment. He was now instructed in the morality of the order; taught that souls are immortal and must live in a future state; solemnly enjoined to the performance of divine worship and the practice of virtue; and was invested with some of the badges of Druidism. Among these was the crystal, the unequivocal test of his initiation. This crystal, or talisman against danger, was manufactured exclusively by the Druids, and its color varied in the three degrees. In the first it was green, in the second blue, and in the third white. The one presented to the aspirant was a combination of these colors.[1]

Beyond the second degree very few advanced. The third was conferred only on persons of rank and consequence, and in it the aspirant passed through still more arduous ceremonies of purification.

The candidate was committed to secluded solitude for a period of nine months, which time was devoted to reflection and to the study of the sciences, so that he might be prepared more fully to understand the sacred truths in which he was about to be instructed. He was again submitted to a symbolic death and regeneration, by ceremonies different from those of the first degree. He was then supposed to represent a new-born infant, and, being placed in a coracle or boat, was committed to the mercy of the waters. The candidate, says Oliver, was actually set adrift in the open sea, and was obliged to depend on his own address and presence of mind to reach the opposite shore in safety.[2]

This was done at night, and this nocturnal expedition, which sometimes cost the candidate his life, was the closing act of his initiation. Should he refuse to undertake it, he was contemptuously rejected and pronounced unworthy of a participation in the honors to which he aspired and for which he was forever afterward ineligible. But if he courageously entered on the voyage and landed safely, he was triumphantly received by the Archdruid and his companions. He was recognized as a Druid, and became eligible for any ecclesiastical, civil, or military dignity. "The whole circle of human science was open to his investigation; the knowledge of divine things was communicated without reserve; he was now en-

[1] "History of Initiation," p. 212. [2] Ibid., p. 216.

abled to perform the mysterious rites of worship, and had his understanding enriched with an elaborate system of morality."[1]

But little is known of the religion of the Druids, on which these ceremonies are supposed to be founded, and concerning that little the opinions of the learned greatly differ. "Among those institutions," says Toland, "which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the Druids; of which the learned have hitherto known nothing but by some fragments concerning them out of the Greek and Roman authors."[2] Hence the views relating to their true worship have been almost as various as the writers who have discussed them.

Cæsar, who derived his knowledge of the Druids, imperfect as it was, from the contemporary priests of Gaul, says that they worshipped as their chief god Mercury, whom they considered as the inventor of all the arts, and after him Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva.[3] But the Romans had a habit of applying to all the gods or idols of foreign nations the names and qualities of the deities of their own mythology. Hence his statement will scarcely amount to more than that the Druids worshipped a variety of gods.

Yet Davies, who, notwithstanding his national prejudices and prepossessions, is, from his learning, an authority not to be contemned, concurs in the view of Cæsar so far as to say that "it is an historical fact, that the mythology and the rites of the Druids were the same, in substance, with those of the Greeks and Romans and of other nations which came under their observation."[4]

Dionysius the Geographer, another writer of the Augustan age, says that the rites of Bacchus were celebrated in Britain,[5] and Strabo, on the authority of Artemidorus, who wrote a century before Christ, asserts that in an island close to Britain (probably the isle of Mona, where the Druids held their principal seat) Ceres and Proserpine were venerated with rites similar to those of Samothracia.[6]

Bryant, who traced all the ancient religions, principally on the basis of etymology, to traditions of the deluge and the worship of

[1] Oliver, "History of Initiation," p. 217.
[2] "History of the Druids," in miscellaneous works, vol. i., p. 6.
[3] "De Bello Gallico." [4] "Mythology and Rites of the British Druids," p. 89
[5] "Perieget," v., 565. [6] Letter IV.

the patriarch Noah, conceived, of course, that Druidism was but a part of this universal cult.[1]

Faber, who followed in the footsteps of his learned, predecessor, adopted the same hypothesis, and held the doctrine that the Druids were addicted to what he denominated Arkite worship, or the worship of Noah, and that all their religious rites referred to the deluge, death and immortality being typified by the confinement of the patriarch in the ark and his subsequent emergence from it into a new and renovated world, the symbol of the future life.[2]

It will be evident from the description already given of the Druidical initiations as portrayed by Dr. Oliver, that he concurred to a great extent in the views of Bryant and Faber.

Stukely, one of the most learned of English antiquarians, believed that the Druids were addicted to tree and serpent worship, and he adduces as evidence of the truth of this theory the megalithic monuments of Stonehenge and Avebury, in the arrangement of whose stones he thought that he had traced a serpentine form.

On the contrary, Mr. Ferguson[3] scoffs, in language not always temperate, at the views of Stukely, and not only denies the serpentine form of the stone remains in England, as described by that antiquary, but repudiates the hypothesis that the Druids ever erected or had any connection with stone temples or monuments in any part of the world. But as Ferguson adduces nothing but negative arguments in proof of his assertion, and as he even casts some doubt upon the existence of Druids at all in Britain, his views are by no means satisfactory. He has sought to demolish a palace, but he has not attempted to build even a hovel in its place. Repudiating all other theories, he has offered none of his own.

If the Druids did not erect the stone monuments of Britain, who did? Until the contrary is conclusively proved, we have but little hesitation in attributing them to the Druids. But we need not enter into this discussion, which pertains more properly to the province of archaeology than of Freemasonry.

Some writers have held that the Druids were Sun-worshippers, and that the adoration of the solar orb constituted the national religion of the ancient Britons. Hence these theorists are inclined to

[1] "Analysis of Ancient Mythology." Drummond says of him: "Mr. Bryant was a man possessed of much learning and talent, but his etymologies are generally untenable." — "Origines," vol. iii., p. 191. [2] "Pagan Idolatry." [3] "Old Stone Monuments."

believe that Stonehenge and Avebury were really observatories, where the worshippers of the Sun might behold his rising, his diurnal course, and his setting.

Mr. Davies, in his *Celtic Researches* and in his *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids,* maintains that there was among them a mutilated tradition of the Noachic deluge,[1] as there was among all heathen nations. The legend was similar to that of the flood of Deucalion, and was derived from Samothrace and the East, having been brought by a colony from one nation to another and preserved without interruption.[2]

Hu, the supreme god of the Druids, he therefore supposes to have been identical with Noah, and he bestows upon him the various attributes that were distributed among the different gods of the more prolific mythology of the Greeks and Romans, all of which, with Bryant and Faber, he considers were allusive to Sun-worship and to the catastrophe of the deluge.

He therefore asserts that the Helio-Arkite god of the Britons, the great *Hu,* was a Pantheon (a collection of deities), who under his several titles and attributes comprehended the group of superior gods whom the Greeks and other refined nations separated and arranged in distinct personages.[3]

In propounding his theory that the Druids were of Eastern origin, and that they had brought from that source their religion and their rites, Mr. Davies has been sustained by the opinions of more recent scholars, though they have traced the birthplace to a more distant region than the island of Samothracia.

It is now very generally believed that the Druids were Buddhists, and that they came into Britain with the great tide of emigration from Asia which brought the Aryan race westward into Europe.

If this be true, the religion of India must have greatly degenerated in the course of its migration. It is admitted that the Druids cultivated the art of magic and in their rites were accustomed to sacrifice human victims, both of which practices were repugnant to the philosophic spirit of Buddhism.

The fact is that, notwithstanding the authority of the Welsh Bards and the scanty passages in Cæsar, Tacitus, and a few other

[1] "British Druids," p. 95. [2] Ibid., p. 99. [3] Ibid., p. 126.

Roman writers, we are entirely at sea in reference to everything connected with the religious system of Druidism. Almost all on this mysterious subject is guesswork and conjecture—extravagant theories, the only foundation of which is in the imaginations of their framers and bold assertions for the truth of which no competent authority can be given.

Much of the confusion of ideas in respect to the customs and manners of the ancient Britons has arisen from the ignorance of the old writers in supposing that the inhabitants of Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion and long before, were a homogeneous race. The truth is that the island was inhabited by two very distinct races. Those on the coast, derived from the opposite shores of Gaul, Germany, and Scandinavia, were a people who had made some progress in civilization. The interior of the island was populated by the original natives, who were a very uncivilized and even barbarous race, and it was among these that the Druidical religion prevailed and its mystical and inhuman rites were practiced.

Mr. Ferguson, in his elaborate work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, sustains this view. He says:

"From whatever point of view the subject is looked at, it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that there were two races in England—an older and less civilized people, who in the time of the Romans had already been driven by the Celts into the fastnesses of the Welsh hills, and who may have been serpent-worshippers and sacrificers of human victims, and that the ecumenical Romans confounded the two."[1]

He is, however, in error in supposing that the Romans were ignorant of this fact, for Cæsar distinctly alludes to it. He says in his *Gallic War* that "the interior part of Britain was inhabited by those who were natives of the island," thus clearly distinguishing the inhabitants of the interior from those who dwelt on the coast and who, he states, "had passed over from Belgium."

In another place he speaks of them as a rude and barbarous race, who in one of their embassies to him describe themselves as a savage and unpolished people wholly unacquainted with Roman customs.

In speaking of the ancient Gauls, M. Thierry, in his history of

[1] "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 29.

that people, makes the following remarks, every one of which may be equally attributed to the ancient Britons. He says:

"When we attentively examine the character of the facts concerning the religious belief of the Gauls, we are enabled to recognize two systems of ideas, two bodies of symbols and superstitions altogether distinct—in a word, two religions. One of these is altogether sensible, derived from the adoration of the phenomena of nature; and by its forms and by its literal development it reminds us of the polytheism of the Greeks. The other is founded upon a material pantheism, mysterious, metaphysical, and sacerdotal, and presents the most astonishing conformity with the religions of the East. This last has received the name of Druidism, from the Druids who were its founders and priests."[1]

To the former religion M. Thierry gives the name of Gaulish polytheism. A similar distinction must have existed in Britain, though our own writers do not seem generally to have carefully observed it. In no other way can we attempt, with any prospect of success, to reconcile the contending traditions in relation to the religion of the ancient Britons. The Roman writers have attributed a polytheistic form of religion to the people of the coast, derived apparently from Greece, the gods having only assumed different names. But this religion was very far removed in its character from the bloody and mysterious rites of the Druids, who seem to have brought the forms and objects, but not the spirit of their sanguinary and mysterious worship from the far East.

The Masonic writers who have sought to trace some connection between Druidism and Freemasonry have unfortunately too much yielded their judgment to their imagination. Having adopted a theory, they have, in their investigations, substituted speculation for demonstration and assumptions for facts. By a sort of Procrustean process of reasoning, they have fitted all sorts of legends and traditions to the length required for their preconceived system.

Preston had said that "the Druids retained among them many usages similar to those of the Masons," and hence he conjectured that there might be an affinity between the rites of the two institutions, leaving his readers, however, to determine the question for themselves.

Godfrey Higgins—of all writers not claiming to write fiction,

[1] "Histoire des Gaulois," tom, ii., p. 73.

the most imaginative and the most conjectural—goes a step further and asserts that he has "no doubt that the Masons were Druids," and that they may be "traced downward to Scotland and York." Of this he thinks "the presumption is very strong."[1]

Hutchinson thinks it probable that some of the rites and institutions of the Druids might be retained in forming the ceremonies of the Masonic society.[2]

The theory of Dr. Oliver connected Druidism and Freemasonry in the following way. The reader must be aware, from what has already been said, that the Doctor held that there were two currents of Masonry that came contemporaneously down the stream of time. These were the Pure Freemasonry of the Patriarchs,, that passed through the Jewish people to King Solomon and thence onward to the present day, and a schism from this pure system, fabricated by the Pagan nations and developed in the ancient Mysteries, which impure system he called the Spurious Freemasonry of antiquity. From this latter system he supposes Druidism to have been derived.

Therefore, in support of this opinion, he collates in several of his works, but especially in his *History of Initiation,* the rites and ceremonies of the Druids with those of the Eleusinian, Dionysian, and other mysteries of the Pagan nations, and attempts to show that the design of the initiation was identical in all of them and the forms very similar.

But, true to his theory that the Spurious Freemasonry was an impure secession or offshoot from the Pure or Patriarchal system, he denies that modern Freemasonry has derived anything from Druidism, but admits that similarity in the design and form of initiation in both which would naturally arise from the origin of both from a common system in remote antiquity.

We have therefore to consider two theories in reference to the connection of Druidism and Masonry.

The first is that Freemasonry has derived its system from that of the British Druids. The second is that, while any such descent or succession of the one system from the other is disclaimed, yet that there is a very great similarity in the character of both which points to some common origin.

I shall venture, before concluding this essay, to advance a third

[1] "Anacalypsis," vol. i., p. 769.

[2] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. iii., p. 41.

theory, which I think is far more reconcilable than either of the others with the true facts of history.

The second of these theories may be dismissed with the remark that it depends for its support on the truth of the theory that there was any kind of historical connection between the Mysteries of the Pagans and Freemasonry. But I think it has been conclusively proved that any similarity of form or design in these institutions is to be attributed not to any dependence or succession, but simply to the influences of that law of human thought which makes men always pursue the same ends by the same methods.

Dr. Oliver has gone so far in the attempt to sustain his theory of two systems of Masonry existing at the same time as to assert that at the time of the Roman invasion, and after the establishment of Christianity in the island, the True and the Spurious Freemasonry—that is, the Masonic system as now practiced and the impure Masonry of Druidism— "flourished at the same period and were considered as distinct institutions in Britain."[1]

Of the truth of this statement, there is not a scintilla of historical testimony. Even if we were to accept the doctrine of Anderson, that all great architects in past times were Freemasons, we could hardly dignify the rude carpenters of the early Britons and Anglo-Saxons with the title of Masonry.

The first of the theories to which I have alluded, which derives Freemasonry, or at least its rites and ceremonies, from Druidism, will require a more extended review.

In the first place, we must investigate the methods by which it is supposed that the Greeks and Pythagoras communicated a knowledge of their mysteries to the Druids in their secluded homes in uncivilized Britain.

It is supposed that the principal seats of the British Druids were in Cornwall, in the islands adjacent to its coast, in Wales, and in the island of Mona; that is to say, on the southwestern shores of the island.

It is evident that in these localities they were accessible to any of the navigators from Europe or Asia who should have penetrated to that remote distance for the purpose of commerce. Now, just such

[1] "On Freemasonry, Evidences, Doctrines, and Traditions," No. I, in *Freemasons' Quarterly Review,* 1840, p. 15.

a class of navigators was found in the Phoenicians, an adventurous people who were distinguished for their spirit of maritime enterprise.

The testimony of the Greek and Roman writers is, that in their distant voyages in search of traffic the Phoenicians had penetrated to the southwestern shores of Britain, and that they loaded their vessels with tin, which was found in great abundance in Cornwall and the Scilly islands on its coast.

The theorists who suppose that the religious rites practiced by the Phœnicians at home were introduced by them into Britain are required, in proof of their theory, to show that the Phœnicians were missionaries as well as merchants; that they remained long enough in Britain, at each voyage, to implant their own religious rites in the island; that these merchant-sailors, whose paramount object was evidently the collection of a valuable and profitable cargo, would divert any portion of the time appropriated to this object to the propagation among the barbarians, whom they encountered in the way of business, of the dogmas of their own mystical religion; that if they were so disposed, the Britons were inclined during these necessarily brief visitations to exchange their ancient religion, whatever it was, for the worship attempted to be introduced by the newcomers; and, finally, that the fierce and sanguinary superstition of the Druids, with its human sacrifices, bore any resemblance to or could have possibly been derived from the purer and more benign religion of the Phœnicians.

For not one of these points is there a single testimony of history, and over every one of them there is cast an air of the greatest improbability. History tells us only that the Phœnician merchants visited Britain for the purpose of obtaining tin. On this the Masonic theorists have erected a fanciful edifice of missionary enterprises successfully ending in the implanting of a new religion.

Experience shows us how little in this way was ever accomplished or even attempted by the modern navigators who visited the islands of the Pacific and other unknown countries for the purposes of discovery. Nor can we be ignorant of how little progress in the change of the religion of any people has ever been effected by the efforts of professed missionaries who have lived and labored for years among the people whom they sought to convert. They have made, it is true, especial converts, but in only a very few exceptional instances have they succeeded in eradicating the old faith of a na-

tion or a tribe and in establishing their own in its place. It is not to be presumed that the ancient Phoenician merchants could, with less means and less desires, have been more successful than our modern missionaries.

For these reasons, I hold that the proposition that Druidism was introduced from Greece and Asia into Britain by the Phœnicians is one that is wholly untenable on any principle of historic evidence or of probable conjecture.

It has also been asserted that Pythagoras visited Britain and instructed the inhabitants especially in the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls.

There is, however, not the slightest historical evidence that the sags of Samos ever penetrated in his travels as far as Britain. Nor is it certain that the dogma of the transmigration as taught by him is of the same character as that which was believed by the Druids. Besides, it is contrary to all that we know of the course pursued by Pythagoras in his visits to foreign countries. He went to learn the customs of the people and to acquire a knowledge of whatever science they might possess. Had he visited Britain, which, however, he never did, it would have been to receive and not to impart instruction.

As to the further explanation offered by these theorists, of a connection between Druidism and Masonry, that the former acquired a knowledge of the Eleusinian and other rites in consequence of their communication with the Greeks, during the celebrated invasion of the Celts, which extended to Delphos, and during the intercourse of the Gauls with the Grecian colony of Marseilles, it is sufficient to say that neither of these events occurred until after the system of Druidism must have been well established among the people of Britain and of Gaul.

But the great argument against any connection of Druidism and Freemasonry is not only the dissimilarity of the two systems, but their total repugnance to each other. The sanguinary superstition of the Druids was developed in their sacrifice of human victims as a mode of appeasing their offended deities, and their doctrine of a future life was entirely irreconcilable with the pure belief in immortality which is taught in Freemasonry and developed in its symbols.

The third theory to which I have referred, and which I advanced in the place of the two others which I have rejected, traces Druid-

ism neither to the Phœnicians, nor to Pythagoras, nor to the Greeks. It is that the ancient inhabitants of Britain were a part of the Celtic division of that great Cimmerian race who, springing from their Aryan origin in the Caucasian mountains, first settled for a time in the region of Asia which lies around the Euxine Sea, and then passed over into the north and west of Europe. One detachment of them entered Gaul, and another, crossing the German Ocean, made their home in Britain.

It is not at all improbable that these nomadic tribes carried with them some memories of the religious faith which they had learned from the original stock whence they sprung. But there is no fact more patent in ethnology than that of the tendency of all nomadic races springing from an agricultural one to degenerate in civilization.

It has been said that the Druids were Buddhists. This might be so, for Brahmanism and its schism, Buddhism, were the religions of the early Aryan stock whence the Druids descended. But it is very evident that in the course of their migrations the faith of their fathers must have become greatly corrupted. Between Buddhism and Druidism the only connecting link is the dogma of the transmigration of souls. Between the rites of the two sects there is no similarity.

I suppose, therefore, that the system of Druidism was the pure invention of the Britons, just as the Mysteries of Osiris were the fabrication of some Egyptian priest or body of priests. What assistance the Britons had in the formation of their mystical system must have been derived from dim recollections of the dogmas of their fatherland, which, however, from the very dimness of those recollections, must have been greatly perverted. I do not find any authentic proof or any reasonable probability that they had obtained any suggestions in the fabrication or the improvement of their system of religious rites from the Phoenicians, from the Greeks, or from Pythagoras.

If, for the sake of argument, we accept for a time the theory that Freemasonry and the Mysteries originated from a common source, whence is derived a connection between the two, we can not fail to see, on an examination of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Druids, that they bore no relation to those of the Mysteries of Egypt or of Greece. Hence the link is withdrawn which would

connect Druidism with Freemasonry through the initiations of the East.

But the fact is that there is not in Druidism the slightest resemblance to Freemasonry, except in the unimportant circumstance that both have mystical ceremonies. The voyages of the candidate in Druidism, after a period of long solitude and confinement, his pursuit by the angry goddess Ceridwen and her accompanying dogs, his dangerous passage in a coracle or small boat over the rough waters, and his final landing and reception by the Archdruid, may have referred, as Dr. Oliver thought, to the transmigration of the soul through different bodies, but just as probably symbolized the sufferings and vicissitudes of human life in the progress to intellectual and moral perfection. But they bear not the slightest analogy to the mystical death in Freemasonry, which is the symbol of a resurrection to a future and immortal life.

Hence the bold assertion of Payne, in his frivolous *Essay on the Origin of Freemasonry,* that "it is derived from and is the remains of the religion of the ancient Druids," simply shows that he was a mere sciolist in the subject of what he presumptuously sought to treat. Equally untenable is the proposition of the more learned Faber, when he says that "the Druids are probably the real founders of English Freemasonry."

The conclusion to which I think we must arrive, from what we learn of the two institutions from historical knowledge of one and personal experience of the other, is that Freemasonry has no more relation or reference or similitude to Druidism than the pure system of Christianity has to the barbarous Fetichism of the tribes of Africa.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FREEMASONRY AND THE CRUSADES

IN all the legendary history of Freemasonry there is nothing more interesting or more romantic than the stories which connect its origin with the Crusades; nothing in which the judgment and reasoning powers have been more completely surrendered to the imagination of the inventors of the various theories on this subject or to the credulity of the believers.

Before proceeding to discuss the numerous phases which have been given by different writers to the theory which traces the origin of Freemasonry to the Crusades, to the chivalric orders of the Middle Ages, and especially to the Knights Templars, it will be proper to take a very brief view of those contests between the Christians and the Saracens which, under the name of the Crusades, cost Europe so vast an amount of blood and treasure in the unsuccessful attempt to secure and maintain possession of the Holy Land. This view, or rather synopsis, need not be more than a brief one, for the topic has been frequently and copiously treated by numerous historians, from Joinville to Michaux and Mills, and must therefore be familiar to most readers.

About twenty years after the Moslems had conquered Jerusalem, a recluse of Picardy in France had paid a pious visit to the city. Indignant at the oppressions to which the Christians were subjected in their pious pilgrimages to the sepulcher of their Lord, and moved by the complaints of the aged patriarch, Peter the Hermit—for such is the name that he bears in history—resolved on his return to Europe to attempt to rouse the religious sentiment and the military spirit of the sovereigns, the nobles, and the populace of the West. Having first obtained the sanction of the Roman pontiff, Peter the Hermit traveled through Italy and France, and by fervent addresses in every place that he visited urged his auditors to

the sacred duty of rescuing Palestine from the hands of infidels. The superstitious feelings of a priest-governed people and the military spirit of knights accustomed to adventure were readily awakened by the eloquence of a fanatical preacher. In every city and village, in the churches and on the highways, his voice proclaimed the wrongs and the sufferings of pious pilgrims, and his reproaches awoke the remorse of his hearers for their past supineness and indifference to the cause of their brethren, and stimulated their eagerness to rescue the sacred shrines from the pollution of their Saracen possessors.

The spirit of enthusiasm which pervaded all classes of the people—nobles and priests, princes and peasants—presented a wonderful scene, which the history of the world had never before and has never since recorded. With one voice war was declared by the nations of western Europe against the sacrilegious Moslems. Tradesmen and mechanics abandoned the pursuits by which they were accustomed to gain their livelihood, to take up arms in a holy cause; peasants and husbandmen left their fields, their flocks, and their herds; and barons alienated or mortgaged their estates to find the means of joining the expedition.

The numerous conflicts that followed for the space of two hundred years were called the Crusades, or, in French, *Croisades,* from the blood-red cross worn by the warriors on the breast or shoulder, first bestowed at the council of Clermont, by Pope Urban, on the Bishop of Puy, and ever afterward worn by every Crusader as a badge of his profession.

The first detachment of the great army destined for a holy war issued, in the year 1096, from the western frontiers. It consisted of nearly three hundred thousand men, composed for the most part of the lowest orders of society, and was headed by Peter the Hermit. It was, however, a huge, undiscipined mob rather than an army, whose leader was entirely without military capacity to govern it or to restrain its turbulence.

The march, or rather the progress, of this immense rabble toward Asia Minor was marked at every step by crime. They destroyed the towns and plundered the inhabitants of every province through which they roamed in undisciplined confusion. The outraged inhabitants opposed their passage with arms. In many conflicts in Hungary and in Bulgaria they were slaughtered by thou-

sands. Peter the Hermit escaped to the mountains, and of his deluded and debased followers but few reached Constantinople, and still fewer the shores of Asia Minor. They were speedily destroyed by the forces of the Sultan. The war of the Crusades had not fairly begun before three hundred thousand lives were lost in the advance guard of the army.

The first Crusade was undertaken in the same year, and speedily followed the advanced body whose disastrous fate has just been recorded. This body was composed of many of the most distinguished barons and knights, who were accompanied by their feudal retainers.

At the head of this more disciplined army, consisting of a hundred thousand knights and horsemen and five times that number of foot-soldiers, was the renowned Godfrey of Bouillon, a nobleman distinguished for his piety, his valor, and his military skill.

This army, although unwieldy from its vast numbers and scarcely manageable from the diverse elements of different nations of which it was composed, was, notwithstanding many reverses, more fortunate and more successful than the rabble under Peter the Hermit which had preceded it. It reached Palestine in safety, though not without a large diminution of knights and soldiers. At length Jerusalem, after a siege of five weeks, was conquered by the Christian warriors, in the year 1099, and Godfrey was declared the first Christian King of Jerusalem. In a pardonable excess of humility he refused to accept a crown of gems in the place where his Lord and Master had worn a crown of thorns, and contented himself with the titles of Duke and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher.

In the course of the next twenty-five years Palestine had become the home, or at least the dwelling-place, of much of the chivalry of Europe. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had extended eastward from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to the deserts of Arabia, and southward from the city of Beritus (now Beirut), in Syria, to the frontiers of Egypt, besides the country of Tripoli, which stretched north of Beritus to the borders of the principality of Antioch.

The second Crusade, instigated by the preaching of the monk St. Bernard, and promoted by Louis VII. of France, was undertaken in the year 1147. The number of knights, soldiers, priests, women, and camp-followers who were engaged in this second Crusade has been estimated as approaching a million. At its head were the

Emperor Conrad III. of Germany and King Louis VII. of France. This effort to relieve and to strengthen the decaying Christian power in Palestine was not a successful one. After a futile and inglorious attempt to take the city of Damascus, whose near vicinity to Jerusalem was considered dangerous to the Latin kingdom, Louis returned home with the small remnant of his army, in 1149, and was followed in the succeeding year by the Emperor Conrad. Thus ended abortively the second Crusade, and the Christian cause in Palestine was left to be defended by the feeble forces but invincible courage of the Christian inhabitants.

The next thirty-five or forty years is a sad and continuous record of the reverses of the Christians. They had to contend with a new and powerful adversary in the person of the renowned Saracen, Sallah-ud-deen, better known as Saladin, who, after sixteen years of warfare with the Christian knights, in which he was sometimes defeated but oftener a victor, succeeded in taking Jerusalem, on the 2d of October, in the year 1187.

Thus, after a possession by the Christians of eighty-eight years, the city of Jerusalem and the holy shrine which it contained fell again into the power of the Moslems.

When the tidings of its fall reached Europe, the greatest sorrow and consternation prevailed. It was at once determined to make a vigorous effort for its rescue from its infidel conquerors. The enthusiasm of the people for its recovery was scarcely less than that which had preceded the first and second Crusades under the eloquent appeals of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard. The principal sovereigns of Europe, Spain alone excepted, which was engaged in its own struggles for the extirpation of the Moors, resolved to lead the armies of their respective nations to the reconquest of Jerusalem. Thus was inaugurated the third Crusade.

In the year 1188, innumerable forces from England, France, Italy, and other countries rushed with impetuous ardor to Palestine. In the year 1189 one hundred thousand Crusaders, under Guy de Lusignan, sat down before the city of Acre. The siege lasted for two years, with a vast consumption of lives on both sides. At length the city capitulated and the Mussulmans surrendered to the victorious arms of Richard the Lionhearted, King of England.

This third Crusade is remarkable for the number of European sovereigns who were personally engaged in it. Richard of England,

Philip Augustus of France, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and the Dukes of Suabia and of Burgundy, had all left their dominions to be governed by regents in their absence and had joined in the pious struggle to redeem the Holy Land from Mohammedan rule.

But, notwithstanding many victories over Saladin in hard-fought fields, and the conquest of many important places, such as Acre, Ascalon, Jaffa, and Cæsarea, the Crusaders failed in their great design of recovering Jerusalem, which still remained in the possession of Saladin, who, however, having made a truce with King Richard, granted, as one of the terms, free and undisturbed access to all pilgrims who should visit the holy city.

Thus terminated the third Crusade. It can scarcely be called an absolute failure, notwithstanding that Jerusalem still remained in the hands of the infidels, but the total ruin with which, at its commencement, the Latin kingdom had been threatened was averted; the conquering progress of the Mussulmans had been seriously checked; the hitherto victorious Saladin had been compelled to make a truce; the greater part of the seacoast of Palestine, with all its fortresses and the cities of Acre, Jaffa, Antioch, and Tyre, remained in the possession of the Christians.

Saladin had survived the truce which he had made with Richard but a few months, and on his death his dominions were divided between three of his sons and his brother Saphadin. The last of these, to whom most of the veterans who had fought under Saladin adhered, secured for himself a sovereignty in Syria.

The death of their renowned and powerful foe had encouraged the Christians of Palestine to make renewed efforts to recover Jerusalem as soon as the truce had expired. To aid in this design, a new Crusade was invoked in Europe. The appeal, heard with apathy in England and France, met with more favor in Germany. Three large armaments of German chivalry arrived at Acre in 1195. The campaign lasted, however, less than two years, and the troops, having effected no decisive results, were recalled to Germany in consequence of the death of the Emperor Henry VI. This, which has been dignified by some writers with the name of a fourth Crusade, has, however, more generally been considered as a mere episode in the history of the Holy Wars.

The fourth Crusade proper began in the year 1203, when a large armament of knights and men-at-arms of France, Germany, Italy,

and Flanders sailed for Constantinople in transports furnished by the Venetians and commanded by the blind Doge Dandolo. The throne of the Byzantine Empire had been usurped by the elder Alexius, who had imprisoned his brother, the legitimate monarch, after having caused his eyes to be put out. The first object of the Crusaders was to dethrone the usurper and to restore the government to Isaac and his son, the younger Alexius, who had instigated the enterprise and accompanied the expedition.

The siege and the conquest of Constantinople is told in the graphic language of Gibbon; but it is so wholly unconnected with the subject of our present inquiry as not to claim further attention. It is sufficient to say that by it the Crusaders were entirely diverted from the great object for which they had left Europe. None ever reached or sought to reach the land of Palestine, and the fourth Crusade terminated without a blow having been struck for the recovery of Jerusalem and the deliverance of the Holy Sepulcher from the pollution of its Paynim possessors.

The fifth Crusade commenced in the year 1217. In this war the Crusaders attacked Egypt, believing that that country was the key to Palestine. At first they were successful, and besieged and captured the city of Damietta. But, influenced and directed by the cupidity and ignorance of the papal legate, they refused the offer of the Saracens, that if the Christians would evacuate Egypt they would cede Jerusalem to them, they continued the campaign with most disastrous results, and, finally abandoning the contest, the Crusaders returned to Europe in 1229, never having even seen the shores of the Holy Land.

A sixth Crusade was undertaken by the French in 1238. They were subsequently joined by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the nephew of Richard the Lionhearted. The military capacity and prowess of this able leader led to successful results, and in 1240 to the restoration of Jerusalem to the Christians. The Crusade ended with the return of the Earl of Cornwall to England in 1240.

The fortifications of Jerusalem were rebuilt by the Knights Templars, but the necessary measures for defense had scarcely been completed when the Christian kingdom was attacked by a new enemy. The descendants of those barbaric tribes of Tartars who, under the name of Huns, had centuries before overwhelmed the Roman Empire, now commenced their ravages in Asia Minor,

Twenty thousand Turcoman horsemen, under Barbacan, their chief, assisted by Egyptian priests, were enabled in 1242 to wrest Jerusalem from the Christians, who never again recovered it. The war continued with scarcely varying disasters to the Christians. Palestine was overrun by the barbarous hordes of Turcomans. The Moslems of Damascus, Aleppo, and Ems, forgetful of their ancient hatred and religious conflicts, united with the Knights Templars to oppose a common enemy.

But the effort to stay the progress of the Turcoman invasion was vain. Every city of the Latin kingdom, such as Tiberias, Ascalon, Jaffa, and others, were conquered. Acre alone remained to the Christian chivalry, and the Holy Sepulcher was again in the possession of the infidels.

A seventh Crusade was commenced in 1245, to recover what had been lost. It was undertaken by the chivalry of England and France. Louis IX. commanded the French portion of the forces in person, and William Longsword, who had distinguished himself in the fifth Crusade, with many other English knights and nobles, vowed that they would serve under his banner.

Egypt was again made the objective point of the expedition, and after an unnecessary and imprudent delay of eight months at Cyprus, Louis sailed, in 1248, for Egypt, with a force of fifty thousand men. The history of this Crusade is but a narrative of the defeats of the Christians, by the arms of their enemies, by famine, and by pestilence. At Mansora, in 1250, the Crusaders were totally routed; thirty thousand Christians were slain, among them the flower of the French and English chivalry, and King Louis himself was taken prisoner. He was only ransomed by the surrender of Damietta to the Turks, the conquest of which city had been almost the only successful trophy of the Christian arms. The king proceeded to Acre, almost the only possession of the Christians in Syria, and soon afterward returned to France, thus ending the seventh and penultimate Crusade, in the year 1254.

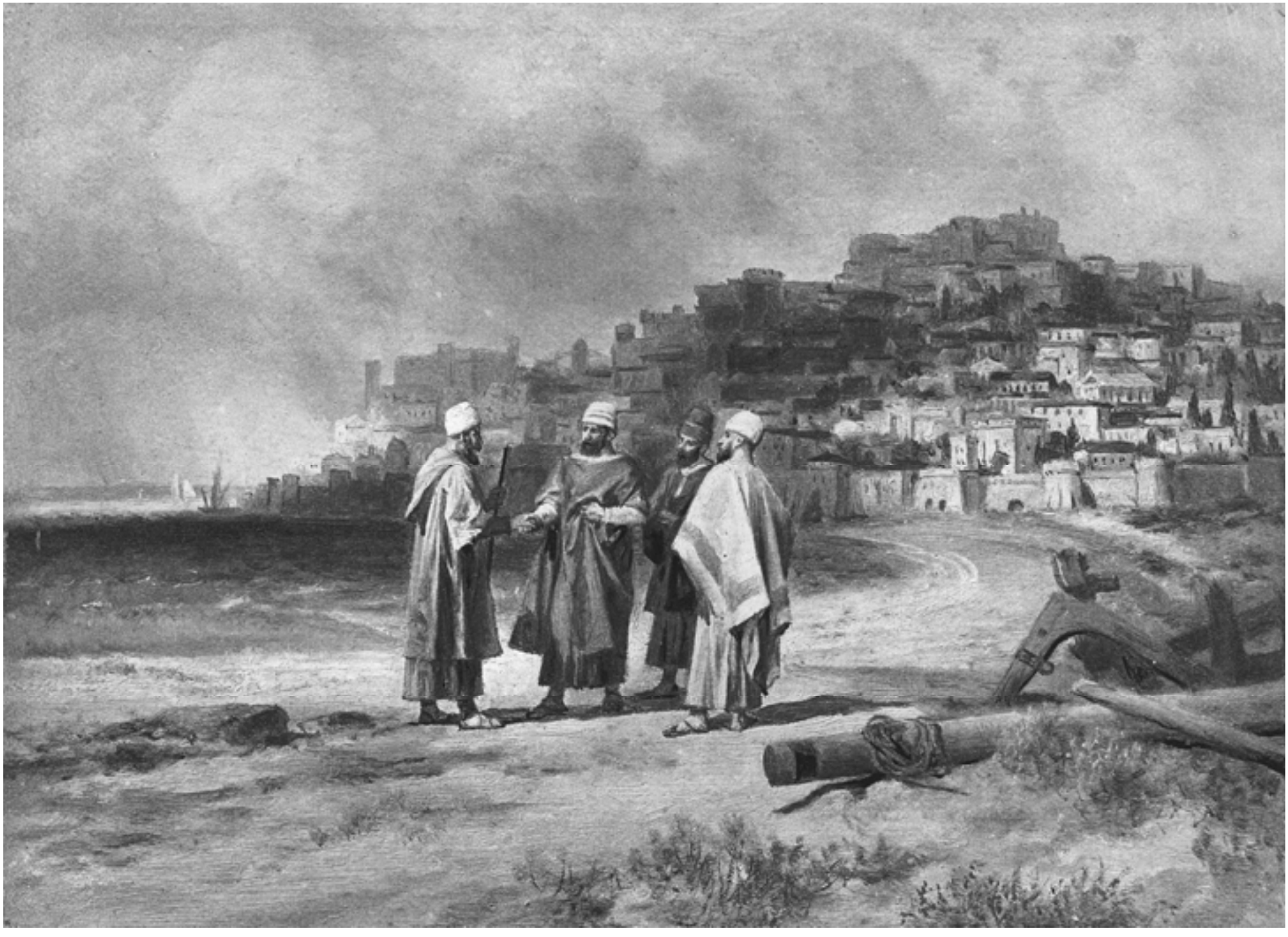
For fourteen years Syria and Palestine were left to the inadequate protection that could be afforded by the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, two Orders who even in the face of their common foe could not restrain their own bitter rivalry and dissensions. These feelings culminated at length in a sanguinary battle between them, in which the Templars were almost completely destroyed.

The Latin kingdom of Palestine being thus enfeebled by the in« testine broils of its defenders, city after city was surrendered to the Moslems, until Acre alone remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1268 the heaviest blow was inflicted by the fall of Antioch, the proud capital of Syria. Forty thousand Christians were slain at the time of its surrender and one hundred thousand were sold into slavery.

The fall of the Christian state of Antioch was a catastrophe that once more aroused the military ardor and the pious spirit of Europe, and a new Crusade was inaugurated—the eighth and last—for the recovery of the Holy Land, the restoration of the Latin kingdom, and the extirpation of the infidels from the sacred territory.

This Crusade was conducted entirely by Prince Edward, afterward Edward I. of England. It is true that Louis IX. of France, undeterred by the disasters which had previously befallen him, had with undiminished ardor sought to renew his efforts for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher, and sailed from France for that purpose in 1270. But he had stopped short at Tunis, the king and people of which he had hoped to convert to Christianity. But, although no decisive battles took place between the Moors and the Christians, the army of the latter was soon destroyed by the heat of the climate, by fatigue, by famine and pestilence, and the king himself died but little more than a month after his arrival on the shore of ancient Carthage. Prince Edward had joined the French army at Tunis with a slender body of knights, but, after the death of the French monarch and the abandonment of the enterprise, he had sailed for Syria with an army of only one thousand knights and men-at-arms, and landed at Acre in 1270. But the knights of the chivalry of Palestine gathered eagerly around his standard and increased his force to seven thousand. With this insignificant body of soldiery, weak in numbers but strong in courage and in the capacity of their leader, Edward attacked the immense horde of Moslems who had been besieging Acre, caused them to retire, and, following them to Nazareth, captured that city, after a battle in which the infidels were defeated with great slaughter.

But the reduction of Nazareth closed the military career of Edward in Palestine. After narrowly escaping death from a poisoned wound inflicted by a Moslem assassin, he returned to England, in 1271, having first effected a truce of ten years with the Sultan of Egypt.



The defense of Palestine, or rather of Acre, the only point occupied by the Christians, as the titular capital of the Latin kingdom, was left to the knights of the three Orders of Chivalry, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic knights. By them the truce was repeatedly violated and peaceable Moslem traders often plundered. Redress for these aggressions having been demanded in vain, the Sultan at length determined to extirpate the "faithless Franks," and marched against Acre with an army of two hundred thousand men.

After a siege of little more than a month, in which prodigies of valor were performed by the knights of the three military orders, Acre was taken, in 1271, by assault, at the cost of sixty thousand Christian lives. The inhabitants who did not submit to the Moslem yoke escaped to Cyprus with the remains of the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic knights who had survived the slaughter.

Thus, after a sanguinary contest of two hundred years, the possession of the Holy Land was abandoned forever to the enemies of the Cross.

Thus ends the history of the Crusades. For fifty years afterward the popes endeavored to instigate new efforts for the recovery of the holy places, but their appeals met with no response. The fanatical enthusiasm which had inspired the kings, the nobles, and the knights of Europe for two centuries had been dissolved, and the thirst for glory and the love of arms were thenceforth to be directed in different channels.

It is not my intention to inquire into the influence exerted by the Crusades on the state of religion, of education, of commerce, or of society in Europe. The theme is an interesting one, but it is foreign to the subject of our discussion, which is the possible connection that may have existed between them and the origin of Freemasonry. But, in so far as they may have favored the growth of municipal freedom and the perpetuation of the system of chivalry, it may be necessary in a future part of this discussion that these points should demand some attention.

In the present point of view, the most important subject to attract our attention is the organization during the Crusades of three military Orders of Knighthood, the Knights Hospitallers, the Knights Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. It is through these,

but principally through the second, that the attempt is made to find the origin of the Masonic institution in the time of the Crusaders.

Whatever may have been the origin of the institution of chivalry, whether from the equestrian order of the Romans, from the Scandinavians, the Arabians, the Persians, or, what is far more probable, from the peculiar influences of the feudal system, it is certain that that form of knighthood which was embodied in the organization of religious and military orders took its rise in Palestine during the wars of the Crusades, and that before that era no such organizations of knighthood were known in Europe.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John, now better known as the Knights of Malta, was the first of the military and religious Orders that was established in Palestine. Its origin must be traced to the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, a purely charitable institution established by certain merchants of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, who, trading in the East, built hospitals in Jerusalem for the entertainment and relief of poor and sick pilgrims, about the middle of the nth century. After the first Crusade had begun, many knights, laying aside their arms, united with the Hospitallers in the pious task of attending the sick. At length Gerard, the Rector of the Hospital, induced his brethren to assume the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and to adopt a peculiar costume consisting of a black robe bearing a white cross of eight points on the left breast. This was in the year 1099. The knights, however, continued their peaceful vocation of attending the sick until 1118, when Gerard, having died, was succeeded by Raymond de Puy as Rector. The military spirit of Raymond was averse to the monastic seclusion which had been fostered by his predecessor. He therefore proposed a change in the character of the society, by which it should become a military order devoted to the protection of Palestine from the attacks of the infidels. The members gladly acceded to this proposition, and, taking new vows at the hands of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the military Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem was established, in the year 1118. The Order continued to reside in Palestine during its occupation by the Christians of the Latin kingdom, taking an active part in all the wars of the eight Crusades.

When the city of Acre fell beneath the victorious army of the Sultan of Egypt, the Hospitallers, with the knights of the other two

Orders, who had escaped the slaughter which attended the siege and followed on the surrender, fled to Cyprus. Thence they repaired to the island of Rhodes, where they remained for two hundred years under the title of the Knights of Rhodes, and afterward permanently established themselves at Malta, where, with a change of name to that of the Knights of Malta, they remained until the island was taken possession of by Napoleon, in the year 1798. This was virtually the end of the career of these valiant knights, although to this day the Order retains some remnant of its existence in Italy.

The Order of Knights Templars was established in the year 1118 by Hugh de Payens, Godfrey de St. Aldemar, and seven other knights whose names history has not preserved. Uniting the characters of the monk and the soldier, they took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience in the presence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem; Baldwin, the King of Jerusalem, assigned them as a residence a part of his palace, which stood near the site of the former Temple, and as a place for an armory the street between the palace and the Temple, from which circumstance they derived their name of Templars. The Templars took a most active part in the defense of Palestine during the two centuries of the Crusades. They had also established houses called Preceptories in every country of Europe, where many of the knights resided. But the head of the Order was always in Palestine. At the close of the contests for the conquest of the Holy Land, when Acre fell and the Latin kingdom was dissolved, the Templars made their escape to Europe and were distributed among their various Preceptories.

But their wealth had excited the cupidity and their power the rivalry of Philip the Fair, King of France, who, with the assistance of a corrupt and weak Pope, Clement V., resolved to extirpate the Order. Charges of religious heresy and of moral licentiousness were preferred against them; proofs were not wanting when proofs were required by a King and a Pontiff; and on the nth of March, 1314, De Molay, the Grand Master, with the three principal dignitaries of the Order, were publicly burnt at the stake, fifty-four knights having suffered the same fate three years before.

The Order was suppressed in every country of Europe. Its vast possessions were partly appropriated by the different sovereigns to their own use and partly bestowed upon the Knights of Malta, between whom and the Templars there had always existed a rivalry,

and who were not unwilling to share the spoils of their ancient adversaries. In Portugal alone they were permitted to continue their existence, under the name of the Knights of Christ.

The Teutonic Knights, the last of the three Orders, was exclusively German in its organization. Their humble origin is thus related: During the Crusades, a wealthy gentleman of Germany, who resided at Jerusalem, built a hospital for the relief and support of his countrymen who were pilgrims. This charity was extended by other Germans coming from Lubeck and Bremen, and finally, during the third Crusade, a sumptuous hospital was erected at Acre, and an Order was formed under the name of Teutonic Knights, or Brethren of the Hospital of our Lady, of the Germans of Jerusalem. The rule adopted by the knights closely resembled that of the Hospitallers or Templars, with the exception that none but Germans could be admitted into the Order.

Like the knights of the other two Orders, they remained in Palestine until the fall of Acre, when they returned to Europe. For many years they were engaged in a crusade for the conversion of the Pagans of Prussia and Poland, and afterward in territorial struggle with the Kings of Poland, who had invaded their domains. After centuries of contests with various powers, the Order was at length abolished by Emperor Napoleon, in 1809, although it still has a titular existence in Austria.

In an inquiry into any pretended connection of the Crusaders with Freemasonry, we may dismiss the two Orders of the Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Knights with the single remark that in their organization they bore not the slightest resemblance to that of Freemasonry. They had no arcana in their system, no secret form of initiation or admission, and no methods of recognition. And besides this want of similarity, which must at once preclude any idea of a connection between the Masonic and these Chivalric Orders, we fail to find in history any record of such a connection or the faintest allusion to it.

If Freemasonry owed its origin to the Crusades, as has been asserted by some writers, or if any influence was exerted upon it by the Knights who returned to Europe after or during these wars, and found Freemasonry already existing as an organization, we must look for such connection or such influence to the Templars only,

The probabilities of such a connection have been based upon the

following historic grounds. The Knights Templars were a secret society, differing in this respect from the other two Orders. They had a secret doctrine and a secret ceremony of initiation into their ranks. This secret character of their ceremonies was made the subject of one of the charges preferred against them by the pope. The words of this charge are that "when they held their chapters, they shut all the doors of the house or church in which they met so closely that no one could approach near enough to see or hear what they were doing or saying." It is further said, in the next charge, that when they held their secret chapter "they placed a watchman on the roof of the house or church in which they met, to foresee the approach of any one."

Again, it is supposed that the Templars had held frequent and intimate communication with some of the secret societies which, during the Crusades, existed in the East, and that from them they derived certain doctrines which they incorporated into their own Order and introduced into Europe on their return, making them the basis of a system which resulted, if not in the creation of the entire Masonic institution, at least in the invention of the high degrees.

While it may not be possible to sustain this theory of the intercommunion of the Templars and the secret societies of the East by any authentic historical proof, it derives some feature of possibility, and perhaps even of probability, from the admitted character of the Templar Knights during the latter days of their residence in Palestine. They have not been supposed to have observed with strictness their vows of chastity and poverty. That they had lost that humility which made them at first call themselves "poor fellow-soldiers of Christ" and adopt as a seal two knights riding on one horse, is evident from the well-known anecdote of Richard I. of England, who, being advised by a zealous preacher to get rid of his three favorite daughters, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, replied: "You counsel well. I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, the second to the Benedictines, and the third to my bishops." In fact, the Templars were accused by their contemporaries of laxity in morals and of infidelity in religion. The Bois du Guilbert drawn by the graphic pen of Walter Scott, although a fiction, had many a counterpart in history. There was, in short, nothing in the austerity of manners or intolerance of faith which would have prevented the Templars of the Crusades from holding frequent com-

munications with the infidel secret Societies around them. The Druses, indeed, are said by some modern writers to have Templar blood in them, from the illegal intercourse of their female ancestors with the Knights.

Of these secret Societies three at least demand a brief attention, from the supposed connection of the Templars with them. These are the Essenes, the Druids, and the Assassins.

The Essenes were a Jewish sect which at the time of the Crusades were dwelling principally on the shores of the Dead Sea. Of the three schools of religion which were cultivated by the Jews in the time of our Saviour, the Pharisees and the Sadducees were alone condemned for their vices and their hypocrisy, while neither He nor any of the writers of the New Testament have referred in words either of condemnation or of censure to the Essenes. This complete silence concerning them has been interpreted in their favor, as indicating that they had not by their doctrines or their conduct incurred the displeasure of our Lord or of his disciples. Some have even supposed that St. John the Baptist, as well as some of the Evangelists and Apostles, were members of the sect—an opinion that is at least not absurd; but we reject as altogether untenable the hypothesis of De Quincey, that they were Christians.

Their ceremonies and their tenets are involved in great obscurity, notwithstanding the laborious researches of the learned Ginsburg. From him and from Josephus, who is the first of the ancient writers who has mentioned them, as well as from Philo and some other authorities, we get possession of the following facts.

The forms and ceremonies of the Essenes were, like those of the Freemasons, eminently symbolical. They were all celibates, and hence it became necessary to recruit their ranks, which death and other causes decimated from time to time, by the admission of new converts. Hence they had adopted a system of initiation which was divided into three degrees. The first stage was preceded by a preparatory novitiate which extended to three years. At the end of the first degree, the trials of which continued for twelve months, he was presented with a spade, an apron, and a white robe, the last being a symbol of purity. In the second degree or stage he was called an *approacher*, which lasted for two years, during which time he was permitted to join in some of the ceremonies of the sect, but not admitted to be present at the common. He was then

accepted as an *associate.* If his conduct was approved, he was finally advanced to the third degree and received into full membership as a *companion* or *disciple.*

Brewster, in the work attributed to Lawrie, seeks to find a common origin for the Freemasons and the Essenes, and supports his opinion by the following facts, which, if they do not sustain the truth of his hypothesis, are certainly confirmed by other authorities. He says: "When a candidate was proposed for admission, the strictest scrutiny was made into his character. If his life had hitherto been exemplary, and if he appeared capable of curbing his passions and regulating his conduct according to the virtuous though austere maxims of the Order, he was presented at the expiration of his novitiate with a white garment as an emblem of the regularity of his conduct and the purity of his heart. A solemn oath was then administered to him, that he would never divulge the mysteries of the Order, that he would make no innovations on the doctrines of the society, and that he would continue in that honorable course of piety and virtue which he had begun to pursue. Like Freemasons, they instructed the young members in the knowledge which they derived from their ancestors. They admitted no women into their Order. They had particular signs for recognizing each other, which have a strong resemblance to those of Freemasons. They had colleges or places of retirement, where they resorted to practice their rites and settle the affairs of the society; and after the performance of these duties they assembled in a large hall, where an entertainment was provided for them by the president or master of the college, who allotted a certain quantity of provisions to every individual. They abolished all distinctions of rank, and if preference was ever given, it was given to piety, liberality, and virtue. Treasurers were appointed in every town to supply the wants of indigent strangers."[1]

Josephus gives the Essenian oath more *in extenso.* He tells us that before being admitted to the common meal, that is, before advancement to full membership, the candidate takes an oath "that he will exercise piety toward God and observe justice toward men; that he will injure no one either of his own accord or by the com-

[1] Lawrie, "History of Freemasonry," ed. 1804, p. 34.

mand of others; that he will hate the wicked and aid the good; that he will be faithful to all men, especially to those in authority; that if ever placed in authority he will not abuse his power nor seek to surpass those under him in the costliness of his garments or decorations; that he will be a lover of truth and a reprover of falsehood; that he will keep his hands clear from theft and his soul from unlawful gains; that he will conceal nothing from the members of his own sect, nor reveal their doctrines to others, even at the hazard of his life; nor will he communicate those doctrines to any one otherwise than as he has himself received them; and, finally, that he will preserve inviolate the books of the sect and the names of the angels."

This last expression is supposed to refer to the secrets connected with the Tetragrammaton or Four-lettered Name and the other names of God and the angelical hierarchy which are comprised in the mysterious theosophy taught by the Cabalists and accepted, it is said, by the Essenes. The mystery of the name of God was then, as it is now, a prominent feature in all Oriental philosophy and religion.

I am inclined to the opinion of Brunet, who says that the Essenes were less a sect of religion than a kind of religious order or association of zealous and pious men whom the desire of attaining an exalted state of perfection had united together.[1] But whether they were one or the other, any hypothesis which seeks to connect them with Freemasonry through the Knights Templars is absolutely untenable.

At the time of the Crusades, and indeed long before, the Essenes had ceased to hold a place in history. What little remained of them was to be found in settlements about the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea. They had decreased almost to a fraction in numbers, and had greatly corrupted their doctrines and their manners, ceasing, for instance, to be celibate and adopting the custom of marriage, while they had accepted much of the philosophy of Plato, of Pythagoras, and of the school of Alexandria.

They still retained, however, their Judaic faith and much of their primitive austerity, and it is therefore improbable that there could have been any congenial intercommunion between them and the

[1] Brunet, "Paralèle des Religions," P. VI., sec. xliv.

Templars. Their poverty and insignificance would have supplied no attraction to the Knights, and their austerity of manners and Judaism would have repelled them.

As to the similarity of Essenism and Freemasonry in the establishment by each of a brotherhood distinguished by love, charity, and a secret initiation, we can draw no conclusion from these coincidences that there was a connection of the two associations, since the same coincidences will be found in all fraternities ancient and modern. They arise from no spirit of imitation or fact of descent, but are the natural outgrowth of the social condition of man, which is ever developing itself in such mystical and fraternal associations.

But this subject will be treated more at length when, in a subsequent chapter of this work, I come to treat of the theory which deduces Freemasonry from Essenism by a direct descent, without the invocation of a Christian chivalric medium. It has, however, become inevitable, in considering the Secret Societies of the East at the period of the Crusades, to anticipate to some extent what will have to be hereafter said.

The Druses were another mystical religion with which the Templars are said to have come in contact and from whom they are said to have derived certain dogmas and usages which were transmitted to Europe and incorporated into the system of Freemasonry.

Of the communication of the Templars with the Druses there is some evidence, both traditional and historic, but what influence that communication had upon either Templarism or Masonry is a problem that admits only of a conjectural solution. The one proposed by King, in his work on the Gnostics, will hereafter be referred to.

The Druses are a mystical sect who have always inhabited the southern side of Mount Lebanon and the western side of Anti-Lebanon, extending from Beirut in the north to Sur in the south, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the city of Damascus. They trace their origin to Hakim, who was Sultan of Egypt in 926, but derive their name from Mohammed Ben Israel Darasi, under whose leadership they fled from Egypt in the 10th century and settled in Syria, in that part around Lebanon which they still inhabit.

Their religion appears to be a mixture of Judaism, Christianity,

and Mohammedanism, although what it precisely is it is impossible to tell, since they keep their dogmas a secret, which is imparted only to those of their tribe who have passed through a form of initiation.

Of this initiation, Churchill says that there is a probation of twelve months before the candidate can be admitted to full membership. In the second year, the novitiate having been complete, the Druse is permitted to assume the white turban as a badge of his profession, and is permitted to participate in all the mysteries of his religion.

These mysteries refer altogether to dogma, for their religion is without ceremonies of any kind, and even without prayer.

Their doctrines have been summarized as follows: There is one God, unknown and unknowable, without personal form and of whom we can only predicate an existence. Nine times he has appeared on earth in the form of man. These were not incarnations, for God did not assume flesh, but merely put on flesh as a man puts on a garment. There are five invisible intelligences, called Ministers of Religion, and who have been impersonated by five Druse teachers, of whom the first is *Universal Intelligence,* personated by Hamsa, whose creation was the immediate work of God. The second is the *Universal Soul,* personated by Ismael, and is the female principal as to the first, as the Universal Intelligence is the male. From these two proceed the *Word,* which is personated by Mohammed Wahab. The fourth is the *Right Wing,* or the *Proceeding,* produced from the Word and the Universal Soul and personated by Selama. The fifth is the *Left Wing,* or the *Following,* produced in the same way from the Proceeding and personated by Moctana Behædeen. These form the religious hierarchy of Drusism as the ten sephiroth make the mystical tree of the Cabalists, from which it is probable that the Druses borrowed the idea. But they are taken, as Dr. Jessup says, "in some mysterious and incomprehensible sense which no Druse, man or woman, ever understood or can understand."[1] Yet their sacred books assert that none can possess the knowledge of Drusism except he knows all these Ministers of Religion.

They have also seven precepts or commandments, obedience to

[1] "Syrian Home-Life," p. 183.

which is enjoined but very seldom observed by the modern Druses, and never in their intercourse with unbelievers.

1. To speak the truth.
2. To render each other mutual assistance.
3. To renounce all error.
4. To separate from the ignorant and wicked.
5. To always assert the eternal unity of God.
6. To be submissive under trials and sufferings.
7. To be content in any condition, whether of joy or sorrow.

Of their outward forms and ceremonies we have no reliable information, for their worship is a secret one. In their sacred edifices, which are embowered among high trees or placed on the mountain summit, there are no ornaments. They have no prescribed rites and do not offer prayer, but in their worship sing hymns and read the sacred books. Churchill gives evidence of the profound secrecy in which the Druses envelop their religion. "Two objects," he says, "engrossed my attention—the religion of the Druses and the past history of the races which now occupy the mountain range of Lebanon. In vain I tried to make the terms of extreme friendship and intimacy which existed between myself and the Druses available for the purpose of informing myself on the first of these points. Sheiks, akkals, and peasants alike baffled my inquiries, either by jocose evasion or by direct negation."[1]

Finally, as if to complete their resemblance to a secret society, we are told that to enable one Druse to recognize another a system of signs and passwords is adopted, without an interchange of which no communication in respect to their mysteries is imparted.

The Rev. Mr. King, in his work on the Gnostics, thinks that "the Druses of Mount Lebanon, though claiming for their founder the Egyptian caliph Hakim, are in all probability the remains of the numerous Gnostic sects noticed by Procopius as flourishing there most extensively in his own times,"[2] which was in the 6th century. And he adds that "the popular belief among their neighbors is that they, the Druses, adore an idol in the form of a calf, and hold in their secret meetings orgies similar to those laid to the charge of the Ophites in Roman times, of the Templars in mediæval, and of the

[1] "On the Druses and Maronites under Turkish Rule."
[2] King's "Gnostics," p. 183.

continental Freemasons in modern times."[1] This statement I have found confirmed by other writers. But Mr. King thinks it an interesting and significant point that "the Druses hold the residence of their Supreme head to be in Scotland;" a tradition which, he says, has been "evidently handed down from the times when the Templars were all-powerful in their neighborhood." This would prove, admitting the statement to be true, rather that the Druses borrowed from the Templars than that the Templars borrowed from the Druses; though it would even then be very difficult to understand why the Templars should have traced their head to Scotland, since the legend of Scottish Templarism is of more recent growth.

We may, however, judge of the weight to be attached to Mr. King's arguments from the fact that he deems it to be a "singular coincidence" that our Freemasons are often spoken of by German writers as the "Scottish Brethren." Not being a Mason, he was ignorant of the meaning of the term, which refers to a particular rite of Masonry, and not to any theory of its origin, and is therefore no coincidence at all. The hypothesis of the supposed connection of the sect of Gnostics with Freemasonry will be the subject of future consideration.

But there was another secret society, of greater importance than the Druses, which flourished with vigor in Syria at the time of the Crusaders, and whose connection with the Templars, as historically proved, may have had some influence over that Order in moulding, or at least in suggesting, some of its esoteric dogmas and ceremonies. This was the sect of the Assassins.

The Ishmaeleeh, or, as they are more commonly called, the Assassins, from their supposed use of the herb *hashish* to produce a temporary frenzy, was during the Crusades one of the most powerful tribes of Syria, although their population is now little more than a thousand. The sect was founded about the end of the nth century, in Persia, by Hassan Sahab. From Persia, where they are supposed to have imbibed many of the doctrines of the philosophical sect of the Sofis, they emigrated to Asia Minor and settled in Syria, to the south of Mount Lebanon. Their chief was called Sheikh-el-Jeber, literally translated "the Old Man of the Mountain," a name familiar to the readers of the Voyages of Sindbad. Higgins,

[1] King's "Gnostics," p. 183.

who, when he had a theory to sustain, became insane upon the subject of etymology, translates it as "the sage of the Kabbala or Traditions," but the plain Arabic words admit of no such interpretation.

The credulity and the ignorance of the Middle Ages had assigned to the sect of the Assassins the character of habitual murderers, an historical error that has been perpetuated in our language by the meaning given to the word assassin. This calumny has been exploded by the researches of modern scholars, who now class them as a philosophical sect whose doctrines and instructions were secret. Of the Sofis, from whom the Ishmaeleeh or Assassins derived their doctrine, it will be necessary soon to speak.

Von Hammer, who wrote a history of the Assassins,[1] has sought to trace a close connection between them and the Templars. He has shown himself rather as a prejudiced opponent than as an impartial critic, but the sophistry of his conclusions does not affect the accuracy of his historical statements. Subsequent writers have therefore, in their accounts of this sect, borrowed largely from the pages of Von Hammer.

The Assassins were a secret society having a religion and religious instructions which they imparted only to those of their tribe who had gone through a prescribed form of initiation. According to Von Hammer, that system of initiation was divided into three degrees. They administered oaths of secrecy and of passive obedience and had modes of mutual recognition, thus resembling in many respects other secret societies which have at all times existed. He says that they were governed by a Grand Master and had regulations and a religious code, in all of which he supposes that he has found a close resemblance to the Templars. Their religious views he states to have been as follows:

"Externally they practice the duties of Islamism, although they internally renounce them; they believe in the divinity of Ali, in uncreated light as the principle of all created things, and in the Sheikh Ras-ed-dia, the Grand Prior of the Order in Syria, and contemporary with the Grand Master Hassan II, as the last representative of the Deity on earth."[2]

The Rev. Mr. Lyde, who traveled among the remains of the

[1] "Die Geschicte der Assassnen aus Morgenländ-ischen Quellen," Tubingen, 1818.

[2] "Geschicte der Assassnen," Wood's Translation, p. 221.

sect in 1852, says that they professed to believe in all the prophets, but had a chief respect for Mohammed and his son-in-law Ali, and he speaks of their secret prayers and rites as being too disgusting to be mentioned.[1]

During the Crusades, the Templars entered at various times into amicable arrangements and treaty stipulations with the Assassins, in whose territory several of the fortresses of the Knights were built, and we may therefore readily believe that at those periods, when war was not raging, there might have been a mutual interchange of courtesies, of visits and of conferences.

Now, the Assassins were by no means incapable of communicating some elements of knowledge to their knightly neighbors. The chivalry of that age were not distinguished for learning and knew little more than their profession of arms, while the Syrian infidels had brought from Persia a large portion of the intellectual culture of the Sofis. Von Hammer, whose testimony is given in the face of his adverse prejudices, admits that they produced many treatises on mathematics and law, and he confesses that Hassan, the founder of the sect, possessed a profound knowledge of philosophy, and of the mathematical and metaphysical sciences. We can not therefore deny the probability that in the frequent communications with this intellectual as well as warlike tribe the Templars may have derived some of those doctrines and secret observances which characterized the Order on its return from Palestine, and which, distorted and misinterpreted by their enemies, formed the basis of those charges which led to the persecution and the eventual extinction of Knight Templarism.

Godfrey Higgins, whose speculations are seldom controlled by a discreet judgment, finds a close connection between the Freemasons and the Assassins, through the Templars. "It is very certain," he says, "that the Ishmalians or Society of Assassins is a Mohammedan sect; that it was at once both a military and religious association, like the Templars and Teutonic Knights; and that, like the Jesuits, it had its members scattered over extensive countries. It was a link that connected ancient and modern Freemasonry."[2] And he subsequently asserts that "the Templars were nothing but one branch of

[1] "The Ansyreeh and Ishmaeleeh: a visit to the secret societies of Northern Syria," by Rev. Samuel Lyde, B.A., London, 1853, p. 238.

[2] "Anacalypsis," I., 700.

Masons."[1] And so he goes on speculating, that Templarism and Ishmaelism were identical, and Freemasonry sprung from them both, or rather from the latter through the former. But as Higgins has advanced several other theories of the origin of Masonry, we may let the present one pass.

We may be prepared, however, to admit that the Templars possibly modified their secret doctrines under the influence of their friendly conferences with the Assassins, without recognizing the further fact that the Templars exercised a similar influence over the Freemasons.

I have said that the Assassins are supposed to have derived their doctrines from the sect of the Sofis in Persia. Indeed, the Sofis appear to have been the common origin of all the secret societies of Syria, which will account for their general resemblance to each other. In any inquiry, therefore, into the probable or possible connection of Templarism with these societies, Sofism, or the doctrine of the Sofis, will form an interesting element.

The sect of the Sofis originated in Persia, and was extended over other countries of the East. The name is generally supposed to be derived from the Greek *Sophia,* wisdom, and they bore also the name of *philosauph,* which will easily suggest the word *philosopher.* Dr. Herbelot, however, derived the name from the Persian *sauf* or *sof*, wool, because, as he said, the ancient Sofis dressed in woolen garments. The former derivation is, however, the most plausible.

Sir John Malcolm, who has given a very good account of them in his *History of Persia,* says that among them may be counted some of the wisest men of Persia and the East. The Mohammedan Sofis, he says, have endeavored to connect their mystic faith with the doctrine of the prophet in a manner that will be better shown from Von Hammer. That the Gnostic heresy was greatly infused in the system of Sofism is very evident, and at the same time there appears to have been some connection in ideas with the school of Pythagoras. The object of all investigation is the attainment of truth, and the labors of the initiate are symbolically directed to its discovery.

In Sofism there is a system of initiation, which is divided into

[1] "Anacalypsis," I., 712.

four degrees. In the first or preparatory degree, the novice is required to observe the rites of the popular religion in its ordinary-meaning. In the second degree, called the *Pale of Sofism,* he exchanges these exoteric rites for a spiritual and secret worship. The third degree is called *Wisdom,* and in this the initiate is supposed to be invested with supernatural knowledge and to have become equal with the angels. The fourth and last degree is called *Truth,* which the candidate is now supposed to have attained, and to have become united with the Deity.

Sir William Jones has given a summary of their doctrines, so far as they have been made known, as follows:

Nothing exists absolutely but God; the human soul is but an emanation from His essence, and, though temporarily separated from its divine source, will eventually be united with it. From this union the highest happiness will result, and therefore that the chief good of man in this world consists in as perfect a union with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of flesh will permit.

Von Hammer's history of the rise, the progress, and the character of Sofism is more minute, more accurate, and therefore more interesting than that of any other writer. In accepting it for the reader, I shall not hesitate to use and to condense the language of Sloane, the author of the *New Curiosities of Literature.*

The German historian of the Assassins says that a certain *House of Wisdom* was formed in Cairo at the end of the 10th century by the Sultan, which had thus arisen. Under Maimun, the seventh Abasside Caliph, a certain Abdallah established a secret society, and divided his doctrines into seven degrees, after the system of Pythagoras and the Ionian schools. The last degree inculcated the vanity of all religion and the indifference of actions, which are visited by neither future recompense or punishment. He sent missionaries abroad to enlist disciples and to initiate them in the different degrees, according to their aptitude.

In a short time Karmath, one of his followers, improved this system. He taught that the Koran was to be interpreted allegorically, and, by adopting a system of symbolism, made arbitrary explanations of all the precepts of that book. Prayer, for instance, meant only obedience to a mysterious Imam, whom the Ishmaeleeh said that they were engaged in seeking, and the injunction of alms-

giving was explained as the duty of paying him tithes. Fasting was only silence in respect to the secrets of the sect.

The more violent followers of Karmath sought to subvert the throne and the religion of Persia, and with this intent made war upon the Caliphs, but were conquered and exterminated.

The more prudent portion, under the general name of Ishmaelites, continued to work in secret, and finally succeeded in placing one of their sect upon the throne. In process of time they erected a large building, which they called the House of Wisdom, and furnished it with professors, attendants, and books, and mathematical instruments. Men and women were admitted to the enjoyment of these treasures, and scientific and philosophical disputations were held. It was a public institution, but the secret Order of the Sofis, under whose patronage it was maintained, had their mysteries, which could only be attained by an initiation extending through nine degrees. While Sofism has by most writers been believed to be a religio-philosophical sect, Von Hammer thinks that it was political, and that its principal object was to overthrow the House of Abbas in favor of the Fatimites, which could only be effected by undermining the national religion.

The government at length interfered, and the operations of the society were suspended. But in about a year it resumed its functions and established a new House of Wisdom. Extending its influences abroad, many of the disciples of Sofism passed over into Syria about the close of the 10th century, and there established those secret societies which in the course of the Crusades came into contact, sometimes on the field of battle and sometimes in friendly conferences during temporary truces with the Crusaders, but especially with the Knights Templars.

The principal of these societies were the Ishmaeleeh or Assassins and the Druses, both of whom have been described.

There were other societies in Syria, resembling these in doctrine and ceremonies, who for some especial reasons not now known had seceded from the main body, which appears to have been the Assassins.

Such were the Ansyreeh, who were the followers of that Karmath of whom I have just spoken, who had seceded at an early period from the Sofis in Persia and had established his sect in Syria, on the coast, in the plain of Laodicea, now Ladikeeh,

From them arose another sect, called the Nusairyeh, from the name of their founder, Nusair. They settled to the north of Mount Lebanon, along the low range of mountains extending from Antioch to Tripoli and from the Mediterranean to Hums, where their descendants, numbering about two hundred thousand souls, still remain.

It is from their frequent communications with these various secret societies, but especially with the Assassins, that Von Hammer and Higgins, following Ramsay, have supposed that the Templars derived their secret doctrines and, carrying them to Europe, communicated them to the Freemasons. Rather, I should say, that Von Hammer and Higgins believed these Syrian societies to be Masonic, and that they taught the principles of the institution to the Templars, who were thus the founders of Freemasonry in Europe.

Of such a theory there is not the slightest scintilla of historic evidence. When we come to examine the authentic history of the origin of Freemasonry, it will be seen how such an hypothesis is entirely without support.

But that the Templars did have frequent communication with those secret societies, that they acquired a knowledge of their doctrines, and were considerably influenced in the lives of many of their members, and perhaps in secret modifications of their Order, is an hypothesis that can not be altogether denied or doubted, since there are abundant evidences in history of such communications, and since we must admit the plausibility of the theory that the Knights were to some extent impressed with the profound doctrines of Sofism as practiced by these sects.

Admitting, then, that the Templars derived some philosophical ideas more liberal than their own from these Syrian secret philosophers who were more learned than themselves, the next question will be as to what influences the Templars exerted upon the people of Europe on their return, and in what direction and to what ends this influence was exerted; and to this we must now direct our attention.

But, before entering upon this subject, we may as well notice one significant fact. Of the three Orders of Knighthood who displayed their prowess in Palestine and Syria during the two centuries of the Crusades, the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, and the Templars, it is admitted that the Templars were more intimately

acquainted with the Ishmaeleeh or Assassins than either of the others. It is also known that while the admission to membership in the Hospitaller and Teutonic Orders was open and public, the Templars alone had a secret initiation, and held their meetings in houses guarded from profane intrusion.

Now, at what time the Templars adopted this secret formula of initiation is not known. The rule provided for their government by St. Bernard at the period of their organization makes no allusion to it, and it is probable that there was no such secret initiation practiced for many years after their establishment as an order.

Now, this question naturally suggests itself: Did the Templars borrow the idea and in part the form of their initiation from the Assassins, among whom such a system existed, or, having obtained it from some other source, was it subjected at a later period of their career, but long before they left Palestine, to certain modifications derived from their intercourse with the secret societies of Syria? This is a question that can not be historically solved. We must rest for any answer on mere conjecture. And yet the facts of the Templars being of the three Orders the only secret one, and of their intercourse with the Assassins, who were also a secret order, are very significant. Some light may be thrown upon this subject by a consideration of the charges, mainly false but with certain elements of truth, which were urged against the Order at the time of its suppression.

Let us now proceed to an investigation of the theory that makes the Templars the founders of the Order of Freemasonry, after the return of the Knights to Europe. Rejecting this theory as wholly untenable, it will, however, be necessary to inquire what were the real influences exerted upon Europe by the Knights.

It must be remembered that if any influence at all was exercised upon the people of Europe, the greater portion must be attributed to the Templars. Of the three Orders, the Hospitallers, when they left Palestine, repaired directly to the island of Rhodes, where they remained for two hundred years, and then, removing to Malta, continued in that island until the decadence of their Order at the close of the last century. The Teutonic Knights betook themselves to the uncivilized parts of Germany, and renewed their warlike vocation by crusades against the heathens of that country. The Templars alone distributed themselves in the different kingdoms and

cities of the continent, and became familiar with the people who lived around their preceptories. They alone came in contact with the inhabitants, and they alone could have exercised any influence upon the popular mind or taste.

It has been a generally received opinion of the most able architects that the Templars exerted a healthy influence upon the architecture of the Middle Ages. Thus Sir Christopher Wren says that "the Holy Wars gave the Christians who had been there an idea of the Saracens' works, which were afterward imitated by them in their churches, and they refined upon it every day as they proceeded in building."[1]

But the most positive opinion of the influence of the Crusaders upon the architecture of Europe was given in 1836 by Mr. Westmacott, a distinguished artist of England. In the course of a series of lectures before the Royal Academy, he thus spoke of the causes of the revival of the arts.

There were, he said, two principal causes which tended materially to assist the restoration of literature and the arts in England and in other countries of Europe. These were the Crusades and the extension or the establishment of the Freemason's institution in the north and west of Europe. The adventurers who returned from the Holy Land brought back some ideas of various improvements, particularly in architecture, and along with these a strong desire to erect castellated, ecclesiastical, and palatial edifices, to display the taste that they had acquired; and in less than a century from the first Crusade above six hundred buildings of the above description had been erected in southern and western Europe. This taste, he thinks, was spread into almost all countries by the establishment of the Fraternity of Freemasons, who, it appears, had, under some peculiar form of Brotherhood, existed for an immemorial period in Syria and other parts of the East, whence some bands of them migrated to Europe, and after a time a great efflux of these men, Italian, German, French, Spanish, etc., had spread themselves in communities through all civilized Europe; and in all countries where they settled we find the same style of architecture from that period, but differing in some points of treatment as suited the climate.

The latter part of this statement requires confirmation. I do not

[1] Wren's "Parentalia."

think that there is any historical evidence of the ingress into Europe of bands of the Syrian secret fraternities during or after the Crusades, nor is there any probability that such an ingress could have occurred.

But the historical testimonies are very strong that the literature and arts of Europe, and especially its architecture, were materially advanced by the influence of the returning Crusaders, whose own knowledge had been enlarged and their taste cultivated by their contact with the nations of the East.

This topic appertains, however, to the historical rather than to the legendary study of Masonry, and will at a future time in the course of this work command our attention. At present we must restrict ourselves to the consideration of the theory that traditionally connects the Crusaders, and especially the Knights Templars, with the establishment of the Masonic institution, through their intercourse with the secret societies of Syria

The inventor of the theory that Freemasonry was instituted in the Holy Land by the Crusaders, and by them on their return introduced into Europe, was the Chevalier Michael Ramsay, to whom Masonry is indebted (whatever may be the value of the debt) for the system of high degrees and the manufacture of Rites.

In the year 1740 Ramsay was the Grand Orator, and delivered a discourse before the Grand Lodge of France, in which he thus traces the origin of Freemasonry.

Rejecting as fabulous all hypotheses which trace the foundation of the Order to the Patriarchs, to Enoch, Noah, or Solomon, he finds its origin in the time of the Crusades.

"In the time," he says, "of the Holy Wars in Palestine, many princes, nobles, and citizens associated themselves together and entered into vows to re-establish Christian temples in the Holy Land, and engaged themselves by an oath to employ their talents and their fortunes in restoring architecture to its primitive condition. They adopted signs and symbolic words, derived from religion, by which they might distinguish themselves from the infidels and recognize each other in the midst of the Saracens. They communicated these words only to those who had previously sworn a solemn oath, often taken at the altar, that they would not reveal them. Some time after, this Order was united with that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, for which reason in all countries our Lodges are called

Lodges of St. John. This union of the two Orders was made in imitation of the conduct of the Israelites at the building of the second Temple, when they held the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other.

"Our Order must not, therefore, be regarded as a renewal of the Bacchanalian orgies and as a source of senseless dissipation, of unbridled libertinism and of scandalous intemperance, but as a moral Order instituted by our ancestors in the Holy Land to recall the recollection of the most sublime truths in the midst of the innocent pleasures of society.

"The kings, princes, and nobles, when they returned from Palestine into their native dominions, established Lodges. At the time of the last Crusade several Lodges had already been erected in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and from the last in Scotland, in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between those two countries.

"James Lord Steward of Scotland was the Grand Master of a Lodge established at Kilwinning in the west of Scotland, in the year 1236, a short time after the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, and a year before John Baliol ascended the throne. This Scottish Lord received the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, English and Irish noblemen, as Masons into his Lodge.

"By degrees our Lodges, our festivals, and solemnities were neglected in most of the countries in which they had been established. Hence the silence of the historians of all nations, except Great Britain, on the subject of our Order. It was preserved, however, in all its splendor by the Scotch, to whom for several centuries the kings of France had intrusted the guardianship of their person.[1]

"After the lamentable reverses of the Crusades, the destruction of the Christian armies, and the triumph of Bendocdar, the Sultan of Egypt, in 1263, during the eighth and ninth Crusades, the great Prince Edward, son of Henry III., King of England, seeing that there would be no security for the brethren in the Holy Land when the Christians should have retired, led them away, and thus a colony of the Fraternity was established in England. As this prince was

[1] Ramsay here refers to the company of musketeers, composed entirely of Scotchmen of noble birth, which constituted the body-guard of the kings of France. The reader of the Waverley Novels will remember that the renowned Balafrè, in the story of "Quentin Durward," was a member of this company.

endowed with all the qualities of mind and heart which constitute the hero, he loved the fine arts and declared himself the protector of our Order. He granted it several privileges and franchises, and ever since the members of the confraternity have assumed the name of *Freemasons.* From this time Great Britain became the seat of our sciences, the conservatrix of our laws, and the depository of our secrets. The religious dissensions which so fatally pervaded and rent all Europe during the 16th century caused our Order to degenerate from the grandeur and nobility of its origin. Several of our rites and usages, which were opposed to the prejudices of the times, were changed, disguised, or retrenched. Thus it is that several of our brethren have, like the ancient Jews, forgotten the spirit of our laws and preserved only the letter and the outer covering. But from the British islands the ancient science is now beginning to pass into France."

Such was the theory of Ramsay, the principal points of which he had already incorporated into the Rite of six degrees which bears his name. This Rite might be called the mother of all the Rites which followed it and which in a few years covered the continent with a web of high degrees and of Masonic systems, all based on the hypothesis that Freemasonry was invented during the Crusades, and the great dogma of which, boldly pronounced by the Baron Von Hund, in his Rite of Strict Observance, was that every Freemason was a Templar.

It will be seen that Ramsay repudiates all the legends which ascribe Masonry to the Patriarchs or to the ancient Mysteries, and that he rejects all connection with an Operative association, looking to chivalry alone for the legitimate source of the Fraternity.

Adopting the method of writing Masonic history which had been previously pursued by Anderson, and which was unfortunately followed by other writers of the 18th century, and which has not been altogether abandoned at the present day, Ramsay makes his statements with boldness, draws without stint upon his imagination, presents assumptions in the place of facts, and cites no authority for anything that he advances.

As Mossdorf says, since he cites no authority we are not bound to believe him on his simple word.

Ramsay's influence, however, as a man of ability, had its weight, and the theory of the origin of Freemasonry among the Crusaders

continued to be taught in some one form or another by subsequent writers, and it was infused by the system-makers into most of the Rites that were afterward established. Indeed, it may be said that of all the Rites now existing, the English and American are the only ones in which some feature of this Templar theory may not be found.

The theory of Hutchinson varied somewhat from that of Ramsay, inasmuch as while recognizing the influence of the Crusades upon Masonry he is inclined to suppose that it was carried there by the Crusaders rather than that it was brought thence by them to Europe.

After alluding to the organization of the Crusades by Peter the Hermit, and to the outpouring from Europe into Palestine of tens of thousands of saints, devotees, and enthusiasts to waste their blood and treasure in a barren and unprofitable adventure, he proceeds to say that "it was deemed necessary that those who took up the sign of the Cross in this enterprise should form themselves into such societies as might secure them from spies and treacheries, and that each might know his companion and fellow-laborer by dark as well as by day. As it was with Jephtha's army at the passes of the Jordan, so also was it requisite in these expeditions that certain signs, signals, watchwords, or passwords should be known amongst them; for the armies consisted of various nations and various languages."

"No project or device," he thinks, "could answer the purpose of the Crusaders better than those of Masonry. The maxims and ceremonials attending the Master's Order had been previously established and were materially necessary on that expedition; for as the Mohammedans were also worshippers of the Deity, and as the enterprisers were seeking a country where the Masons were in the time of Solomon called into an association, and where some remains would certainly be found of the mysteries and wisdom of the ancients and of our predecessors, such degrees of Masonry as extended only to their being servants of the God of Nature would not have distinguished them from those they had to encounter, had they not assumed the symbols of the Christian faith."

The hypothesis of Hutchinson is, then, that while there was some Masonry in Palestine before the advent of the Crusaders, it was only that earlier stage which he had already described as appertaining to the Apprentice's degree, and which was what both he and

Oliver have called "Patriarchal Masonry." The higher stage represented by the Master's degree was of course unknown to the Saracens, as it was of Christian origin, and the possession of this degree only could form any distinctive mark between the Crusaders and their Moslem foes. This degree, therefore, he thinks, was introduced into Palestine as a war-measure to supply the Christians with signs and words which would be to them a means of protection. The full force of the language bears only this interpretation, that Freemasonry was used by the Crusaders not for purposes of peace, but for those of war, a sentiment so abhorrent to the true spirit of the institution that nothing but a blind adhesion to a preconceived theory could have led so good a Mason as Hutchinson to adopt or to advance such an opinion.

Differing still more from Ramsay, who had attributed the origin of Masonry to the Knights and nobles of the Crusades, Hutchinson assigns the task of introducing it into Palestine to the religious and not the military element of these expeditions.

"All the learning of Europe in those times," he continues, "was possessed by the religious; they had acquired the wisdom of the ancients, and the original knowledge which was in the beginning and now is the *truth;* many of them had been initiated into the mysteries of Masonry, they were the projectors of the Crusades, and, as Solomon in the building of the Temple introduced orders and regulations for the conduct of the work, which his wisdom had been enriched with from the sages of antiquity, so that no confusion should happen during its progress, and so that the rank and office of each fellow-laborer might be distinguished and ascertained beyond the possibility of doubt; in like manner the priests projecting the Crusades, being possessed of the mysteries of Masonry, the knowledge of the ancients, and of the universal language which survived the confusion of Shinar, revived the orders and regulations of Solomon, and initiated the legions therein who followed them to the Holy Land—hence that secrecy which attended the Crusades."

Mr. Hutchinson concludes this collection of assumptions, cumulated one upon another, without the slightest attempt to verify historically a single statement, by asserting that "among other evidences which authorize us in the conjecture that Masons went to the Holy Wars, is the doctrine of that Order of Masons called the *Higher Order*" that is to say, the higher degrees, which he says

that he was induced to believe was of Scottish Origin. He obtained this idea probably from the theory of Ramsay. But be that as it may, he thinks "it conclusively proved that the Masons were Crusaders;" a conclusion that it would be difficult to infer from any known rules of logic. The fact (if it be admitted) that these higher degrees were invented in Scotland by no means proves that the Masons who possessed them went to the Crusades. It is impossible, indeed, to find any natural connection or sequence between the two circumstances.

But the legend which refers to the establishment in Scotland of a system of Masonry at the time of the suppression of the Order and the martyrdom of de Molay, belongs to another portion of the legendary history of Freemasonry and will be treated in a distinct chapter.

Von Hammer shows to what shifts for arguments those are reduced who pretend that the institution of Freemasonry was derived at the Crusades, by the Knights Templars, from the secret societies of the East. He says, as a proof of the truth of this hypothesis, which indeed he makes as a charge against the Templars, that their secret maxims, particularly in so far as relates to the renunciation of positive religion and the extension of their power by the acquisition of castles and strong places, seem to have been the same as those of the Order of Assassins. The similarity also of the white dress and red fillet of the Assassins with the white mantle and red cross of the Templars he thinks is certainly remarkable. Hence he assumes that as the Assassins were a branch of the Ishmaeleeh, whom he calls the "Illuminati of the East," and as the former were a secret society of revolutionary principles, which is a characteristic that he gratuitously bestows upon the Freemasons, he takes it for granted that the Assassins supplied the Templars with those ideas of organization and doctrine out of which they created the system of Freemasonry that they afterward introduced into Europe.

A series of arguments like this is scarcely worthy of a serious refutation. The statement that the Templars ever renounced the precepts of positive religion, either at that early period of their career or at any subsequent time, is a mere assumption, based on the charges made by the malevolence of a wicked King and a still more wicked Pope. The construction of fortresses and castles for their protection, by both the Templars and the Assassins, arose from the

military instinct which teaches all armies to provide the means of defense when in the presence of an enemy. And lastly, the argument drawn from the similarity of the costumes of both Orders is so puerile as to require no other answer than that as the mantle and cross of the Templars were bestowed upon them, the former by Pope Honorius and the latter by Pope Eugenius, therefore they could not have been indebted to the Assassins for either. The best refutation of the slanders of Von Hammer is the fact that to sustain his views he was obliged to depend on such poverty of argument.

Recognizing as historically true the fact that the Templars, or rather, perhaps, the architects and builders, who accompanied them and were engaged in the construction of their fortresses and castles in the Holy Land, the remains of some of which still exist, brought with them to Europe some new views of Saracenic architecture which they communicated to the guilds of Freemasons already established in Europe, we may dismiss the further consideration of that subject as having nothing to do with the question of how much Freemasonry as a secret society was indebted for its origin to Templarism.

On the subject of the direct connection of the Templars with Freemasonry at the time of the Crusades, there are only two propositions that have been maintained. One is that the Templars carried Freemasonry with them to Palestine and there made use of it for their protection from their enemies, the Saracens.

Of this theory there is not the slightest evidence. No contemporary historian of the Crusades makes any mention of such a fact. Before we can begin to even discuss it as something worthy of discussion, we must find the proof, which we can not, that in the nth and 12th centuries Freemasonry was anything more than an Operative institution, to which it was not likely that any Crusaders of influence, such as the nobles and knights, were attached as members. As a mere conjecture it wants every element of probability. Hutchinson, the most prominent writer who maintains the theory, has evidently confounded the Crusaders of the 11th and 12th centuries, who fought in Palestine, with the Templars, who are said to have fled to Scotland in the 14th century and to have there invented certain high degrees. This manifest confusion of dates gives a feature of absurdity to the argument of Hutchinson.

Another form has been given to this theory by a writer in the

London Freemasons' Magazine[1] which has the air of greater plausibility at least. The theory that he has advanced will be best given in his own language: "The traveling bodies of Freemasons (who existed in Europe at the time of the Crusades) consisted of brethren well skilled in every branch of knowledge; among their ranks were many learned ecclesiastics, whose names survive to the present day in the magnificent edifices which they assisted to erect. The Knights of the Temple, themselves a body of military monks partaking both of the character of soldiers and priests, preserved in their Order a rank exclusively clerical, the individuals belonging to which took no part in warfare, who were skilled in letters, and devoted themselves to the civil and religious affairs of the Order; they were the historians of the period, and we know that all the learning of the time was in their keeping in common with the other ecclesiastics of the time. From the best information we are possessed of regarding the Order, we believe there can be little doubt that these learned clerks introduced the whole fabric of Craft Masonry into the body of the Templars, and that not only was the Speculative branch of the science by them incorporated with the laws and organization of the Knights, but to their Operative skill were the Templars indebted for their triumphs in architecture and fortification. And it is worthy of remark that in the records of the Order we find no mention of individual architects or builders; we may therefore not unfairly draw the inference that the whole body were made participators in the knowledge and mysteries of the Craft."

To this theory there is the same objection that has been already made to the other, that it is wholly unsupported by historical authority, and that it is a mere congeries of bold assumptions and fanciful conjectures. Very strange, indeed, is the reasoning which draws the inference that all the Templars were builders because there is no mention of such a class in the records of the Order. Such a silence would rather seem to indicate that there was no such class among the Knights. That they employed architects and builders, who may have belonged to the guilds of Traveling Freemasons before they went to Palestine, is by no means improbable; but there us no evidence, and it is by no means likely, that they would engage in anything more than the duties of their profession, or that there

[1] *Freemasons' Magazine and Masonic Mirror*, vol. iv., p. 962, London, 1858, Part I.

would be any disposition on the part of the Knights devoted to a warlike vocation to take any share in their peaceful association.

The second theory is that the Templars derived their secret doctrines and ceremonies from the sect of the Assassins, or from the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and that on their return to Europe they organized the Fraternity of Freemasons. This theory is the direct opposite of the former, and, like it, has neither history to sustain its truth as a statement nor probability to support it as a conjecture.

It was the doctrine of a German writer, Adler, who advanced it in his treatise, *De Drusis Montis Libani,* published in 1786 at Rome. But its most prominent advocate was Von Hammer, an avowed and prejudiced foe of both Templarism and Freemasonry, and who made it the basis of his charges against both institutions. Notwithstanding this, it has been accepted with his wonted credulity by Higgins in his ponderous work entitled *Anacalypsis.*

Brewster, in the work attributed to Lawrie on the *History of Freemasonry*, has adopted the same hypothesis. "As the Order of the Templars," he says, "was originally formed in Syria, and existed there for a considerable time, it would be no improbable supposition that they received their Masonic knowledge from the Lodges in that quarter."

But as Brewster, or the author of the work called *Lawrie's History,* had previously, with equal powers of sophistry and with a similar boldness of conjecture, attributed the origin of Freemasonry to the ancient Mysteries, to the Dionysiac Fraternity of Artificers, to the Essenes, the Druids, and to Pythagoras, we may safely relegate his hypothesis of its Templar origin to the profound abyss of what ought to be, and probably are, exploded theories. All these various arguments tend only to show how the prejudices of preconceived opinions may warp the judgment of the most learned scholars.

On the whole, I think that we will be safe in concluding that, whatever may have been the valiant deeds of the Crusaders, and especially of the Templars, in their unsuccessful attempt to rescue the Holy Sepulcher from the possession of the infidels, they could scarcely have diverted their attention to the prosecution of an enterprise so uncongenial with the martial spirit of their occupation as that of inventing or organizing a peaceful association of builders. With the Crusades and the Crusaders, Freemasonry had no con-

nection that can be sustained by historical proof or probable conjecture. As to the supposed subsequent connection of Templarism with the Freemasonry of Scotland, that forms another and an entirely different legend, the consideration of which will engage our attention in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH TEMPLARS

HE story which connects the Knights Templars with Freemasonry in Scotland, after their return from the Crusades and after the suppression of their Order, forms one of the most interesting and romantic legends connected with the history of Freemasonry. In its incidents the elements of history and tradition are so mingled that it is with difficulty that they can be satisfactorily separated. While there are some writers of reputation who accept everything that has been said concerning the connection in the 14th century of the Freemasons of Scotland with the Templars who were then in that kingdom, or who escaped to it as an asylum from the persecutions of the French monarch, as an authentic narrative of events which had actually occurred, there are others who reject the whole as a myth or fable which has no support in history.

Here, as in most other cases, the middle course appears to be the safest. While there are some portions of the story which are corroborated by historical records, there are others which certainly are without the benefit of such evidence. In the present chapter I shall endeavor, by a careful and impartial analysis, to separate the conflicting elements and to dissever the historical from the legendary or purely traditional portions of the relation.

But it will be necessary, in clearing the way for any faithful investigation of the subject, to glance briefly at the history of those events which were connected with the suppression of the ancient Order of Knights Templars in France in the beginning of the 14th century.

The Templars, on leaving the Holy Land, upon the disastrous termination of the last Crusade and the fall of Acre, had taken temporary refuge in the island of Cyprus. After some vain attempts to regain a footing in Palestine and to renew their contests with the

infidels, who were now in complete possession of that country, the Knights had retired from Cyprus and repaired to their different Commanderies in Europe, among which those in France were the most wealthy and the most numerous.

At this period Philip IV., known in history by the soubriquet of Philip the Fair, reigned on the French throne, and Clement V. was the Pontiff of the Roman Church. Never before had the crown or the tiara been worn by a more avaricious King or a more treacherous Pope.

Clement, when Bishop of Bordeaux, had secured the influence of the French monarch toward his election to the papacy by engaging himself by an oath on the sacrament to perform six conditions imposed upon him by the king, the last of which was reserved as a secret until after his coronation.

This last condition bound him to the extermination of the Templars, an Order of whose power Philip was envious and for whose wealth he was avaricious.

Pope Clement, who had removed his residence from Rome to Poictiers, summoned the heads of the military Orders to appear before him for the purpose, as he deceitfully pretended, of concerting measures for the inauguration of a new Crusade.

James de Molay, the Grand Master of the Templars, accordingly repaired to the papal court. While there the King of France preferred a series of charges against the Order, upon which he demanded its suppression and the punishment of its leaders.

The events that subsequently occurred have been well called a black page in the history of the Order. On the 13th of October, 1307, the Grand Master and one hundred and thirty-nine Knights were arrested in the palace of the Temple, at Paris, and similar arrests were on the same day made in various parts of France. The arrested Templars were thrown into prison and loaded with chains. They were not provided with a sufficiency of food and were refused the consolations of religion. Twenty-six princes and nobles of the court of France appeared as their accusers; and before the judgment of their guilt had been determined by the tribunals, the infamous Pope Clement launched a bull of excommunication against all persons who should give the Templars aid or comfort.

The trials which ensued were worse than a farce, only because of their tragical termination. The rack and the torture were unspar

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ingly applied. Those who continued firm in a denial of guilt were condemned either to perpetual imprisonment or to the stake. Addison says that one hundred and thirteen were burnt in Paris and others in Lorraine, in Normandy, at Carcassonne, and at Senlis.

The last scene of the tragedy was enacted on the 11th of March, 1314. James de Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, after a close and painful imprisonment of six years and a half, was publicly burnt[1] in front of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris.

The Order was thus totally suppressed in France and its possessions confiscated. The other monarchs of Europe followed the example of the King of France in abolishing the Order in their dominions; but, in a more merciful spirit, they refrained from inflicting capital punishment upon the Knights. Outside of France, in all the other kingdoms of Europe, not a Templar was condemned to death.

The Order was, however, everywhere suppressed, and a spoil made of its vast possessions, notwithstanding that in every country beyond the influence of the Pope and the King of France its general innocence was sustained. In Portugal it changed its name to that of the Knights of Christ—everywhere else the Order ceased to exist.

But there are writers who, like Burnes,[1] maintain that the persecution of the Templars in the 14th century did not close the history of the Order, but that there has been a succession of Knights Templars from the 12th century down to these days. Dr. Burnes alluded to the Order of the Temple and the pretended transmission of the powers of de Molay to Larmenius.

With this question and with the authenticity of the so-called "Charter of Transmission," the topic which we are now about to discuss has no connection, and I shall therefore make no further allusion to it.

It is evident from the influence of natural causes, without the necessity of any historical proof, that after the death of the Grand Master and the sanguinary persecution and suppression of the Order in France, many of the Knights must have sought safety by flight to other countries. It is to their acts in Scotland that we are now to direct our attention.

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[1] "Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars," by James Burnes, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., London, 1840, p. 39.

There are two Legends in existence which relate to the connection of Templarism with the Freemasonry of Scotland, each of which will require our separate attention. The first may be called the Legend of Bruce, and the other the Legend of d'Aumont.

In Scotland the possessions of the Order were very expensive. Their Preceptories were scattered in various parts of the country. A papal inquisition was held at Holyrood in 1309 to try and, of course, to condemn the Templars. At this inquisition only two knights, Walter de Clifton, Grand Preceptor of Scotland, and William de Middleton appeared. The others absconded, and as Robert Bruce was then marching to meet and repel the invasion of King Edward of England, the Templars are said to have joined the army of the Scottish monarch. Thus far the various versions of the Bruce Legend agree, but in the subsequent details there are irreconcilable differences.

According to one version, the Templars distinguished themselves at the battle of Bannockburn, which was fought on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1314, and after the battle a new Order was formed called the Royal Order of Scotland, into which the Templars were admitted. But Oliver thinks very justly that the two Orders were unconnected with each other.

Thory says that Robert Bruce, King of Scotland under the title of Robert I., created on the 24th of June, 1314, after the battle of Bannockburn, the Order of St. Andrew of the Thistle, to which was afterward added that of Heredom, for the sake of the Scottish Masons, who had made a part of the thirty thousand men who had fought with an hundred thousand English soldiers. He reserved for himself and his successors the title of Grand Master and founded at Kilwinning the Grand Lodge of the Royal Order of Heredom.[1]

The Manual of the Order of the Temple says that the Templars, at the instigation of Robert Bruce, ranged themselves under the banners of this new Order, whose initiations were based on those of the Templars. For this apostasy they were excommunicated by John Mark Larmenius, who is claimed to have been the legitimate successor of de Molay.[2]

None of these statements are susceptible of historical proof.

[1] "Acta Latomorum," tome i., p. 6.

[2] "Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Temple," p. 8.

The Order of Knights of St. Andrew or of the Thistle was not created by Bruce in 1314, but by James II. in 1440.

There is no evidence that the Templars ever made a part of the Royal Order of Heredom. At this day the two are entirely distinct. Nor is it now considered as a fact that the Royal Order was established by Bruce after the Battle of Bannockburn, although such is the esoteric legend.

On the contrary, it is supposed to have been the fabrication of Michael Ramsay in the 18th century. On this subject the remarks of Bro. Lyon, who has made the Masonry of Scotland his especial study, are well worth citation.

"The ritual of the Royal Order of Scotland embraces," he says, "what may be termed a spiritualization of the supposed symbols and ceremonies of the Christian architects and builders of primitive times, and so closely associates the sword with the trowel as to lead to the second degree being denominated an order of Masonic knighthood, which its recipients are asked to believe was first conferred on the field of Bannockburn, as a reward for the valor that had been displayed by a body of Templars who aided Bruce in that memorable victory; and that afterward a Grand Lodge of the Order was established by the King at Kilwinning, with the reservation of the office of Grand Master to him and his successors on the Scottish throne. It is further asserted that the Royal Order and the Masonic Fraternity of Kilwinning were governed by the same head. As regards the claims to antiquity, and a royal origin that are advanced in favor of this rite, it is proper to say that modern inquiries have shown these to be purely fabulous. The credence that is given to that part of the legend which associates the Order with the ancient Lodge of Kilwinning is based on the assumed certainty that that Lodge possessed in former times a knowledge of other degrees of Masonry than those of St. John. But such is not the case. The fraternity of Kilwinning never at any period practiced or acknowledged other than the Craft degrees; neither does there exist any tradition worthy of the name, local or national, nor has any authentic document yet been discovered that can in the remotest degree be held to identify Robert Bruce with the holding of Masonic Courts, or the institution of a secret society at Kilwinning."[1]

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," by David Murray Lyon, chap. xxxii., p. 307.

After such a statement made by a writer who from his position and opportunities as a Scottish Mason was better enabled to discover proofs, if there were any to be discovered, we may safely conclude that the Bruce and Bannockburn Legend of Scottish Templarism is to be deemed a pure myth, without the slightest historical element to sustain it.

There is another Legend connecting the Templars in Scotland with Freemasonry which demands our attention.

It is said in this Legend that in order to escape from the persecution that followed the suppression of the Order by the King of France, a certain Templar, named d'Aumont, accompanied by seven others, disguised as mechanics or Operative Masons, fled into Scotland and there secretly founded another Order; and to preserve as much as possible the ancient name of Templars as well as to retain the remembrance of and to do honor to the Masons in whose clothing they had disguised themselves when they fled, they adopted the name of Masons in connection with the word Franc, and called themselves Franc Masons. This they did because the old Templars were for the most part Frenchmen, and as the word *Franc* means both *French* and *Free,* when they established themselves in England they called themselves Freemasons. As the ancient Order had been originally established for the purpose of rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, the new Order maintained their bond of union and preserved the memory and the design of their predecessors by building symbolically spiritual Temples consecrated to Virtue, Truth, and Light, and to the honor of the Grand Architect of the Universe.

Such is the Legend as given by a writer in the Dutch *Freemasons' Almanac,* from which it is cited in the London *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*.[1]

Clavel, in his *Picturesque History of Freemasonry*,[2] gives it more in detail, almost in the words of Von Hund.

After the execution of de Molay, Peter d'Aumont, the Provincial Grand Master of Auvergne, with two Commanders and five Knights, fled for safety and directed their course toward Scotland, concealing themselves during their journey under the disguise of Operative Masons. Having landed on the Scottish Island of Mull they

[1] See *Freemasons' Quarterly Review,* London, 1843, p. 501, where the Legend is given in full, as above.

[2] "Histoire Pitioresque de la Franc Maçonnerie," p. 184.

there met the Grand Commander George Harris and several other brethren, with whom they resolved to continue the Order, d'Aumont was elected Grand Master in a Chapter held on St. John's Day, 1313. To protect themselves from all chance of discovery and persecution they adopted symbols taken from architecture and assumed the title of Freemasons. In 1361 the Grand Master of the Temple transferred the seat of the Order to the old city of Aberdeen, and from that time it spread, under the guise of Freemasonry, through Italy, Germany, France, Portugal, Spain, and other places.

It was on this Legend that the Baron Von Hund founded his Rite of Strict Observance, and with spurious documents in his possession, he attempted, but without success, to obtain the sanction of the Congress of Wilhelmsbad to his dogma that every Freemason was a Templar.

This doctrine, though making but slow progress in Germany, was more readily accepted in France, where already it had been promulgated by the Chapter of Clermont, into whose Templar system Von Hund had been initiated.

The Chevalier Ramsay was the real author of the doctrine of the Templar origin of Freemasonry, and to him we are really indebted (if the debt have any value) for the d'Aumont Legend. The source whence it sprang is tolerably satisfactory evidence of its fictitious character. The inventive genius of Ramsay, as exhibited in the fabrications of high degrees and Masonic legends, is well known. Nor, unfortunately for his reputation, can it be doubted that in the composition of his legends he cared but little for the support of history. If his genius, his learning, and his zeal had been consecrated, not to the formation of new Masonic systems, but to a profound investigation of the true origin of the Institution, viewed only from an authentic historical point, it is impossible to say what incalculable benefit would have been derived from his researches. The unproductive desert which for three-fourths of a century spread over the continent, bearing no fruit except fanciful theories, absurd systems, and unnecessary degrees, would have been occupied in all probability by a race of Masonic scholars whose researches would have been directed to the creation of a genuine history, and much of the labors of our modern iconoclasts would have been spared.

The Masonic scholars of that long period, which began with Ramsay and has hardly yet wholly terminated, assumed for the most

part rather the rôle of poets than of historians. They did not remember the wise saying of Cervantes, that the poet may say or sing, not as things have been, but as they ought to have been, while the historian must write of them as they really were, and not as he thinks they ought to have been. And hence we have a mass of traditional rubbish, in which there is a great deal of falsehood with very little truth.

Of this rubbish is the Legend of Peter d'Aumont and his resuscitation of the Order of Knights Templars in Scotland. Without a particle of historical evidence for its support, it has nevertheless exerted a powerful influence on the Masonic organization of even the present day. We find its effects looming out in the most important rites and giving a Templar form to many of the high degrees. And it cannot be doubted that the incorporation of Templarism into the modern Masonic system is mainly to be attributed to ideas suggested by this d'Aumont Legend.

As there appears to be some difficulty in reconciling the supposed heretical opinions of the Templars with the strictly Christian faith of the Scottish Masons, to meet this objection a third Legend was invented, in which it was stated that after the abolition of the Templars, the clerical part of the Order—that is, the chaplains and priests—united in Scotland to revive it and to transplant it into Freemasonry. But as this Legend has not met with many supporters and was never strongly urged, it is scarcely necessary to do more than thus briefly to allude to it.

Much as the Legend of d'Aumont has exerted an influence in mingling together the elements of Templarism and Freemasonry, as we see at the present day in Britain and in America, and in the high degrees formed on the continent of Europe, the dogma of Ramsay, that every Freemason is a Templar, has been utterly repudiated, and the authenticity of the Legend has been rejected by nearly all of the best Masonic scholars.

Dr. Burnes, who was a believer in the legitimacy of the French Order of the Temple, as being directly derived from de Molay through Larmenius, and who, therefore, subscribed unhesitatingly to the authenticity of the "Charter of Transmission," does not hesitate to call Von Hund "an adventurer" and his Legend of d'Aumont "a plausible tale."

Of that part of the Legend which relates to the transfer of the chief

seat of the Templars to Aberdeen in Scotland, he says that "the imposture was soon detected, and it was even discovered that he had himself enticed and initiated the ill-fated Pretender into his fabulous order of chivalry. The delusions on this subject had taken such a hold in Germany, that they were not altogether dispelled until a deputation had actually visited Aberdeen and found amongst the worthy and astonished brethren there no trace either of very ancient Templars or of Freemasonry."[1]

In this last assertion, however, Burnes is in error, for it is alleged that the Lodge of Aberdeen was instituted in 1541, though, as its more ancient minutes have been, as it is said, destroyed by fire, its present records go no further back than 1670. Bro. Lyon concurs with Burnes in the statement that the Aberdeenians were much surprised when first told that their Lodge was an ancient center of the High Degrees.[2]

William Frederick Wilke, a German writer of great ability, has attacked the credibility of this Scottish Legend with a closeness of reasoning and a vigor of arguments that leave but little room for reply.? As he gives the Legend in a slightly different form, it may be interesting to quote it, as well as his course of argument.

"The Legend relates," he says, "that after the suppression of the Order the head of the Templar clergy, Peter of Boulogne, fled from prison and took refuge with the Commander Hugh, Wildgrave of Salm, and thence escaped to Scotland with Sylvester von Grumbach. Thither the Grand Commander Harris and Marshal d'Aumont had likewise betaken themselves, and these three preserved the secrets of the Order of Templars and transferred them to the Fraternity of Freemasons."

In commenting on this statement Wilke says it is true that Peter of Boulogne fled from prison, but whither he went never has been known. The Wildgrave of Salm never was in prison. But the legendist has entangled himself in saying that Peter left the Wildgrave Hugh and went to Scotland with Sylvester von Grumbach, for Hugh and Sylvester are one and the same person. His

[1] Burnes, "Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars," p. 71.

[2] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 420.

[3] In his "Geschichte des Tempelherren's Orders." I have not been able to obtain the work, but I have availed myself of an excellent analysis of it in "Findel's History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation.

title was Count Sylvester Wildgrave, and Grumbach was the designation of his Templar Commandery. Hugh of Salm, also Wildgrave and Commander of Grumbach, never took refuge in Scotland, and after the abolition of the Order was made Prebendary of the Cathedral of Mayence.

Wilke thinks that the continuation of the Templar Order was attributed to Scotland because the higher degrees of Freemasonry, having reference in a political sense to the Pretender, Edward Stuart, were called Scotch. Scotland is, therefore, the cradle of the higher degrees of Masonry. But here I am inclined to differ from him and am disposed rather to refer the explanation to the circumstance that Ramsay, who was the inventor of the Legend and the first fabricator of the high degrees, was a native of Scotland and was born in the neighborhood of Kilwinning. To these degrees he gave the name of Scottish Masonry, in a spirit of nationality, and hence Scotland was supposed to be their birthplace. This is not, however, material to the present argument.

Wilke says that Harris and d'Aumont are not mentioned in the real history of the Templars and therefore, if they were Knights, they could not have had any prominence in the Order, and neither would have been likely to have been chosen by the fugitive Knights as their Grand Master.

He concludes by saying that of course some of the fugitive Templars found their way to Scotland, and it may be believed that some of the brethren were admitted into the building fraternities, but that is no reason why either the Lodges of builders or the Knights of St. John should be considered as a continuation of the Templar Order, because they both received Templar fugitives, and the less so as the building guilds were not, like the Templars, composed of chivalrous and free-thinking worldlings, but of pious workmen who cherished the pure doctrines of religion.

The anxiety of certain theorists to connect Templarism with Freemasonry, has led to the invention of other fables, in which the Hiramic Legend of the Master's degree is replaced by others referring to events said to have occurred in the history of the knightly Order. The most ingenious of these is the following:

Some time before the destruction of the Order of Templars, a certain Sub-prior of Montfauçon, named Carolus de Monte Carmel, was murdered by three traitors. From the events that accompanied

and followed this murder, it is said that an important part of the ritual of Freemasonry has been derived. The assassins of the Sub-prior of Montfauçon concealed his body in a grave, and in order to designate the spot, planted a young thorn-tree upon it. The Templars, in searching for the body, had their attention drawn to the spot by the tree, and in that way they discovered his remains. The Legend goes on to recite the disinterring of the body and its removal to another grave, in striking similarity with the same events narrated in the Legend of Hiram.

Another theory connects the martyrdom of James de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Templars, with the Legend of the third degree, and supposes that in that Legend, as now preserved in the Masonic ritual, Hiram has been made to replace de Molay, that the fact of the Templar fusion into Masonry might be concealed.

Thus the events which in the genuine Masonic Legend are referred to Hiram Abif are, in the Templar Legend, made applicable to de Molay; the three assassins are said to be Pope Clement V., Philip the Fair, King of France, and a Templar named Naffodei. who betrayed the Order. They have even attempted to explain the mystical search for the body by the invention of a fable that on the night after de Molay had been burnt at the stake, certain Knights diligently sought for his remains amongst the ashes, but could find only some bones to which the flesh, though scorched, still adhered, but which it left immediately upon their being handled; and in this way they explain the origin of the substitute word, according to the mistranslation too generally accepted.

Nothing could more clearly show the absurdity of the Legend than this adoption of a popular interpretation of the meaning of this word, made by someone utterly ignorant of the Hebrew language, The word, as is now well known to all scholars, has a totally different signification.

But it is scarcely necessary to look to so unessential a part of the narrative for proof that the whole Legend of the connection of Templarism with Freemasonry is irreconcilable with the facts of history.

The Legend of Bruce and Bannockburn has already been disposed of. The story has no historical foundation.

The other Legend, that makes d'Aumont and his companions founders of the Masonic Order in Scotland by amalgamating the

Knights with the fraternity of builders, is equally devoid of an historical basis. But, besides, there is a feature of improbability if not of impossibility about it. The Knights Templars were an aristocratic Order, composed of high-born gentlemen who had embraced the soldier's life as their vocation, and who were governed by the customs of chivalry. In those days there was a much wider line of demarkation drawn between the various casts of society than exists at the present day. The "belted knight" was at the top of the social scale, the mechanic at the bottom.

It is therefore almost impossible to believe that because their Order had been suppressed, these proud soldiers of the Cross, whose military life had unfitted them for any other pursuit except that of arms, would have thrown aside their swords and their spurs and assumed the trowel; with the use of this implement and all the mysteries of the builder's craft they were wholly unacquainted. To have become Operative Masons, they must have at once abandoned all the prejudices of social life in which they had been educated. That a Knight Templar would have gone into some religious house as a retreat from the world whose usage of his Order had disgusted him, or taken refuge in some other chivalric Order, might reasonably happen, as was actually the case. But that these Knights would have willingly transformed themselves into Stonemasons and daily workmen is a supposition too absurd to extort belief even from the most credulous.

We may then say that those legendists who have sought by their own invented traditions to trace the origin of Freemasonry to Templarism, or to establish any close connection between the two Institutions, have failed in their object.

They have attempted to write a history, but they have scarcely succeeded in composing a plausible romance.

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., 33°

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, 33°

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN

P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC

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CHAPTER XXX

FREEMASONRY AND THE HOUSE OF STUART

HE theory that connects the royal house of the Stuarts with Freemasonry, as an Institution to be cultivated, not on account of its own intrinsic merit, but that it might serve as a political engine to be wielded for the restoration of an exiled family to a throne which the follies and even the crimes of its members had forfeited, is so repugnant to all that has been supposed to be congruous with the true spirit and character of Freemasonry, that one would hardly believe that such a theory was ever seriously entertained, were it not for many too conclusive proofs of the fact.

The history of the family of Stuart, from the accession of James I. to the throne of England to the death of the last of his descendants, the young Pretender, is a narrative of follies and sometimes of crimes. The reign of James was distinguished only by arts which could gain for him no higher title with posterity than that of a royal pedant. His son and successor Charles I. was beheaded by an indignant people whose constitutional rights and liberties he had sought to betray. His son Charles II., after a long exile was finally restored to the throne, only to pass a life of indolence and licentiousness. On his death he was succeeded by his brother James II., a prince distinguished only for his bigotry. Zealously attached to the Roman Catholic religion, he sought to restore its power and influence among his subjects, who were for the most part Protestants. To save the Established Church and the religion of the nation, his estranged subjects called to the throne the Protestant Prince of Orange, and James, abdicating the crown, fled to France, where he was hospitably received with his followers by Louis XIV., who could, however, say nothing better of him than that he had given three crowns for a mass. From 1688, the date of his abdication and flight, until the year 1745 the exiled family

were engaged in repeated but unavailing attempts to recover the throne.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that in these attempts the partisans of the house of Stuart were not unwilling to accept the influence of the Masonic Institution, as one of the most powerful instruments whereby to effect their purpose.

It is true that in this, the Institution would have been diverted from its true design, but the object of the Jacobites, as they were called, or the adherents of King James was not to elevate the character of Freemasonry but only to advance the cause of the Pretender.

It must however be understood that this theory which connects the Stuarts with Masonry does not suppose that the third or Master's degree was invented by them or their adherents, but only that there were certain modifications in the application of its Legend. Thus, the Temple was interpreted as alluding to the monarchy, the death of its Builder to the execution of Charles I., or to the destruction of the succession by the compulsory abdication of James II., and the dogma of the resurrection to the restoration of the Stuart family to the throne of England.

Thus, one of the earliest instances of this political interpretation of the Master's Legend was that made after the expulsion of James II. from the throne and his retirement to France. The mother of James was Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. The Jacobites called her "the Widow," and the exiled James became "the Widow's son," receiving thus the title applied in the Masonic Legend to Hiram Abif, whose death they said symbolized the loss of the throne and the expulsion of the Stuarts from England.

They carried this idea to such an extent as to invent a new substitute word for the Master's degree, in the place of the old one, which was known to the English Masons at the time of the Revival in 1717.

This new word was not, as the significant words of Masonry usually are, of Hebrew origin, but was derived from the Gaelic. And this seems to have been done in compliment to the Highlanders, most of whom were loyal adherents of the Stuart cause.

The word *Macbenac* is derived from the Gaelic *mac,* a son, and *benach,* blessed, and literally means the "blessed son;" and this word was applied by the Jacobites to James, who was thus not only

a "widow's son" but a "blessed" one, too. Masonry was here made subservient to loyalty.

They also, to mark their political antipathy to the enemies of the Stuart family, gave to the most prominent leaders of the republican cause, the names in which old Masonry had been appropriated to the assassins of the third degree. In the Stuart Masonry we find these assassins designated by names, generally unintelligible, but, when they can be explained, evidently referring to some well-known opponent of the Stuart dynasty. Thus, *Romvel* is manifestly an imperfect anagram of *Cromwell,* and *Jubelum Guibbs* doubtless was intended as an infamous embalmment of the name of the Rev. Adam Gib, an antiburgher clergyman, who, when the Pretender was in Edinburgh in 1745, hurled anathemas, for five successive Sundays against him.

But it was in the fabrication of the high degrees that the partisans of the Stuarts made the most use of Freemasonry as a political instrument.

The invention of these high degrees is to be attributed in the first place to the Chevalier Ramsay. He was connected in the most intimate relation with the exiled family, having been selected by the titular James III., or, as he was commonly known in England, the Old Pretender, as the tutor of his two sons, Charles Edward and Henry, the former of whom afterward became the Young Pretender, and the latter Cardinal York.

Ardently attached, by this relationship, by his nationality as a Scotchman, and by his religion as a Roman Catholic, to the Stuarts and their cause, he met with ready acquiescence the advances of those who had already begun to give a political aspect to the Masonic system, and who were seeking to enlist it in the Pretender's cause. Ramsay therefore aided in the modification of the old degrees or the fabrication of new ones, so that these views might be incorporated in a peculiar system; and hence in many of the high degrees invented either by Ramsay or by others of the same school, we will find these traces of a political application to the family of Stuart, which were better understood at that time than they are now.

Thus, one of the high degrees received the name of "Grand Scottish Mason of James VI." Of this degree Tessier says that it is the principal degree of the ancient Master's system, and was revived and esteemed by James VI., King of Scotland and of Great

Britain, and that it is still preserved in Scotland more than in any other kingdom.[1]

All of this is of course a mere fiction, but it shows that there has been a sort of official acknowledgment of the interference with Masonry by the Stuarts, who did not hesitate to give the name of the first founder of their house on the English throne to one of the degrees.

Another proof is found in the word *Jekson,* which is a significant word in one of the high Scottish or Ramsay degrees. It is thus spelled in the *Cahiers* or manuscript French rituals. There can be no doubt that it is a corruption of *Jacquesson,* a mongrel word compounded of the French *Jacques* and the English *son,* and denotes *The son of James,* that is, of James II. This son was the Old Pretender, or the Chevalier St. George, who after the death of his father assumed the empty title of James III., and whose son, the Young Pretender, was one of the pupils of the Chevalier Ramsay.

These, with many other similar instances, are very palpable proofs that the adherents of the Stuarts sought to infuse a political element into the spirit of Masonry, so as to make it a facile instrument for the elevation of the exiled family and the restoration of their head to the throne of England.

Of the truth of this fact, it is supposed that much support is to be found in the narrative of the various efforts for restoration made by the Stuarts.

When James II. made his flight from England he repaired to France, where he was hospitably received by Louis XIV. He took up his residence while in Paris at the Jesuitical College of Clermont. There, it is said, he first sought, with the assistance of the Jesuits, to establish a system of Masonry which should be employed by his partisans in their schemes for his restoration to the throne. After an unsuccessful invasion of Ireland he returned to France and repaired to St. Germain-en-Laye, a city about ten miles northwest of Paris, where he lived until the time of his death in 1701. It is one of the Stuart myths that at the Château of St. Germain some of the high degrees were fabricated by the adherents of James II., assisted by the Jesuits.

The story is told by Robison, a professed enemy of Freemasonry,

[1] "Manuel Générale de Maçonnerie," p. 148.

but who gives with correctness the general form of the Stuart Legend as it was taught in the last century.

Robison says: "The revolution had taken place, and King James, with many of his most zealous adherents, had taken refuge in France.

"But they took Freemasonry with them to the Continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and cultivated with great zeal in a manner suited to the taste and habits of that highly polished people. The Lodges in France naturally became the rendezvous of the adherents of the exiled king, and the means of carrying on a correspondence with their friends in England."[1]

Robison says that at this time the Jesuits took an active part in Freemasonry, and united with the English Lodges, with the view of creating an influence in favor of the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in England. But the supposed connection of the Jesuits with Freemasonry pertains to an independent proposition, to be hereafter considered.

Robison further says that "it was in the Lodge held at St. Germain that the degree of *Chevalier Maçon Ecossais* was added to the three *symbolical* degrees of English Masonry. The Constitution, as imported, appeared too coarse for the refined taste of the French, and they must make Masonry more like the occupation of a gentleman. Therefore the English degrees of Apprentice, Fellowcraft, and Master were called *symbolical,* and the whole contrivance was considered either as typical of something more elegant or as a preparation for it. The degrees afterward superadded to this leave us in doubt which of these views the French entertained of our Masonry. But, at all events, this rank of Scotch Knight was called the *first* degree of the *Maçon Parfait.* There is a device belonging to this Lodge which deserves notice. A lion wounded by an arrow, and escaped from the stake to which he had been bound, with the broken rope still about his neck, is represented lying at the mouth of a cave, and occupied with mathematical instruments, which are lying near him. A broken crown lies at the foot of the stake. There can be little doubt but that this emblem alludes to the dethronement, the captivity, the escape, and the asylum of James II., and his hopes of re-establishment by the help of the

[1] "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 27.

loyal Brethren. This emblem is worn as the gorget of the Scotch Knight. It is not very certain, however, when this degree was added, whether immediately after King James's abdication or about the time of the attempt to set his son on the British throne."[1]

This extract from Robison presents a very fair specimen of the way in which Masonic history was universally written in the last century and is still written by a few in the present.

Although it cannot be denied that at a subsequent period the primitive degrees were modified and changed in their application of the death of Hiram Abif to that of Charles I., or the dethronement of James IL, and that higher degrees were created with still more definite allusion to the destinies of the family of Stuart, yet it is very evident that no such measures could have been taken during the lifetime of James II.

The two periods referred to by Robison, the time of the abdication of James IL, which was in 1688, and the attempt of James III., as he was called, to regain the throne, which was in 1715, as being, one or the other, the date of the fabrication of the degree of Scottish Knight or Master, are both irreconcilable with the facts of history. The symbolical degrees of Fellow Craft and Master had not been invented before 1717, or rather a few years later, and it is absurd to speak of higher degrees cumulated upon lower ones which did not at that time exist.

James II. died in 1701. At that day we have no record of any sort of Speculative Masonry except that of the one degree which was common to Masons of all ranks. The titular King James III., his son, succeeded to the claims and pretensions of his father, of course, in that year, but made no attempt to enforce them until 1715, at which time he invaded England with a fleet and army supplied by Louis XIV. But in 1715, Masonry was in the same condition that it had been in 1701. There was no Master's degree to supply a Legend capable of alteration for a political purpose, and the high degrees were altogether unknown. The Grand Lodge of England, the mother of all Continental as well as English Masonry, was not established, or as Anderson improperly calls it, "revived," until 1717. The Institution was not introduced into France until 1725, and there could, therefore, have been no political Masonry practiced in a

[1] Robison, "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 28.

country where the pure Masonry of which it must have been a corruption did not exist. Scottish or Stuart Masonry was a superstructure built upon the foundation of the symbolic Masonry of the three degrees. If in 1715 there was, as we know, no such foundation, it follows, of course, that there could have been no superstructure.

The theory, therefore, that Stuart Masonry, or the fabrication of degrees and the change of the primitive rituals to establish a system to be engaged in the support and the advancement of the falling cause of the Stuarts, was commenced during the lifetime of James IL, and that the royal château of St. Germain-en-Laye was the manufactory in which, between the years 1689 and 1701, these degrees and rituals were fabricated, is a mere fable not only improbable but absolutely impossible in all its details.

Rebold, however, gives another form to the Legend and traces the rise of Stuart Masonry to a much earlier period. In his *History of the Three Grand Lodges* he says that during the troubles which distracted Great Britain about the middle of the 17th century and after the decapitation of Charles I. in 1649, the Masons of England, and especially those of Scotland, labored secretly for the re-establishment of the monarchy which had been overthrown by Cromwell. For the accomplishment of this purpose they invented two higher degrees and gave to Freemasonry an entirely political character. The dissensions to which the country was a prey had already produced a separation of the Operative and the Accepted Masons—that is to say, of the builders by profession and those honorary members who were not Masons. These latter were men of power and high position, and it was through their influence that Charles II., having been received as a Mason during his exile, was enabled to recover the throne in 1660. This prince gratefully gave to Masonry the title of the "Royal Art," because it was Freemasonry that had principally contributed to the restoration of royalty.[1]

Ragon, in his *Masonic Orthodoxy*,[2] is still more explicit and presents some new details. He says that Ashmole and other Brethren of the Rose Croix, seeing that the Speculative Masons were surpassing in numbers the Operative, had renounced the simple initiation of the latter and established new degrees founded on the

[1] "Histoire de Trois Grandes Loges," p. 32.
[2] Ragon, "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," p. 29.

Mysteries of Egypt and Greece. The Fellow Craft degree was fabricated in 1648, and that of Master a short time afterward. But the decapitation of King Charles I., and the part taken by Ashmole in favor of the Stuarts produced great modifications in this third and last degree, which had become of a Biblical character. The same epoch gave birth to the degrees of *Secret Master, Perfect Master,* and *Irish Master,* of which Charles I. was the hero, under the name of Hiram. These degrees, he says, were, however, not then openly practiced, although they afterward became the ornament of Ecossaism.

But the non-operative or "Accepted" members of the organization secretly gave to the Institution, especially in Scotland, a political tendency. The chiefs or protectors of the Craft in Scotland worked, in the dark, for the re-establishment of the throne. They made use of the seclusion of the Masonic Lodges as places where they might hold their meetings and concert their plans in safety. As the execution of Charles I. was to be avenged, his partisans fabricated a Templar degree, in which the violent death of James de Molay called for vengeance. Ashmole, who partook of that political sentiment, then modified the degree of Master and the Egyptian doctrine of which it was composed, and made it conform to the two preceding degrees framing a Biblical allegory, incomplete and inconsistent, so that the initials of the sacred words of these three degrees should compose those of the name and title of the Grand Master of the Templars.

Northouck,[1] who should have known better, gives countenance to these *supercheries* of history by asserting that Charles II. was made a Mason during his exile, although he carefully omits to tell us when, where, how, or by whom the initiation was effected; but seeks, with a flippancy that ought to provoke a smile, to prove that Charles II. took a great interest in Masonry and architecture, by citing the preamble to the charter of the Royal Society, an association whose object was solely the cultivation of the philosophical and mathematical sciences, especially astronomy and chemistry, and whose members took no interest in the art of building.

Dr. Oliver, whose unfortunate failing was to accept without careful examination all the statements of preceding writers, how-

[1] "Constitutions," p. 141.

ever absurd they might be, repeats substantially these apocryphal tales about early Stuart Masonry.

He says that, about the close of the 17th century, the followers of James II. who accompanied the unfortunate monarch in his exile carried Freemasonry to France and laid the foundation of that system of innovation which subsequently threw the Order into confusion, by the establishment of a new degree, which they called the *Chevalier Maçon Ecossais,* and worked the details in the Lodge at St. Germain. Hence, he adds, other degrees were invented in the Continental Lodges, which became the rendezvous of the partisans of James, and by these means they held communication with their friends in England.[1]

But as the high degrees were not fabricated until more than a third of the 18th century had passed, and as James died in 1701, we are struck with the confusion that prevails in this statement as to dates and persons.

It is very painful and embarrassing to the scholar who is really in search of truth to meet with such caricatures of history, in which the boldest and broadest assumptions are offered in the place of facts, the most absurd fables are presented as narratives of actual occurrences, chronology is put at defiance, anachronisms are coolly perpetrated, the events of the 18th century are transferred to the 17th, the third degree is said to have been modified in its ritual during the Commonwealth, when we know that no third degree was in existence until after 1717; and we are told that high degrees were invented at the same time, although history records the fact that the first of them was not fabricated until about the year 1728. Such writers, if they really believed what they had written, must have adopted the axiom of the credulous Tertullian, who said, *Credo quia impossible est* — "I believe because it is impossible." Better would it be to remember the saying of Polybius, that if we eliminate truth from history nothing will remain but an idle tale.

We must, then, reject as altogether untenable the theory that there was any connection between the Stuart family and Freemasonry during the life of James II., for the simple reason that at that period there was no system of Speculative Masonry existing

[1] "Historical Landmarks," II., p. 28.

which could have been perverted by the partisans of that family into a political instrument for its advancement. If there was any connection at all, it must be looked for as developed at a subsequent period.

The views of Findel on this subject, as given in his *History of Freemasonry,* are worthy of attention, because they are divested of that mystical element so conspicuous and so embarrassing in all the statements which have been heretofore cited. His language is as follows:

"Ever since the banishment of the Stuarts from England in 1688, secret alliances had been kept up between Rome and Scotland; for to the former place the Pretender James Stuart had retired in 1719 and his son Charles Edward was born there in 1720; and these communications became the more intimate the higher the hopes of the Pretender rose. The Jesuits played a very important part in these conferences. Regarding the reinstatement of the Stuarts and the extension of the power of the Roman Church as identical, they sought at that time to make the Society of Freemasons subservient to their ends. But to make use of the Fraternity, to restore the exiled family to the throne, could not have been contemplated, as Freemasonry could hardly be said to exist in Scotland then. Perhaps in 1724, when Ramsay was a year in Rome, or in 1728, when the Pretender in Parma kept up an intercourse with the restless Duke of Wharton, a Past Grand Master, this idea was first entertained, and then when it was apparent how difficult it Would be to corrupt the loyalty and fealty of Freemasonry in the Grand Lodge of Scotland, founded in 1736, this scheme was set on foot of assembling the faithful adherents of the banished royal family in the High Degrees! The soil that was best adapted for this innovation was France, where the low ebb to which Masonry had sunk had paved the way for all kinds of new-fangled notions, and where the Lodges were composed of Scotch conspirators and accomplices of the Jesuits. When the path had thus been smoothed by the agency of these secret propagandists, Ramsay, at that time Grand Orator (an office unknown in England), by his speech completed the preliminaries necessary for the introduction of the High Degrees; their further development was left to the instrumentality of others, whose influence produced a result somewhat different from that originally intended."[1]

[1] "Geschichte der Freimaurerei."—Translation of Lyon, p. 209.

After the death of James II. his son, commonly called the Chevalier St. George, does not appear to have actively prosecuted his claims to the throne beyond the attempted invasion of England in 1715. He afterward retired to Rome, where the remainder of his life was passed in the quiet observation of religious duties. Nor is there any satisfactory evidence that he was in any way connected with Freemasonry.

In the meantime, his sons, who had been born at Rome, were intrusted to the instructions of the Chevalier Michael Andrew Ramsay, who was appointed their tutor. Ramsay was a man of learning and genius—a Scotchman, a Jacobite, and a Roman Catholic—but he was also an ardent Freemason.

As a Jacobite he was prepared to bend all his powers to accomplish the restoration of the Stuarts to what he believed to be their lawful rights. As a Freemason he saw in that Institution a means, if properly directed, of effecting that purpose. Intimately acquainted with the old Legends of Masonry, he resolved so to modify them as to transfer their Biblical to political allusions. With this design he commenced the fabrication of a series of High Degrees, under whose symbolism he concealed a wholly political object.

These High Degrees had also a Scottish character, which is to be attributed partly to the nationality of Ramsay and partly to a desire to effect a political influence among the Masons of Scotland, in which country the first attempts for the restoration of the Stuarts were to be made. Hence we have to this day in Masonry such terms as "Ecossaim," "Scottish Knights of St. Andrew," "Scottish Master," "Scottish Architect," and the "Scottish Rite," the use of which words is calculated to produce upon readers not thoroughly versed in Masonic history the impression that the High Degrees of Freemasonry originated in Scotland—an impression which it was the object of Ramsay to make.

There is another word for which the language of Masonry has been indebted to Ramsay. This is *Heredom,* indifferently spelled in the old rituals, *Herodem, Heroden* and *Heredon.* Now the etymology of this word is very obscure and various attempts have been made to trace it to some sensible signification.

One writer[1] thinks that the word is derived from the Greek

[1] London *Freemasons' Magazine.*

hieros — "holy," and *domos* — "house," and that it means "the *holy house*" that is, the Temple. This explanation is ingenious, and it has been adopted by some recent authorities,

Ragon,[1] however, offers a different etymology. He thinks that it is a corrupted form of the mediæval Latin *hæredum,* which signifies a "heritage," and that it refers to the Château of St. Germain, the residence for a long time of the exiled Stuarts and the only heritage which was left to them. If we accept this etymology, I should rather be inclined to think that the heritage referred to the throne of Great Britain, which they claimed as their lawful possession, and of which, in the opinion of their partisans, they had been unrighteously despoiled.

This derivation is equally as ingenious and just as plausible as the former one, and if adopted will add another link to the chain of evidence which tends to prove that the high degrees were originally fabricated by Ramsay to advance the cause of the Stuart dynasty.

'Whatever may be the derivation of the word the rituals leave us in no doubt as to what was its pretended meaning. In one of these rituals, that of the Grand Architect, we meet with the following questions and answers:

"*Q.* Where was your first Lodge held?

"A. Between three mountains, inaccessible to the profane, where cock never crew, lion roared, nor woman chattered; in a profound valley.

"*Q.* What are these three mountains named?

"*A.* Mount Moriah, in the bosom of the land of Gabaon, Mount Sinai, and the Mountain of Heredon.

"*Q.* What is this Mountain of Heredon?

"*A.* A mountain situated between the West and the North of Scotland, at the end of the sun's course, where the first Lodge of Masonry was held: in that terrestrial part which has given name to Scottish Masonry.

"*Q.* What do you mean by a profound valley?

"*A.* I mean the tranquillity of our Lodges."

From this catechism we learn that in inventing the word *Here don* to designate a fabulous mountain, situated in some unknown part of Scotland, Ramsay meant to select that kingdom as the birth-

[1] "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," p. 91.

place of those Masonic degrees by whose instrumentality he expected to raise a powerful support in the accomplishment of the designs of the Jacobite party. The selection of this country was a tribute to his own national prejudices and to those of his countrymen.

Again: by the "profound valley," which denoted "the tranquillity of the Lodges," Ramsay meant to inculcate the doctrine that in the seclusion of these Masonic reunions, where none were to be permitted to enter except "the well-tried, true, and trusty," the plans of the conspirators to overthrow the Hanoverian usurpation and to effect the restoration of the Stuarts could be best conducted. Fortunately for the purity of the non-political character of the Masonic Institution, this doctrine was not generally accepted by the Masons of Scotland.

But there is something else concerning this word *Heredon,* in its connection with Stuart Freemasonry, that is worth attention.

There is an Order of Freemasonry, at this day existing, almost exclusively in Scotland. It is called the Royal Order of Scotland, and consists of two degrees, entitled "Heredon of Kilwinning," and "Rosy Cross." The first is said, in the traditions of the Order, to have originated in the reign of David I., in the 12th century, and the second to have been instituted by Robert Bruce, who revived the former and incorporated the two into one Order, of which the King of Scotland was forever to be the head. This tradition is, however, attacked by Bro. Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh.* He denies that the Lodge at Kilwinning ever at any period practiced or acknowledged other than the Craft degrees, or that there exists any tradition, local or national, worthy of the name, or any authentic document yet discovered that can in the remotest degree be held to identify Robert Bruce with the holding of Masonic courts or the institution of a secret society at Kilwinning

"The paternity of the Royal Order," he says, "is now pretty generally attributed to a Jacobite Knight named Andrew Ramsay, a devoted follower of the Pretender, and famous as the fabricator of certain rites, inaugurated in France about 1735-40, and through the propagation of which it was hoped the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts would be retrieved."[1]

On September 24, 1745, soon after the commencement of his

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 307.

invasion of Britain, Charles Edward, the son of the Old Pretender, or Chevalier St. George, styled by his adherents James III., is said to have been admitted into the Order of Knights Templars, and to have been elected its Grand Master, a position which he held until his death. Such is the tradition, but here again we are met by the authentic statements of Bro. Lyon that Templarism was not introduced into Scotland until the year 1798.[1] It was then impossible that Charles Edward could have been made a Templar at Edinburgh in 1745.

It is, however, probable that he was invested with official supremacy over the high degrees which had been fabricated by Ramsay in the interest of his family, and it is not unlikely, as has been affirmed, that, resting his claim on the ritual provision that the Kings of Scotland were the hereditary Grand Masters of the Royal Order, he had assumed that title. Of this we have something like an authentic proof, something which it is refreshing to get hold of as an oasis of history in this arid desert of doubts and conjectures and assumptions.

In the year 1747, more than twelve months after his return from his disastrous invasion of Scotland and England, Charles Edward issued a charter for the formation at the town of Arras in France of what is called in the instrument "a Sovereign Primordial Chapter of Rose Croix under the distinctive title of Scottish Jacobite."

In 1853, the Count de Hamel, Prefect of the Department in which Arras is situated, discovered an authentic copy of the charter in the Departmental archives.

In this document, the Young Pretender gives his Masonic titles in the following words:

"We, Charles Edward, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, and as such Substitute Grand Master of the Chapter of H., known by the title of Knight of the Eagle and Pelican, and since our sorrows and misfortunes by that of Rose Croix," etc.

The initial letter "H." undoubtedly designates the Scottish Chapter of Heredon. Of this body, by its ritual regulation, his father as King of Scotland, would have been the hereditary Grand Master, and he, therefore, only assumes the subordinate one of Substitute.

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 287.

This charter, of the authenticity of which, as well as the transaction which it records, there appears to be no doubt, settles the question that it was of the Royal Order of Scotland and not of the Knights Templars that Charles Edward was made Grand Master, or himself assumed the Grand Mastership, during his visit in 1745 to Edinburgh. As that Order and the other High Degrees were fabricated by the Chevalier Ramsay to promote the in« terests of his cause, his acceptance or assumption of the rank and functions of a presiding officer was a recognition of the plan to use Masonry as a political instrument, and is, in fact, the first and fundamental point in the history of the hypothesis of Stuart Masonry. We here for the first time get tangible evidence that there was an attempt to connect the Institution of Freemasonry with the fortunes and political enterprises of the Stuarts.

The title given to this primordial charter at Arras is further evidence that its design was really political; for the words *Ecosse Jacobite,* or Scottish Jacobite, were at that period universally accepted as a party name to designate a partisan of the Stuart pretensions to the throne of England.

The charter also shows that the organization of this chapter was intended only as the beginning of a plan to enlist other Masons in the same political design, for the members of the chapter were authorized "not only to make knights, but even to create a chapter in whatever town they might think proper," which they actually did in a few instances, among them one at Paris in 1780, which in 1801 was united to the Grand Orient of France.

A year after the establishment of the Chapter at Arras, the Rite of the *Veille Bru,* or the *Faithful Scottish Masons,* was created at Toulouse in grateful remembrance of the reception given by the Masons of that place to Sir Samuel Lockhart, the aide-de-camp of the Pretender. Ragon says that the favorites who accompanied this prince to France were accustomed to sell to certain speculators charters for mother Lodges, patents for Chapters, etc. These titles were their property and they did not fail to use them as a means of livelihood.

It has been long held as a recognized fact in Masonic history that the first Lodge established in France by a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England was held in the year 1725. There is no doubt that a Lodge of Freemasons met in that year at the house of

one Hure, and that it was presided over by the titular Earl of Derwentwater. But the researches of Bro. Hughan have incontestably proved that this was what we would now call a clandestine body, and that the first French Lodge legally established by the Grand Lodge of England was in 1732. Besides the fact that there is no record in that Grand Lodge of England of any Lodge in France at the early date of 1725, it is most improbable that a warrant would have been granted to so conspicuous a Jacobite as Derwentwater. Political reasons of the utmost gravity at that time would have forbidden any such action.

Charles Radcliffe, with his brother the Earl of Derwentwater, had been arrested in England for the part taken by them in the rebellion of 1715 to place James III. on the throne. They were both condemned to death and the earl was executed, but Radcliffe made his escape to France, where he assumed the title which, as he claimed, had devolved upon him by the death of his brother's son. In the subsequent rebellion of 1745, having attempted to join the Young Pretender, the vessel in which he sailed was captured by an English cruiser, and being carried to London, he was decapitated in December, 1746.

The titular Earl of Derwentwater was therefore a zealous Jacobite, an attainted rebel who had been sentenced to death for his treason, a fugitive from the law, and a pensioner of the Old Pretender or Chevalier St. George, who, by the order of Louis XIV., had been proclaimed King of England under the title of James III.

It is absurd, therefore, to suppose that the Grand Lodge of England would have granted to him and to his Jacobite associates a warrant for the establishment of a Lodge. Its statutes had declared in very unmistakable words that a rebel against the State was not to be countenanced in his rebellion. But no greater countenance could have been given than to make him the Master of a new Lodge.

Such, however, has until very recently been universally accepted as a part of the authentic history of Masonry in France. In the words of a modern feuilletonist, "the story was too ridiculous to be believed, and so everybody believed it."

But it is an undeniable fact that in 1725 an English Lodge was really opened and held in the house of an English confectioner named Hure. It was however without regular or legal authority—

was probably organized, although we have no recorded evidence to that effect, through the advice and instructions of Ramsay—and was a Jacobite Lodge consisting solely of the adherents and partisans of the Old Pretender.

This is the most explicit instance that we have of the connection of the Stuarts with Freemasonry. It was an effort made by the adherents of that house to enlist the Order as an instrument to restore its fallen fortunes. The principal members of the Lodge were Derwentwater, Maskelyne, and Heguertly or Heguety. Of Derwentwater I have already spoken; the second was evidently a Scotchman, but the name of the third has been so corrupted in its French orthography that we are unable to trace it to its source. It has been supposed that the real name was Haggerty; if so, he was probably an Irishman. But they were all Jacobites.

The Rite of Strict Observance, which at one time in the last century took so strong a hold upon the Masons of Germany, and whose fundamental doctrine was that of Ramsay—that Freemasonry was only a continuation of the Templar system—is said to have been originally erected in the interests of the Stuarts, and the Brotherhood was expected to contribute liberally to the enterprises in favor of the Pretender.

Upon a review of all that has been written on this very intricate subject—the theories oftentimes altogether hypothetical, assumptions in place of facts, conjectures altogether problematical, and the grain of history in this vast amount of traditional and mythical trash so small—we may, I think, be considered safe in drawing a few conclusions.

In the first place it is not to be doubted that at one time the political efforts of the adherents of the dethroned and exiled family of the Stuarts did exercise a very considerable effect on the outward form and the internal spirit of Masonry, as it prevailed on the continent of Europe.

In the symbolic degrees of ancient Craft Masonry, the influence was but slightly felt. It extended only to a political interpretation of the Legend of the Master's degree, in which sometimes the decapitation of Charles I., and sometimes the forced abdication and exile of James II., was substituted for the fate of Hiram, and to a change in the substitute word so as to give an application of the phrase the "Widow's son" to the child of Henrietta Maria, the con-

sort of Charles I. The effect of these changes, except that of the *word,* which still continues in some Rites, has long since disappeared, but their memory still remains as a relict of the incidents of Stuart Masonry.

But the principal influence of this policy was shown in the fabrication of what are called the "High Degrees," the "Hautes Grades" of the French. Until the year 1728 these accumulations to the body of Masonry were unknown. The Chevalier Ramsay, the tutor of the Pretender in his childhood, and subsequently his most earnest friend and ardent supporter, was the first to fabricate these degrees, although other inventors were not tardy in following in his footsteps.

These degrees, at first created solely to institute a form of Masonry which should be worked for the purpose of restoring the Pretender to the throne of his ancestors, have most of them become obsolete, and their names alone are preserved in the catalogues of collectors; but their effect is to this day seen in such of them as still remain and are practiced in existing Rites, which have been derived indirectly from the system invented in the Chapter of Clermont or the Château of St. Germain. The particular design has passed away but the general features still remain, by which we are enabled to recognize the relicts of Stuart Masonry.

As to the time when this system first began to be developed there can be but little doubt.

We must reject the notion that James II. had any connection with it. However unfitted he may have been by his peculiar temperament from entering into any such bold conspiracy, the question is set at rest by the simple fact that up to the time of his death there was no Masonic organization upon which he or his partisans could have acted.

His son the Chevalier St. George was almost in the same category. He is described in history as a prince—pious, pacific and without talents, incapable of being made the prominent actor in such a drama, and besides, Speculative Masonry had not assumed the proportions necessary to make it available as a part of a conspiracy until long after he had retired from active life to the practice of religious and recluse habits in Rome.

But his son Charles Edward, the Young Pretender as he was called, was of an ardent temperament; an active genius, a fair

amount of talent, and a spirit of enterprise which well fitted him to accept the place assigned him by Ramsay. Freemasonry had then begun to excite public attention, and was already an institution that was rapidly gaining popularity.

Ramsay saw in it what he deemed a fitting lever to be used in the elevation of his patron to the throne, and Prince Charles Edward with eagerness met his propositions and united with him in the futile effort.

To the Chevalier Ramsay we must attribute the invention of Stuart Masonry, the foundations of which he began to lay early in the 18th century, perhaps with the tacit approval of the Old Pretender. About 1725, when the first Lodge was organized in Paris, under some illegitimate authority, he made the first public exposition of his system in the Scottish High Degrees which he at that time brought to light. And finally the workings of the system were fully developed when the Young Pretender began his unsuccessful career in search of a throne, which once lost was never to be recovered.

This conspiracy of Ramsay to connect Freemasonry with the fortunes of the Stuarts was the first attempt to introduce politics into the institution. To the credit of its character as a school of speculative philosophy, the attempt proved a signal failure.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE JESUITS IN FREEMASONRY

THE opinion has been entertained by several writers of eminence that the Company of Jesus, more briefly styled the Jesuits, sought, about the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, to mingle with the Freemasons and to bend the objects of that Institution to the ambitious designs of their own Order. This view has been denied by other writers of equal eminence, though it is admitted that Roman Catholic, if not Jesuitical, features are to be found in some of the high degrees.

It is contended by one German writer that the object of the Jesuits in seeking a control of the Masonic Institution was that they might be thus assisted in their design of establishing an aristocracy within themselves, and that they sought to accomplish this object by securing not only the direction of the Masonic Lodges, but also by obtaining a monopoly of the schools and churches, and all the pursuits of science, and even of business.

But the more generally accepted reason for this attempted interference with the Lodges is that they thus sought by their influence and secret working to aid the Stuarts to regain the throne, and then, as an expected result, to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England.

The first of these explanations is certainly more satisfactory than the second. While there is a great want of historical testimony to prove that the Jesuits ever mingled with Freemasonry—a question to be hereafter decided—there is no doubt of the egotistical and ambitious designs of the disciples of Loyola to secure a control of the public and private affairs of every government where they could obtain a foothold. It was a knowledge of these designs that led to the unpopularity of the Order among even Catholic sovereigns and caused its total suppression, in 1773, by Pope Clement XIV., from

which it was not relieved until 1814, when their privileges were renewed by Pope Pius VII.

But I think that we must concur with Gadeike in the conclusion to which he had arrived, that it is proved by history to be a falsehood that Freemasonry was ever concealed under the mask of Jesuitism, or that it derived its existence from that source.[1] It is, however, but fair that we should collate and compare the arguments on both sides.

Robison, who, where Masonry was concerned, could find a specter in every bush, is, of course, of very little authority as to facts; but he may supply us with a record of the opinions which were prevalent at the time of his writing. He says that when James II. fled from England to France, which was in 1688, his adherents took Freemasonry with them to the continent, where it was received and cultivated by the French in a manner suited to the tastes and habits of that people. But he adds that "at this time, also, the Jesuits took a more active hand in Freemasonry than ever. They insinuated themselves into the English Lodges, where they were caressed by the Catholics, who panted after the re-establishment of their faith, and tolerated by the Protestant royalists, who thought no concession too great a compensation for their services. At this time changes were made in some of the Masonic symbols, particularly in the tracing of the Lodge, which bear evident marks of Jesuitical interference."[2]

Speaking of the High Degrees, the fabrication of which, however, he greatly antedates, he says that "in all this progressive mummery we see much of the hand of the Jesuits, and it would seem that it was encouraged by the church."[3] But he thinks that the Masons, protected by their secrecy, ventured further than the clergy approved in their philosophical interpretations of the symbols, opposing at last some of "the ridiculous and oppressive superstitions of the church,"[4] and thus he accounts for the persecution of Freemasonry at a later period by the priests, and their attempts to suppress the Lodges.

The story, as thus narrated by Robison, is substantially that which has been accepted by all writers who trace the origin of Freemasonry

[1] "Freimaurer Lexicon," art. "*Jesuiten*."
[2] "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 27.
[3] Ibid., p. 30.
[4] Ibid.

to the Jesuits. They affirm, as we have seen, that it was instituted about the time of the expulsion of James II. from England, or that if it was not then fabricated as a secret society, it was at least modified in all its features from that form which it originally had in England, and was adapted as a political engine to aid in the restoration of the exiled monarch and in the establishment in his recovered kingdom of the Roman Catholic religion.

These theorists have evidently confounded primitive Speculative Masonry, consisting only of three degrees, with the supplementary grades invented subsequently by Ramsay and the ritualists who succeeded him. But even if we relieve the theory of this confusion and view it as affirming that the Jesuits at the College of Clermont modified the third degree and invented others, such as the Scottish Knight of St Andrew, for the purpose of restoring James II. to the throne, we shall find no scintilla of evidence in history to support this view, but, on the contrary, obstacles in the way of anachronisms which it will be impossible to overcome.

James II. abdicated the throne in 1688, and, after an abortive attempt to recover it by an unsuccessful invasion of Ireland, took up his residence at the Château of St. Germain-en-Laye, in France, where he died in 1701.

Between the two periods of 1688, when James abdicated, and 1701, when he died, no one has been enabled to find either in England or elsewhere any trace of a third degree. Indeed, I am very sure that it can be proved that this degree was not invented until 1721 or 1722. It is, therefore, absolutely impossible that any modification could have been made in the latter part of the 17th century of that which did not exist until the beginning of the 18th. And if there was no Speculative Masonry, as distinguished from the Operative Art practiced by the mediæval guilds, during the lifetime of James, it is equally absurd to contend that supplementary grades were invented to illustrate and complete a superstructure whose foundations had not yet been laid.

The theory that the Jesuits in the 17th century had invented Freemasonry for the purpose of effecting one of their ambitious projects, or that they had taken it as it then existed, changed it, and added to it for the same purpose, is absolutely untenable.

Another theory has been advanced which accounts for the establishment of what has been called "Jesuitic Masonry," at about the

middle of the 18th century. This theory is certainly free from the absurd anachronisms which we encounter in the former, although the proofs that there ever was such a Masonry are still very unsatisfactory.

It has been maintained that this notion of the intrusion, as it may well be called, of the Jesuits into the Masonic Order has been attributed to the Illuminati, that secret society which was established by Adam Weishaupt in Bavaria about the year 1776.

The original object of this society was, as its founder declared, to enable its members to attain the greatest possible amount of virtue, and by the association of good men to oppose the progress of moral evil. To give it influence it was connected with Freemasonry, whose symbolic degrees formed the substratum of its esoteric instructions. This has led it incorrectly to be deemed a Masonic Rite; it could really lay no claim to that character, except inasmuch as it required a previous initiation into the symbolic degrees to entitle its disciples to further advancement.

The charges made against it, that it was a political organization, and that one of its designs was to undermine the Christian religion, although strenuously maintained by Barruel, Robison, and a host of other adversaries, have no foundation in truth. The principles of the order were liberal and philosophical, but neither revolutionary nor anti-Christian.

As the defender of free thought, it came of course into conflict with the Roman Catholic Church and the Company of Jesus, whose tendencies were altogether the other way. The priests, therefore, became its most active enemies, and their opposition was so successful that it was suppressed in 1784.

There was also between Illuminism and the many Masonic Rites, which about the period of its popularity were constantly arising in Germany and in France, a species of rivalry. With the natural egotism of reformers, the Illuminati sought to prove the superiority of their own system to that of their rivals.

With this view they proclaimed that all the Lodges of Freemasons were secretly controlled by the Jesuits; that their laws and their mysteries were the inventions of the same Order, of whom every Freemason was unconsciously the slave and the instrument. Hence they concluded that he who desired to possess the genuine

mysteries of Masonry must seek them not among the degrees of Rose Croix or the Scottish Knights, or still less among the English Masons and the disciples of the Rite of Strict Observance in Germany, but only in the Eclectic Lodges that had been instituted by the Illuminati.

Such, says Barruel, was the doctrine of the Illuminati, advanced for the purpose of elevating the character and aims of their own institution. The French abbé is not generally trustworthy on any subject connected with Freemasonry, of which he was the avowed and implacable foe, but we must acknowledge that he was not far from wrong in calling this story of Jesuitic Masonry "a ridiculous and contemptible fable." For once we are disposed to agree with him, when he says in his fervent declamation, "If prejudice did not sometimes destroy the faculty of reasoning, we should be astonished that the Freemasons could permit themselves to be ensnared in so clumsy a trap. What is it, in fact, but to say to the Mother Lodge of Edinburgh, to the Grand Lodges of London and York, to their rulers, and to all their Grand Masters: 'You thought that you held the reins of the Masonic world, and you looked upon yourselves as the great depository of its secrets, the distributers of its diplomas; but you are not so, and, without even knowing it, are merely puppets of which the Jesuits hold the leading-strings, and which they move at their pleasure.' "[1]

I think that with a little trouble we may be able to solve this apparently difficult problem of the Jesuitical interference with Freemasonry.

The Jesuits appear to have taken the priests of Egypt for their model. Like them, they sought to be the conservators and the interpreters of religion. The vows which they took attached them to their Order with bonds as indissoluble as those that united the Egyptian priests in the sacred college of Memphis. Those who sought admission into their company were compelled to pass through trials of their fortitude and fidelity. Their ambition was as indomitable as their cunning was astute. They strove to be the confessors and the counsellors of kings, and to control the education of youth, that by these means they might become of importance in the state, and direct the policy of every government where they

[1] "Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobanisme," T. N., p. 291.

were admitted. And this policy was on all occasions to be made subservient to the interests of the church.

At one time they had not less than an hundred schools or colleges in France, the most important being that of Clermont, which, though at one time suppressed, had received renewed letters patent from Louis XIV.

It was this College of Clermont, where James II. was a frequent guest, led there by his religious feelings, that is said to have been the seat of that conspiracy of the Stuart faction which was to terminate either in the invention or the adoption of Freemasonry as a means of restoring the monarch to his throne, and of resuscitating the Roman Catholic religion in heretical England.

Now we may readily admit that the Jesuits were exceedingly anxious to accomplish both these objects, and that for that purpose they would enter into any intrigue which would probably lead to success.

With this design there can be but little doubt that they united with the adherents of the Stuarts. But this conspiracy could not have had any reference to a Masonic organization, because Freemasonry was during the life of James II. wholly unknown in France, and known in England only as a guild of Operative Masons, into which a few non-Masons had been admitted through courtesy. It certainly had not yet assumed the form in which we are called upon to recognize it as the political engine used by the Jesuits. The Grand Lodge of England, the mother of all modern Speculative Masonry, had no existence until 1717, or sixteen years after the death of the king.

We are bound, therefore, if on the ground of an anachronism alone, to repudiate any theory that connects the Jesuits with Freemasonry during the life of James II., although we may be ready to admit their political conspiracy in the interests of that dethroned monarch.

During the life of his son and putative successor, the titular James III., Speculative Masonry was established in England and passed over into France.

The Lodge established in Paris in 1725 was, I have no doubt, an organization of the adherents of the Stuart family, as has already been shown. It is probable that most of the members were Catholics and under the influence of the Jesuits. But it is not likely that

those priests took an active part in the internal organization of the Lodge. They could do their work better outside of it than within it.

In the Rose Croix and some other of the High Degrees we find the influences of a Roman Catholic spirit in the original rituals, but this might naturally arise from the religious tendencies of their founders, and did not require the special aid of Jesuitism.

After the year 1738 the bull of excommunication of Pope Clement XII. must have precluded the Jesuits from all connection with Freemasonry except as its denouncers and persecutors, parts which up to the present day they have uninterruptedly played.

In conclusion we must, I think, refuse to accept the theory which makes a friendly connection between Freemasonry and Jesuitism as one of those mythical stories which, born in the imagination of its inventors, has been fostered only by the credulity of its believers.

At this day I doubt if there is a Masonic scholar who would accept it as more than a fable not even "cunningly devised," though there was a time when it was received as a part of the authentic history of Freemasonry.

CHAPTER XXXII

OLIVER CROMWELL AND FREEMASONRY

THREE fables have been invented to establish a connection between Freemasonry and the dynasty of the Stuarts—one which made it the purpose of the adherents of James II. to use the Institution as a means of restoring that monarch to the throne; a second in which the Jesuits were to employ it for the same purpose, as well as for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in England; the third and most preposterous of these fables is that which attributes the invention of Freemasonry as a secret society to Oliver Cromwell, who is supposed to have employed it as a political engine to aid him in the dethronement of Charles I., in the abolition of the monarchy, and in the foundation of a republic on its ruins, with himself for its head.

The first and second of these fables have already been discussed. The consideration of the third will be the subject of the present chapter.

The theory that Freemasonry was instituted by Oliver Cromwell was not at first received like the other two by any large portion of the fraternity. It was the invention of a single mind and was first made public in the year 1746, by the Abbé Larudan, who presented his views in a work entitled *Les Franc-Maçons écrassés*—a book which Klass, the bibliographer, says is the armory from which all the enemies of Masonry have since derived their weapons of abuse.

The propositions of Larudan are distinguished for their absolute independence of all historical authority and for the bold assumptions which are presented to the reader in the place of facts.

His strongest argument for the truth of his theory is that the purposes of the Masonic Institution and of the political course of Cromwell are identical, namely, to sustain the doctrines of liberty and equality among mankind.

Rejecting all the claims to antiquity that have been urged in behalf of the Institution, he thinks that it was in England where the Order of Freemasonry first saw the light of day, and that it is to Cromwell that it owes its origin. And this theory he claims (with what truth we know not) to have received from a certain Grand Master with whose astuteness and sincerity he was well acquainted. But even this authority, he says, would not have been sufficient to secure his belief, had it not afterward been confirmed by his reading of the history of the English Protector and his mature reflections on the morals and the laws of the Order, where he detected at every step the presence of Cromwell.

The object of Cromwell, as it has been already said, was by the organization of a secret society, whose members would be bound by the most solemn ties of fraternity, to reconcile the various religions and political sects which prevailed in England in the reign of Charles I. to the prosecution of his views, which were equally opposed to the supremacy of the king and to the power of the Parliament, and as a consequence of the destruction of both, to the elevation of himself to the headship of affairs.

In the execution of this plan Cromwell proceeded with his usual caution and address. He first submitted the outline to several of his most intimate friends, such as Algernon Sidney, Harrington, Monk, and Fairfax, and he held with them several private meetings. But it was not until the year 1648 that he began to take the necessary steps for bringing it to maturity.

In that year, at a dinner which he gave to a large number of his friends, he opened his designs to the company. When his guests, among whom were many members of Parliament, both Presbyterians and Independents, the two rival religious sects of the day, had been well feasted, the host dexterously led the conversation to the subject of the unhappy condition of England. He showed in a pathetic manner how the unfortunate nation had suffered distracting conflicts of politics and religion, and he declared that it was a disgrace that men so intelligent as those who then heard him did not make an exertion to put an end to these distracting contests of party.

Scarcely had Cromwell ceased to speak when Ireton, his son-in-law, who had been prepared for the occasion, rose, and, seconding the sentiments of his leader, proceeded to show the absolute necessity for the public good of a conciliation and union of the many discordant

parties which were then dividing the country. He exclaimed with fervor that he would not, himself, hesitate to sacrifice his fortune and his life to remedy such calamities, and to show to the people the road they ought to take, to relieve themselves from the yoke which was oppressing them and to break the iron scepter under which they were groaning. But to do this it was first necessary, he insisted, to destroy every power and influence which had betrayed the nation. Then, turning to Cromwell, he conjured him to explain his views on this important matter, and to suggest the cure for these evils.

Cromwell did not hesitate to accept the task which had, apparently without his previous concurrence, been assigned to him. Addressing his guests in that metaphorical style which he was accustomed to use, and the object of which was to confuse their intellects and make them more ready to receive his boldest propositions, he explained the obligation of a worship of God, the necessity to repel force by force, and to deliver mankind from oppression and tyranny. He then concluded his speech, exciting the curiosity of his auditors by telling them that he knew a method by which they could succeed in this great enterprise, restore peace to England, and rescue it from the depth of misery into which it was plunged. This method, he added, if communicated to the world, would win the gratitude of mankind and secure a glorious memory for its authors to the latest posterity.

The discourse was well managed and well received. All of his guests earnestly besought him to make this admirable expedient known to them. But Cromwell would not yield at once to their importunities, but modestly replying that so important an enterprise was beyond the strength of any one man to accomplish, and that he would rather continue to endure the evils of a bad government than, in seeking to remove them by the efforts of his friends, to subject them to dangers which they might be unwiling to encounter.

Cromwell well understood the character of every man who sat at the table with him, and he knew that by this artful address he should still further excite their curiosity and awaken their enthusiasm.

And so it was that, after a repetition of importunities, he finally consented to develop his scheme, on the condition that all the guests should take a solemn oath to reveal the plan to no one and to consider it after it had been proposed with absolutely unprejudiced

mind. This was unanimously assented to, and, the oath of secrecy having been taken, Cromwell threw himself on his knees and, extending his hands toward heaven, called on God and all the celestial powers to witness the innocence of his heart and the purity of his intentions. All this the Abbé Larudan relates with a minuteness of detail which we could expect only from an eye-witness of the scene.

Having thus made a deep impression on his guests, Cromwell said that the precise moment for disclosing the plan had not arrived, and that an inspiration from heaven, which he had just received, instructed him not to divulge it until four days had elapsed.

The company, though impatient to receive a knowledge of the important secret, were compelled to restrain their desires and to agree to meet again at the appointed time and at a place which was designated.

On the fourth day all the guests repaired to a house in King Street, where the meeting took place, and Cromwell proceeded to develop his plan. (And here the Abbé Larudan becomes fervid and diffuse in the minuteness with which he describes what must have been a wholly imaginary scene.)

He commenced by conducting the guests into a dark room, where he prepared their minds for what was going to occur by a long prayer, in the course of which he gave them to understand that he was in communion with the spirits of the blessed. After this he told them that his design was to found a society whose only objects would be to render due worship to God and to restore to England the peace for which it so ardently longed. But this project, he added, required consummate prudence and infinite address to secure its success. Then taking a censer in his hands, he filled the apartment with the most subtle fumes, so as to produce a favorable disposition in the company to hear what he had further to say.

He informed them that at the reception of a new adherent it was necessary that he should undergo a certain ceremony, to which all of them, without exception, would have to submit. He asked them whether they were willing to pass through this ceremony, to which proposition unanimous consent was given. He then chose from the company five assistants to occupy appropriate places and to perform prescribed functions. These assistants were a Master, two Wardens, a Secretary, and an Orator.

Having made these preparations, the visitors were removed to another apartment, which had been prepared for the purpose, and in which was a picture representing the ruins of King Solomon's Temple. From this apartment they were transferred to another, and, being blindfolded, were finally invested with the secrets of initiation. Cromwell delivered a discourse on religion and politics, the purport of which was to show to the contending sects of Presbyterians and Independents, representatives of both being present, the necessity, for the public good, of abandoning all their frivolous disputes, of becoming reconciled, and of changing the bitter hatred which then inspired them for a tender love and charity toward each other.

The eloquence of their artful leader had the desired effect, and both sects united with the army in the establishment of a secret association founded on the professed principles of love of God and the maintenance of liberty and equality among men, but whose real design was to advance the projects of Cromwell, by the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a commonwealth of which he should be the head.

It is unfortunate for the completed symmetry of this rather interesting fable that the Abbé has refrained from indulging his imagination by giving us the full details of the form of initiation. He has, however, in various parts of his book alluded to so much of it as to enable us to learn that the instructions were of a symbolic character, and that the Temple of Solomon constituted the most prominent symbol.

This Temple had been built by divine command to be the sanctuary of religion and as a place peculiarly consecrated to the performance of its august ceremonies. After several years of glory and magnificence it had been destroyed by a formidable army, and the people who had been there accustomed to worship were loaded with chains and carried in captivity to Babylon. After years of servitude, an idolatrous prince, chosen as the instrument of Divine clemency, had permitted the captives to return to Jerusalem and to rebuild the Temple in its primitive splendor.

It was in this allegory, says the Abbé, that the Freemasons of Cromwell found the exact analogy of their society. The Temple in its first splendor is figurative of the primitive state of man. The religion and the ceremonies which were there practiced are nothing else than that universal law engraved on every heart whose principles

are found in the ideas of equity and charity to which all men are obliged. The destruction of this Temple, and the captivity and slavery of its worshippers, symbolized the pride and ambition which have produced political subjection among men. The unpitying hosts of Assyrians who destroyed the Temple and led the people into captivity are the kings, princes, and magistrates whose power has overwhelmed oppressed nations with innumerable evils. And finally, the chosen people charged with the duty of rebuilding the Temple are the Freemasons, who are to restore men to their original dignity.

Cromwell had divided the Order which he founded into three classes or degrees. The third or Master's degree was of course not without its Hiramic legend, but the interpretation of its symbolism was very different from that which is given at the present day.

The Abbé thus explains it. The disorder of the workmen and the confusion at the Temple were intended to make a profound impression upon the mind of the candidate and to show him that the loss of liberty and equality, represented by the death of Hiram, is the cause of all the evils which affect mankind. While men lived in tranquillity in the asylum of the Temple of Liberty they enjoyed perpetual happiness. But they have been surprised and attacked by tyrants who have reduced them to a state of slavery. This is symbolized by the destruction of the Temple, which it is the duty of the Master Masons to rebuild; that is to say, to restore that liberty and equality which had been lost.

Cromwell appointed missionaries or emissaries, says Larudan, who propagated the Order, not only over all England, but even into Scotland and Ireland, where many Lodges were established.

The members of the Order or Society were first called Freemasons; afterward the name was repeatedly changed to suit the political circumstances of the times, and they were called Levelers, then Independents, afterward Fifth Monarchy Men, and finally resumed their original title, which they have retained to the present day.

Such is the fable of the Cromwellian origin of Freemasonry which we owe entirely to the inventive genius of the Abbé Larudan. And yet it is not wholly a story of the imagination, but is really founded on an extraordinary distortion of the facts of history.

Edmund Ludlow was an honest and honorable man who took at first a prominent part in the civil war which ended in the decapitation of Charles I., the dissolution of the monarchy, and the establish-

ment of the Commonwealth. He was throughout his whole life a consistent and unswerving republican, and was as much opposed to the political schemes of Cromwell for his own advancement to power as he was to the usurpation of unconstitutional power by the King. In the language of the editor of his memoirs, "He was an enemy to all arbitrary government, though gilded over with the most specious pretences; and not only disapproved the usurpation of Cromwell, but would have opposed him with as much vigor as he had done the King, if all occasions of that nature had not been cut off by the extraordinary jealousy or vigilance of the usurpers."[1]

Having unsuccessfully labored to counteract the influence of Cromwell with the army, he abandoned public affairs and retired to his home in Essex, where he remained in seclusion until the restoration of Charles II., when he fled to Switzerland, where he resided until his death.

During his exile, Ludlow occupied his leisure hours in the composition of his *Memoirs*, a work of great value as a faithful record of the troublous period in which he lived and of which he was himself a great part. In these memoirs he has given a copious narrative of the intrigues by which Cromwell secured the alliance of the army and destroyed the influence of the Parliament.

The work was published at Vevay, in Switzerland, under the title of *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq.; Lieutenant-General of the Tories in Ireland, One of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament which began on November 3, 1640.* It is in two volumes, with a supplementary one containing copies of important papers. The edition from which I cite bears the date of 1698. There may have been an earlier one. With these memoirs the Abbé Larudan appears to have been well acquainted. He had undoubtedly read them carefully, for he has made many quotations and has repeatedly referred to Ludlow as his authority.

But unfortunately for the Abbé's intelligence, or far more probably for his honesty, he has always applied what Ludlow said of the intrigues of Cromwell for the organization of a new party as if it were meant to describe the formation of a new and secret society.

Neither Ludlow nor any other writer refers to the existence of Freemasonry as we now have it and as it is described by the Abbé

[1] Ludlow's "Memoirs," Preface, p. iv.

Larudan in the time of the civil wars. Even the Operative Masons were not at that period greatly encouraged, for, says Northouck, "no regard to science and elegance was to be expected from the sour minds of the puritanical masters of the nation between the fall of Charles I. and the restoration of his son."[1]

The Guild of Freemasons, the only form in which the Order was known until the 18th century, was during the Commonwealth discouraged and architecture was neglected. In the tumult of war the arts of peace are silent. Cromwell was, it is true, engaged in many political intrigues, but he had other and more effective means to accomplish his ends than those of Freemasonry, of whose existence at that time, except as a guild of workmen, we have no historical evidence, but a great many historical facts to contradict its probability.

The theory, therefore, that Freemasonry owes its origin to Oliver Cromwell, who invented it as a means of forwarding his designs toward obtaining the supreme power of the state, is simply a fable, the invention of a clerical adversary of the Institution, and devised by him plainly to give to it a political character, by which, like his successors Barruel and Robison, he sought to injure it.

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[1]Northouck's "Constitutions," p. 141.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND FREEMASONRY

HE hypothesis that Freemasonry was instituted in the 17th century and in the reign of Charles II., by a set of philosophers and scientists who organized it under the title of the "Royal Society," is the last of those theories which attempts to connect the Masonic Order with the House of Stuart that we will have to investigate.

The theory was first advanced by an anonymous writer in the *German Mercury*, a Masonic journal published about the close of the last century at Weimar, and edited by the celebrated Christopher Martin Wieland.

In this article the writer says that Dr. John Wilkins, one of the most learned men of his time, and the brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, becoming discontented with the administration of Richard Cromwell, his son and successor, began to devise the means of re-establishing the royal authority. With this view he suggested the idea of organizing a society or club, in which, under the pretence of cultivating the sciences, the partisans of the king might meet together with entire freedom. General Monk and several other military men, who had scarcely more learning than would enable them to write their names, were members of this academy. Their meetings were always begun with a learned lecture, for the sake of form, but the conversation afterward turned upon politics and the interests of the king. And this politico-philosophical club, which subsequently assumed, after the Restoration, the title of the "Royal Society of Sciences," he asserts to have been the origin of the fraternity of Freemasons.

We have already had abundant reason to see, in the formation of Masonic theories, what little respect has been paid by their framers to the contradictory facts of history nor does the present hy-

pothesis afford any exception to the general rule of dogmatic assumption and unfounded assertion.

Christopher Frederick Nicolai, a learned bookseller of Berlin, wrote and published, in 1783, an *Essay on the Accusations made against the Order of Knights Templars and their Mystery; with an Appendix on the Origin of the Fraternity of Freemasons*.[1]

In this work he vigorously attacks the theory of the anonymous writer in Wieland's *Mercury,* and the reasons on which he grounds his dissent are well chosen, but they do not cover the whole ground. Unfortunately, Nicolai had a theory of his own to foster, which also in a certain way connects Freemasonry with the real founders of the Royal Society, and the impugnment of the hypothesis of Wieland's contribution in its whole extent impugns also his own. Two negatives in most languages are equivalent to an affirmative, but nowhere are two fictions resolvable into a truth.

The arguments of Nicolai against the Wieland theory are, however, worth citation, before we examine his own.

He says that Wilkins could scarcely have been discontented with the government of Richard Cromwell, since it was equally as advantageous to him as that of his father. He was (and he quotes Wood in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* as his authority) much opposed to the court, and was a zealous Puritan before the rebellion.

In 1648 he was made the Master of Wadham College, in the place of a royalist who had been removed. In 1649, after the decapitation of Charles I., he joined the republican party and took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth. In 1656 he married the sister of Cromwell, and under Richard received the valuable appointment of Master of Trinity College, which, however, he lost upon the restoration of the monarchy in the following year.

"Is it credible," says Nicolai, "that this man could have instituted a society for the purpose of advancing the restoration of the king; a society all of whose members were of the opposite party? The celebrated Dr. Goddard, who was one of the most distinguished members, was the physician and favorite of Cromwell, whom, after the death of the King, he attended in his campaigns in Ireland and Scotland. It is an extraordinary assertion that a dis-

[1] "Versuch über die Besschuldigungen, welche dem Tempelherrn orden gemacht worden und über dessen Geheimniss; nebst einem Anhange über das Enstehen der Freimaurergesellschaft," Berlin and Stettin, 1783.

content with the administration of Richard Cromwell should have given rise in 1658 to a society which was instituted in 1646. It is not less extraordinary that this society should have held its meetings in a tavern. It is very certain that in those days of somber Puritanism the few taverns to be found in London could not have been used as places of meeting for associations consisting of men of all conditions, as is now the custom. There would have been much imprudence in thus exposing secret deliberations on an affair equally dangerous and important to the inspection of all the spies who might be congregated in a tavern."

He asserts that the first meetings of the society were held at the house of Dr. Goddard and of another member, and afterward at Cheapside and at Gresham College. And these facts are proved by the records of the society, as published by its annalists.

As to the statement that Monk was one of the members of the society—a fact that would be important in strengthening the theory that it was organized by the friends of the monarchy and with a design of advancing its restoration—he shows the impossibility that it could be correct, because Monk was a prisoner in the Tower from 1643 until 1647, and after his release in that year spent only a month in London, not again visiting that city till 1659, when he returned at the head of an army and was engaged in the arrangement of such delicate affairs and was so narrowly watched that it is not possible to be believed that with his well-known caution he would have taken part in any sort of political society whatever, while the society would have acted very inconsiderately in admitting into its ranks military men who could scarcely write, and that too at a time when distrust had risen to its height.

But a better proof than any advanced by Nicolai, that Monk had nothing to do with the establishment of the Royal Society, whatever may have been its object, is that his name does not appear upon the list of original or early members, taken from the official records and published by Dr. Thompson in his history of the society.

Finally Nicolai asserts very truthfully that its subsequent history has shown that this society was really engaged in scientific pursuits, and that politics were altogether banished from its conferences. But he also contends, but with less accuracy, that the political principles of its members were opposed to the restoration of the monarchy, for which statement there is no positive authority.

Hence Nicolai concludes that "there is no truth in the statements of the anonymous writer in Wieland's *Mercury,* except that the restoration was opposed in secret by a certain society."

And now he advances his own theory, no less untenable than the one he is opposing, that this society "was the Freemasons, who had nothing in common with the other, except the date of foundation, and whose views in literature as well as in politics were of an entirely opposite character."

This was the theory of Nicolai—not that Freemasonry originated in the Royal Society, but that it was established by certain learned men who sought to advance the experimental philosophy which had just been introduced by Bacon. But the same idea was sought by the originators of the Royal Society, and as many of the founders of this school were also among the founders of the Royal Society, it seems difficult to separate the two theories so as to make of each a distinct and independent existence. But it will be better to let the Berlin bookseller explain his doctrine in his own language, before an attempt is made to apply to it the canons of criticism.

He commences by asserting that one of the effects of the labors of Andrea and the other Rosicrucians was the application of a wholesome criticism to the examination of philosophical and scientific subjects. He thinks even that the *Fama Fraternitatis,* the great work of Andrea, had first suggested to Bacon the notion of his immortal work on *The Advancement of Learning.* At the same time in which Bacon flourished and taught his inductive philosophy, the Rosicrucians had introduced a system of philosophy which was established on the phenomena of nature.

Lord Bacon had cultivated these views in his book *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* except that he rejected the Rosicrucian method of esoteric instruction. Everything that he taught was to be open and exoteric. Therefore, as he had written his great work in the Latin language, for the use of the learned, he now composed his *New Atlantis* in English, that all classes might be able to read it.

In this work is contained his celebrated romance of the House of Solomon, which Nicolai thinks may have had its influence in originating the society of Freemasons.

In this fictitious tale Bacon supposes that a vessel lands on an unknown island, called Bensalem, over which in days of yore a certain King Solomon reigned. This King had a large establish-

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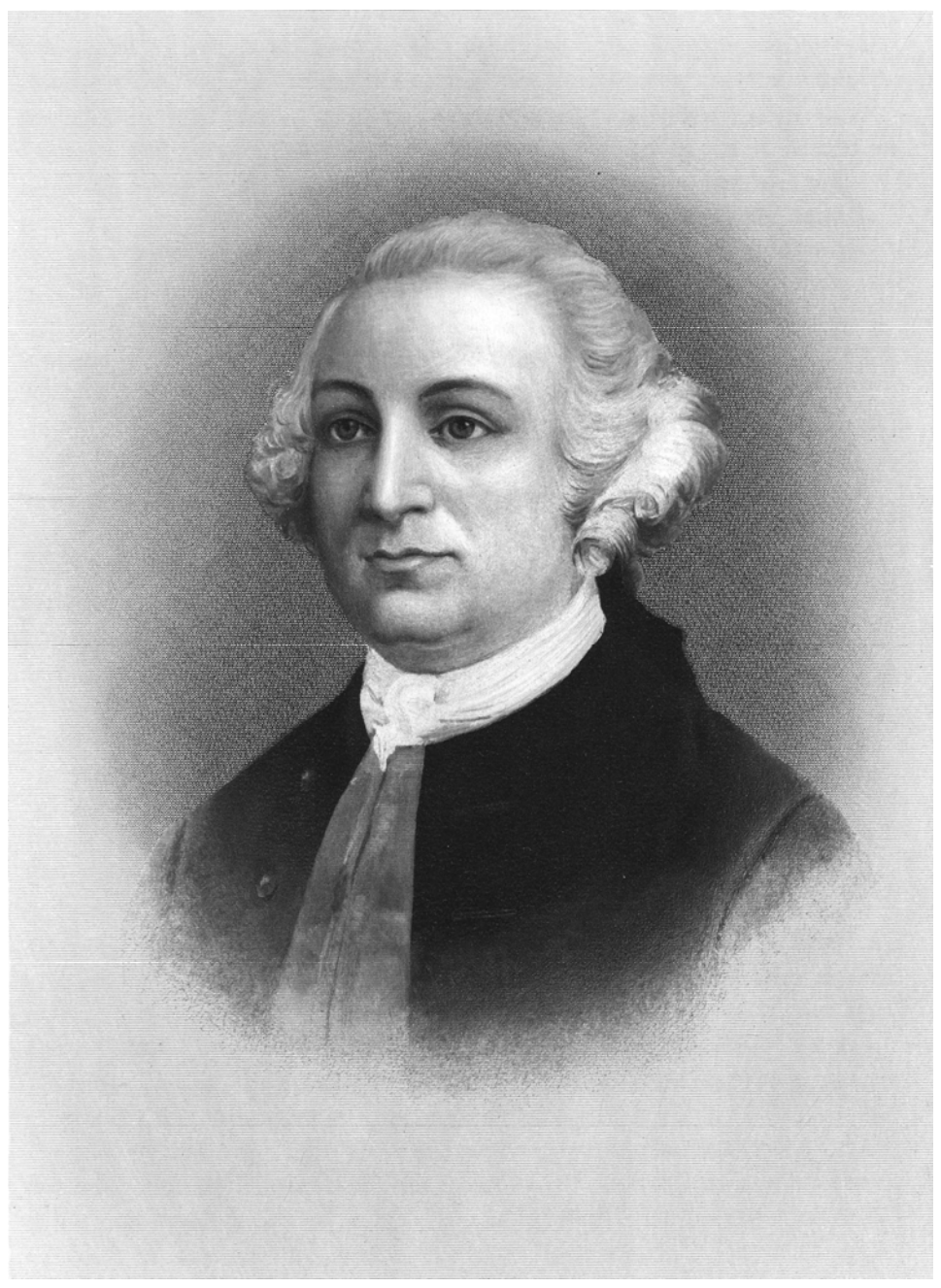


ment, which was called the House of Solomon or the College of the Six Days' Work, in allusion to the six days of the Mosaic account of the creation. He afterward describes the immense apparatus which was there employed in physical researches. There were deep grottoes and tall bowers for the observation of the phenomena of nature; artificial mineral-waters; large buildings in which meteors, the wind, rain and thunder and lightning were imitated; extensive botanic gardens, and large fields in which all kinds of animals were collected for the study of their instinct and habits, and houses filled with ail the wonders of nature and art. There were also a great number of learned men, to whom the direction of these things was intrusted. They made journeys into foreign countries, and observations on what they saw. They wrote, they collected, they determined results, and deliberated together as to what was proper to be published.

This romance, says Nicolai, which was in accord with the prevailing taste of the age, contributed far more to spread the views of Bacon on the observation of nature than his more learned and profound work had been able to do. The House of Solomon attracted the attention of everybody. King Charles I. was anxious to establish something like it, but was prevented by the civil wars. Nevertheless this great idea, associated with that of the Rosicrucians, continued to powerfully agitate the minds of the learned men of that period, who now began to be persuaded of the necessity of experimental knowledge.

Accordingly, in 1646, a society of learned men was established, all of whom were of Bacon's opinion, that philosophy and the physical sciences should be placed within the reach of all thinking minds. They held meetings at which—believing that instruction in physics was to be sought by a mutual communication of ideas—they made many scientific experiments in common. Among these men were John Wallis, John Wilkins, Jonathan Goddard, Samuel Foster, Francis Glisson, and many others, all of whom were, fourteen years afterward, the founders of the Royal Society.

But proceedings like these were not congenial with the intellectual condition of England at that period. A melancholy and somber spirit had overshadowed religion, and a mystical theology, almost Gnostic in its character, had infected the best minds. Devotion had passed into enthusiasm and that into fanaticism, and sanguinary wars and revolutions were the result.

It was then that such skillful hypocrites as Cromwell and Ireton took advantage of this weakness for the purpose of concealing and advancing their own designs.

The taint of this dark and sad character is met with in all the science, the philosophy, and even in the oratory and poetry of the period. Astrology and Theurgy were then in all their glory. Chemistry, which took the place of experimental science, was as obscure as every other species of learning, and its facts were enveloped in the allegories of the Alchemists and the Rosicrucians. A few learned men, disheartened by this obscuration of intellectual light, had organized a society in 1646; but as they were still imbued with a remnant of the popular prejudice, they were the partisans of the esoteric method of instruction, and did not believe that human knowledge should be exoterically taught so as to become accessible to all. Hence their society became a secret one. The first members of this society were, says Nicolai, Elias Ashmole, the celebrated antiquary; William Lilly, a famous astrologer; Thomas Wharton, a physician; George Wharton; William Oughtred, a mathematician; Dr. John Hewitt, and Dr. John Pearson, both clergymen, and several others. The annual festival of the Astrologers gave rise to this association. It had previously held one meeting at Warrington, in Lancashire, but it was first firmly established at London.

Its object was to build the House of Solomon in a literal sense; but the establishment was to remain as secret as the island of Bensalem in Bacon's *New Atlantis;* that is, they were to be engaged in the study of nature, but the instructions were to remain within the society in an esoteric form; in other words, it was to be a secret society. Allegories were used by these philosophers to express their ideas. First were the ancient columns of Hermes, by which Jamblichus pretended that he had enlightened all the doubts of Porphyry. You then mounted, by several steps, to a chequered floor divided into four regions, to denote the four superior sciences, after which came the types of the six days, which expressed the object of the society. All of which was intended to teach the doctrines that God created the world and preserves it by fixed principles, and that he who seeks to know these principles, by an investigation of the interior of nature, approximates to God and obtains from His grace the power of commanding nature. This, says Nicolai, was the essence of the mystical and alchemical doctrine of the age, so that we may

conclude that the society which he has been describing was in reality an association of alchemists, or rather of astrologers.

In these allegories, for which Nicolai may have been indebted to the alchemical writings of that period, to which he refers, or for which he may have drawn on his own imagination—we are uncertain which, as he cites no authorities—we may plainly detect Masonic symbols, such as the pillars of the porch of the Temple. the mystical ladder of steps, and the mosaic pavement, and thus it is that he seems to find an analogy between Freemasonry and the secret society that he has been describing.

He still further pursues the hypothesis of their identity in the following remarks:

"It is known," he says, "that all who have the right of citizenship in London, whatever may be their rank or condition, must be recognized as members of some company or corporation. But it is always easy for a man of quality or of letters to gain admission into one of these companies. Now, several members of the society that has just been described were also members of the Company of Masons. This was the reason of their holding their meetings at Masons' Hall, in Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street. They all entered the company and assumed the name of *Free and Accepted Masons,* adopting, besides, all its external marks of distinction. *Free* is the title which every member of this body assumes in England; the right or franchise is called *Freedom;* the brethren call themselves *Freemen; Accepted* means, in this place, that this private society had been accepted or incorporated into that of the Masons, and thus it was that chance gave birth to that denomination of *Freemasons* which afterward became so famous, although it is possible that some allusion may also have been intended to the building of the House of Solomon, an allegory with which they were also familiar."

Hence, according to the theory of Nicolai, two famous associations, each of a character peculiar to itself, were at the same period indebted to the same cause for their existence. These were the Royal Society and the Freemasons. "Both," he says, "had the same object and the difference in their proceedings arose only from a difference in some of the opinions of their members. The one society had adopted as its maxim that the knowledge of nature and of natural science should be indiscriminately communicated to all classes of men, while the other contended that the secrets

of nature should be restricted to a small number of chosen recipients. The former body, which was the Royal Society, therefore held open meetings; the latter, which was the Society of Freemasons, enveloped its transactions in mystery."

"In those days," says Nicolai, "the Freemasons were altogether devoted to the King and opposed to the Parliament, and they soon occupied themselves at their meetings in devising the means of sustaining the royal cause. After the death of Charles I., in 1649, the Royalists becoming still more closely united, and, fearing to be known as such, they joined the assemblies of the Freemasons for the purpose of concealing their own identity, and the good intentions of that society being well known many persons of rank were admitted into it. But as the objects which occupied their attention were no other than to diminish the number of the partisans of Parliament, and to prepare the way for the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, it would have been very imprudent to communicate to all Freemasons, without exception, the measures which they deemed it expedient to take, and which required an inviolable secrecy. Accordingly they adopted the method of selecting a certain number of their members, who met in secret, and this committee, which had nothing at all to do with the House of Solomon, selected allegories, which had no relation to the former ones, but which were very appropriate to their design. These new Masons took Death for their symbol. They lamented the death of their master, Charles I.; they nursed the hope of vengeance on his murderers; they sought to re-establish the *Word,* or his son, Charles II., for they applied to him the word *Logos,* which, in its theological sense, means both the *Word* and the *Son;* and the Queen, Henrietta Maria, the relict of Charles I., being thenceforth the head of the party, they designated themselves the *Widow's Sons.*

"They agreed also upon private signs and modes of recognition, by which the friends of the royal cause might be able to distinguish each other from their enemies. This precaution was of great utility to those who traveled, and especially to those of them who retired with the court to Holland, where, being surrounded by the spies of the Commonwealth, it was necessary to be exceedingly diligent in guarding their secret."

Nicolai then proceeds to show how, after the death of Oliver Cromwell and the abdication of his son Richard, the administration

of affairs fell into the hands of the chiefs of various parties, whence resulted confusion and dissensions, which tended to render the cause of the monarchy still more popular. The generals of the army were, however, still opposed to any notion of a restoration, and the hopes of the royalists centered upon General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, and who, it was known, had begun to look favorably on propositions which he had received in 1659 from the exiled King.

It then became necessary to bind their secret committee still more closely, that they might treat of Scottish affairs in reference to the interests of the King. They selected new allegories, which symbolized the critical state to which they were reduced, and the virtues, such as prudence, pliancy, and courage, which were necessary to success. They selected a new device and a new sign, "and in their meetings spoke allegorically of taking care, in that wavering and uncertain condition of falling, lest the arms should be broken." It is probable that, in this last and otherwise incomprehensible sentence, Nicolai refers to some of the changes made in the High Degrees, fabricated about the middle of the 18th century, but whose invention he incorrectly, but like most Masonic historians of his day, attributes to an earlier date.

As some elucidation of what he says respecting the fact of *falling and the broken arm,* we find Nicolai afterward quoting a small dictionary which he says appeared about the beginning of the 18th century, and in which we meet with the following definition:

"*Mason's Wound,* An imaginary wound above the elbow, to represent a fracture of the arm occasioned by a fall from an elevated place."

"This," says Nicolai, "is the authentic history of the origin of the Society of Freemasons, and of the first changes that it underwent, changes which transformed it from an esoteric society of natural philosophers into an association of good patriots and loyal subjects; and hence it was that it subsequently took the name of the Royal Art as applied to Masonry."

He concludes by affirming that the Society of Freemasons continued to assemble after the Restoration, in 1660, and even made, in 1663, several regulations for its preservation, but the zeal of its members was diminished by the changes which science and manners underwent during the reign of Charles II. Its political character

ceased by the advent of the king, and its esoteric method of teaching the natural sciences must have been greatly interrupted.

The Royal Society, whose method had been exoteric and open, and from whose conferences politics were excluded, although its members were, in principle, opposed to the Restoration, had a more successful progress, and was joined by many of the Freemasons, the most prominent of whom was Elias Ashmole, who, Nicolai says, changed his opinions and became a member of the Royal Society.

But, to prevent its dissolution, the Society of Freemasons made several changes in its constitution, so as to give it a specific design. This was undertaken and the symbols of the Society were altered so as to substitute the Temple of Solomon in the place of Bacon's House of Solomon, as a more appropriate allegory to express the character of the new institution. Nicolai thinks that the building of St. Paul's Church and the persecutions endured by Sir Christopher Wren may have contributed to the selection of these new symbols. But on this point he does not insist.

Such is the theory of Nicolai. Rejecting the idea that the origin of the Order of Freemasonry is to be traced to the founders of the Royal Society, he claims to have found it in a society of contemporaneous philosophers who met at Masons' Hall, in Basinghall Street, and assumed the name of Free and Accepted Masons, and who, claiming, in opposition to the views of the members of the Royal Society, that all sciences should be communicated esoterically, therefore held their meetings in secret, their real object therefor being to nourish a political conspiracy for the advancement of the cause of the monarchy and the restoration of the exiled King.

Nicolai does not expressly mention the Astrologers, but it is very evident that he alludes to them as the so-called philosophers who originated this secret society, and to them, therefore, he attributes the invention of the Masonic system, as it now exists, after the necessary changes which policy and the vicissitudes of the times had induced.

Nicholas de Bonneville, the author of the essay entitled *The Jesuits chased out of Freemasonry,* entertained a similar opinion. He says that in 1646 a society of Rosicrucians was formed at London, modeled on the ideas of the *New Atlantis* of Bacon. It assembled in Masons' Hall, where Ashmole and other Rosicrucians modified the formula of reception of the Operative Masons,

which had consisted only of a few ceremonies used by craftsmen, and substituted a mode of initiation founded in part on the mysteries of Ancient Egypt and Greece. They then fabricated the first degree of Masonry as we now have it, and, to distinguish themselves from common Masons, called themselves Freemasons. Thory cites this without comment in his *Acta Latomorum,* and gives it as a part of the authentic annals of the Order.

But ingenious and plausible as are these views, both of Nicolai and Bonneville, they unfortunately can not withstand the touchstone of all truth, the proofs of authentic history.

It will be seen that we have two hypotheses to investigate—first that advanced by the contributor to Wieland's *Mercury,* that the Society of Freemasons was originated by the founders of the Royal Society, and that maintained by Nicolai and Bonneville, that it owes its invention to the Astrologers who were contemporary with these founders. Both hypotheses place the date of the invention in the same year, 1646, and give London as the place of the invention.

We must first direct our attention to the theory which maintains that the Royal Society was the origin of Freemasonry, and that the founders of that academy were the establishers of the Society of Freemasons.

This theory, first advanced, apparently, by the anonymous contributor to Wieland's *Mercury,* was exploded by Nicolai, in the arguments heretofore quoted, but something may be added to increase the strength of what he has said.

We have the explicit testimony of all the historians of that institution that it was not at all connected with the political contests of the day, and that it was founded only as a means of pursuing philosophical and scientific inquiries.

Dr. Thompson, who derives his information from the early records of the society, says that "it was established for the express purpose of advancing experimental philosophy, and that its foundation was laid during the time of the civil wars and was owing to the accidental association of several learned men who took no part in the disturbances which agitated Great Britain."[1]

He adds that "about the year 1645 several ingenious men who

[1] "History of the Royal Society," by Thomas Thompson, M.D., F.R.S., LL.D. London, 1812, p. 1.

resided in London and were interested in the progress of mathematics and natural philosophy agreed to meet once a week to discourse upon subjects connected with these sciences. These meetings were suspended after the resignation of Richard Cromwell, but revived in 1660, upon the Restoration."[1]

They met at first in private rooms, but afterward in Gresham College and then in Arundel House. Their earliest code of laws shows that their conferences were not in secret, but open to properly introduced visitors, as they still continue to be.

Weld, the librarian of the society, says that to it "attaches the renown of having from its foundation applied itself with untiring zeal and energy to the great objects of its institution."[2] He states that, although the society was not chartered until 1660, "there is no doubt that a society of learned men were in the habit of assembling together to discuss scientific subjects for many years previous to that time."[3]

Spratt, in his history of the society, says that in the gloomy season of the civil wars they had selected natural philosophy as their private diversion, and that at their meetings "they chiefly attended to some particular trials in Chymistry or Mechanics."

The testimony of Robert Boyle, Wallis, and Evelyn, contemporaries of the founders, is to the same effect, that the society was simply philosophical in its character and without any political design.

Dr. Wallis, who was one of the original founders, makes this statement concerning the origin and objects of the society in his *Account of some Passages in my own Life*:[4]

"About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our Universities), besides the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly what has

[1] "History of the Royal Society," by Thomas Thompson, M.D., F.R.S., LL.D., London, 1812, p. 1.

[2] "A History of the Royal Society," with Memoirs of its Presidents, by Charles Richard Weld, Esq., 2 vols., London, 1848, I., 27.

[3] Ibid.

[4] In Hearne's edition of Langsteffs chronicle.

been called the *New Philosophy* or *Experimental Philosophy.* We did, by agreements, divers of us meet weekly in London on a certain day to treat and discourse of such affairs."

Wallis says that the subjects pursued by them related to physics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, such as the circulation of the blood, the Copernican system, the Torricellian experiment, etc.

In all these authentic accounts of the object of the society there is not the slightest allusion to it as a secret organization, nor any mention of a form of initiation, but only a reception by the unanimous vote of the members, which reception, as laid down in the by-laws consisted merely in the president taking the newly elected candidate by the hand and saluting him as a member or fellow of the society.

The fact is that at that period many similar societies had been instituted in different countries of Europe, such as the Academia del Corriento at Florence and the Academy of Sciences at Paris, whose members, like those of the Royal Society of London, devoted themselves to the development of science.

This encouragement of scientific pursuits may be principally attributed to many circumstances that followed the revival of learning; the advent of Greeks into Western Europe, imbued with Grecian literature; Bacon's new system of philosophy, which alone was enough to awaken the intellects of all thinking men; and the labors of Galileo and his disciples. All these had prepared many minds for the pursuit of philosophy by experimental and inductive methods, which took the place of the superstitious dogmas of preceding ages.

It was through such influences as these, wholly unconnected with any religious or political aspirations, that the founders of the Royal Society were induced to hold their meetings and to cultivate without the restraints of secrecy their philosophical labors, which culminated in 1660 in the incorporation of an institution of learned men which at this day holds the most honored and prominent place among the learned societies of the world.

But it is in vain to look in this society, either in the mode of its organization, in the character of its members, or in the nature of their pursuits, for any connection with Freemasonry, an institution entirely different in its construction and its objects. The theory, therefore, that Freemasonry is indebted for its origin to the Royal

Society of London must be rejected as wholly without authenticity or even plausibility.

But the theory of Nicolai, which attributes its origin to another contemporaneous society, whose members were evidently Astrologers, is somewhat more plausible, although equally incorrect. Its . consideration must, however, be reserved as the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ASTROLOGERS AND THE FREEMASONS

E have seen, in the preceding chapter, that Nicolai had sought to trace the origin of Freemasonry to a society organized in 1646 by a sect of philosophers who were contemporary with, but entirely distinct from, those who founded the Royal Society. Though he does not explicitly state the fact, yet, from the names of the persons to whom he refers, there can be no doubt that he alluded to the Astrologers, who at that time were very popular in England.

Judicial astrology, or the divination of the future by the stars, was, of all the delusions to which the superstition of the Middle Ages gave birth, the most popular. It prevailed over all Europe, so that it was practiced by the most learned, and the predictions of its professors were sought with avidity and believed with confidence by the most wealthy and most powerful. Astrologers often formed a part of the household of princes, who followed their counsels in the most important matters relating to the future, while men and women of every rank sought these charlatans that they might have their nativities cast and secure the aid of their occult art in the recovery of stolen goods or the prognostications of happy marriages or of successful journeys.

Astrology was called the Daughter of Astronomy, and the scholars who devoted themselves to the study of the heavenly bodies for the purposes of pure science were often called upon to use their knowledge of the stars for the degrading purpose of astrological predictions. Kepler, the greatest astronomer of that age, was compelled against his will to pander to the popular superstition, that he might thus gain a livelihood and be enabled to pursue his nobler studies. In one of his works he complains that the scanty reward of an astronomer would not provide him with bread, if men did not entertain hopes of reading the future in the heavens.

And so he tampered with the science that he loved and adorned, and made predictions for inquisitive consulters, although, at the same time, he declared to his friends that "they were nothing but worthless conjecture."

Cornelius Agrippa, though he cultivated alchemy, a delusion but little more respectable than that of astrology, when commanded by his patroness, the Queen mother of France, to practice the latter, expressed his annoyance at the task. Of the Astrologers he said, in his great work on the *Vanity of the Arts and Sciences,* "these fortune tellers do find entertainment among princes and magistrates, from whom they receive large salaries; but, indeed, there is no class of men who are more pernicious to a commonwealth. For, as their skill lies in the adaptation of ambiguous predictions to events after they have happened, so it happens that a man who lives by falsehood shall by one accidental truth obtain more credit than he will lose by a hundred manifest errors."

The 16th and 17th centuries were the golden age of astrology in England. We know all that is needed of this charlatanism and of the character of its professors from the autobiography of William Lilly, himself an English astrologer of no mean note; perhaps, indeed, the best-educated and the most honest of those who practiced this delusion in England in the 17th century, and who is one of those to whom Nicolai ascribes the formation of that secret society, in 1646, which invented Freemasonry.

It will be remembered that Nicolai says that of the society of learned men who established Freemasonry, the first members were Elias Ashmole, the skillful antiquary, who was also a student of astrology, William Lilly, a famous astrologer, George Wharton, likewise an astrologer, William Oughtred, a mathematician, and some others. He also says that the annual festival of the Astrologers gave rise to this association. "It had previously held," says Nicolai, "one meeting at Warrington, in Lancashire, but it was first firmly established at London."

Their meetings, the same writer asserts, were held at Masons' Hall, in Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street. Many of them were members of the Masons' Company, and they all entered it and assumed the title of Free and Accepted Masons, adopting, besides, all its external marks of distinction.

Such is the theory which makes the Astrologers, incorporating

themselves with the Operative Masons, who met at their Hall in Basinghall Street, the founders of the Speculative Order of Free and Accepted Masons as they exist at the present day.

It is surprising that in a question of history a man of letters of the reputation of Nicolai should have indulged in such bold assumptions and in statements so wholly bare of authority. But unfortunately it is thus that Masonic history has always been written.

I shall strive to eliminate the truth from the fiction in this narrative. The task will be a laborious one, for, as Goethe has well said in one of his maxims, "It is much easier to perceive error than to find truth. The former lies on the surface, so that it is easily reached; the latter lies in the depth, which it is not every man's business to search for."

The Astrologers, to whose meeting in the Masons' Hall is ascribed the origin of the Freemasons, were not a class of persons who would have been likely to have united in such an attempt, which showed at least a desire for some intellectual progress. Lilly, perhaps the best-educated and the most honest of these charlatans, has in the narrative of his life, written by himself, given us some notion of the character of many of them who lived in London when he practiced the art in that city.[1]

Of Evans, who was his first teacher, he tells us that he was a clergyman of Staffordshire, whence he "had been in a manner enforced to fly for some offences very scandalous committed by him"; of another astrologer, Alexander Hart, he says "he was but a cheat." Jeffry Neve he calls a smatterer; William Poole was a frequenter of taverns with "lewd people," and fled on one occasion from London under the suspicion of complicity in theft; John Booker, though honest, was ignorant of his profession; William Hodges dealt with angels, but "his life answered not in holiness and sanctity to what it should," for he was addicted to profanity; and John à Windsor was given to debauchery.

Men of such habits of life were not likely to interest themselves in the advancement of science or in the establishment of a society of speculative philosophers. It is true that these charlatans lived at an earlier period than that ascribed by Nicolai to the organization

[1] "The Life of William Lilly, Student in Astrology, wrote by himself in the 66th year of his Age, at Hersham, in the Parish of Walton upon Thames, in the County of Surrey. *Propria Manu."*

of the society in Masons' Hall, but in the few years that elapsed it is not probable that the disciples of astrology had much improved in their moral or intellectual condition.

Of certain of the men named by Nicolai as having organized the Society of Freemasons in 1646, we have some knowledge. Elias Ashmole, the celebrated antiquary, and founder of the Ashmolean Museum in the University of Oxford, is an historical character. He wrote his own life, in the form of a most minute diary, extending from July 2, 1633, to October 9, 1687. In this diary, in which he registers the most trivial as well as the most important events of his life—recording even the cutting of his wisdom teeth, or the taking of a sudorific—he does not make the slightest allusion to the transaction referred to by Nicolai. The silence of so babbling a chronicler as to such an important event is itself sufficient proof that it did not occur. What Ashmole has said about Freemasonry will be presently seen.

Lilly, another supposed actor in this scene, also wrote his life with great minuteness. His complete silence on the subject is equally suggestive. Nicolai says that the persons he cites were either already members of the Company of Masons or at once became so. Now, Lilly was a member of the Salter's Company, one of the twelve great livery companies, and would not have left it to join a minor company, which the Masons' was.

Oughtred could not have been united with Ashmole in organizing a society in 1646, for the latter, in a note to Lilly's life, traces his acquaintance with him to the residence of both as neighbors in Surrey. Now, Ashmole did not remove to Surrey until the year 1675, twenty-nine years after his supposed meeting with Oughtred at the Masons' Hall.

Between Wharton and Lilly, who were rival almanac-makers, there was, in 1646, a bitter feud, which was not reconciled until years afterward. In an almanac which Wharton published in 1645 he had called Lilly "an impudent, senseless fellow, and by name William Lilly." It is not likely that they would have been engaged in the fraternal task of organizing a great society at that very time.

Dr. Pearson, another one of the supposed founders, is celebrated in literary and theological history as the author of an *Exposition of the Creed.* Of a man so prominent as to have been the Master of

Jesus College, Cambridge, and afterward Bishop of Chester, Ashmole makes no mention in his diary. If he had ever met him or been engaged with him in so important an affair, this silence in so minute a journal of the transactions of his every-day life would be inexplicable.

But enough has been said to show the improbability of any such meeting as Nicolai records. Even Ashmole and Lilly, the two leaders, were unknown to each other until the close of the year 1646. Ashmole says in his diary of that year: "Mr. Jonas Moore brought and acquainted me with Mr. William Lilly: it was on a Friday night, and I think on the 20th Nov. (1646)."

That there was an association, or a club or society, of Astrologers about that time in London is very probable. Pepys, in his *Memoirs,* says that in October, 1660, he went to Mr. Lilly's, "there being a club that night among his friends." There he met Esquire Ashmole and went home accompanied by Mr. Booker, who, he says, "did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for writing to please his friends, and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre as he had done." The club, we may well suppose, was that of the Astrologers, held at the house of the chief member of the profession. That it was not a secret society we conclude from the fact that Pepys, who was no astrologer, was permitted to be present. We know also from Ashmole's diary that the Astrologers held an annual feast, generally in August, sometimes in March, July, or November, but never on a Masonic festival. Ashmole regularly attended it from 1649 to 1658, when it was suspended, but afterward revived, in 1682. In 1650 he was elected a steward for the following year. He mentions the place of meeting only three times, twice at Painters' Hall, which was probably the usual place, and once at the Three Cranes, in Chancery Lane. Had the Astrologers and the Masons been connected, Masons' Hall, in Basinghall Street, would certainly have been the place for holding their feast.

Again, it is said by Nicolai that the object of this secret society which organized the Freemasons was to advance the restoration of the King. But Lilly had made, in 1645, the year before the meeting, this declaration: "Before that time, I was more Cavalier than Roundhead, but after that I engaged body and soul in the cause of Parliament." He still expressed, it is true, his attachment to mon-

archy; but his life during the Commonwealth showed his devotion to Cromwell, of whom he was a particular favorite. After the Restoration he had to sue out a pardon, which was obtained by the influence of his friends, but which would hardly have been necessary if he had been engaged in a secret society the object of which was to restore Charles II. to the throne.

But Charles I. was not beheaded until 1649, so that a society could not have been organized in 1646 for the restoration of his son. But it may be said that the Restoration alluded to was of the monarchy, which at that time was virtually at an end. So this objection may pass without further comment.

But the fact is that the whole of this fiction of the organization, in 1646, of a secret society by a set of philosophers or astrologers, or both, which resulted in the establishment of Freemasonry, arose out of a misconception or a misrepresentation—whether willful or not, I will not say—of two passages in the diary of Elias Ashmole. Of these two passages, and they are the only ones in his minute diary of fifty-four years in which there is any mention of Freemasonry, the first is as follows:

"1646, Octob. 16. 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid*. I was made a Free-Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Colonel Henry Mainwarring of Karticham in Cheshire; the names of those that were then at the lodge, Mr. Richard Penket Warden, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Richard Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, and Hugh Brewer."

And then, after an interval of thirty-five years, during which there is no further allusion to Masonry, we find the following memorandum: "1682, Mar. 10. About 5 *Hor. post merid.* I received a summons to appear at a lodge to be held the next day at Masons Hall, London.

"II. Accordingly I went, and about noon was admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons, by Sir William Wilson Knight, Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr. William Wodman, Mr. William Grey, Mr. Samuel Taylour, and Mr. William Wise.

"I was the senior fellow among them (it being thirty-five years since I was admitted) there was present besides myself, the fellows after mentioned. Mr. Thomas Wise, Master of the Masons Company, this present year; Mr. Thomas Shorthose, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt, —— Wardsfford, Esq; Mr. Nicholas Young, Mr. John Short-

hose, Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompson, and Mr. William Stanton. We all dined at the Half-Moon-Tavern, in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new accepted Masons."

Without the slightest show of reason or semblance of authority, Nicolai transmutes the Lodge at Warrington, in which Ashmole was made a Freemason, into an annual feast of the Astrologers. The Society of Astrologers, he says, "had previously held one meeting at Warrington, in Lancashire, but it was first firmly established at London." And he cites as his authority for this statement the very passage from Ashmole's diary in which that antiquary records his reception in a Masonic Lodge.

These events in the life of Ashmole, which connect him with the Masonic fraternity, have given considerable embarrassment to Masonic scholars who have been unable to comprehend the two apparently conflicting statements that he was made a Freemason at Warrington in 1646 and afterward received into the fellowship of the Freemasons, in 1682, at London. The embarrassment and misapprehension arose from the fact that we have unfortunately no records of the meetings of the Operative Lodges of England in the 17th century, and nothing but traditional and generally mythical accounts of their usages during that period.

The sister kingdom of Scotland has been more fortunate in this respect, and the valuable work of Brother Lyon, on the *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh,* has supplied us with authentic records of the Scottish Lodges at a much earlier date. These records will furnish us with some information in respect to the contemporaneous English Lodges, which we have every reason to suppose were governed by usages not very different from those of the Lodges in the adjacent kingdom.

Mr. Lyon has on this subject the following remarks, which may be opportunely quoted on the present occasion.

"The earliest date at which non-professionals are known to have been received into an English Lodge is 1646. The evidence of this is derived from the diary of one of the persons so admitted; but the preceding minutes[1] afford authentic instances of Speculative Masons having been admitted to the fellowship of the Lodge of

[1] Minutes of the Lodge of Cannongate, Kilwinning, for 1635, quoted by him in a preceding page.

Edinburgh twelve years prior to the reception of Colonel Main. warring and Elias Ashmole in the Lodge of Warrington and thirty-eight years before the date at which the presence of Gentleman Masons is first discernible in the Lodge of Kilwinning by the election of Lord Cassillis to the deaconship. It is worthy of remark that, with singularly few exceptions, the non-operatives who were admitted to Masonic fellowship in the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning, during the 17th century, were persons of quality, the most distinguished of whom, as the natural result of its metropolitan position, being made in the former Lodge. Their admission to fellowship in an institution composed of Operative Masons associated together for purposes of their Craft would in all probability originate in a desire to elevate its position and increase its influence, and once adopted, the system would further recommend itself to the Fraternity by the opportunities which it presented for cultivating the friendship and enjoying the society of gentlemen to whom in ordinary circumstances there was little chance of their ever being personally known. On the other hand, non-professionals connecting themselves with the Lodge by the ties of membership would, we believe, be actuated partly by a disposition to reciprocate the feelings that had prompted the bestowal of the fellowship partly by curiosity to penetrate the arcana of the Craft, and partly by the novelty of the situation as members of a secret society and participants in its ceremonies and festivities. But whatever may have been the motives which animated the parties on either side, the tie which united them was a purely honorary one."[1]

What is here said by Lyon of the Scottish Lodges may, I think, be with equal propriety applied to those of England at the same period. There was in 1646 a Lodge of Operative Masons at Warrington, just as there was a similar one at Edinburgh. Into this Lodge Colonel Mainwarring and Elias Ashmole, both non-professional gentlemen, were admitted as honorary members, or, to use the language of the latter, were "made Freemasons," a technical term that has been preserved to the present day.

But thirty-five years afterward, being then a resident of London, he was summoned to attend a meeting of the Company of Masons, to be held at their hall in Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street, and

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 81.

there, according to his own account, he was "admitted into the fellowship of Freemasons." How are we to explain this apparent double or renewed admission? But mark the difference of language. In 1646 he was "made a Freemason." In 1682 he was "admitted into the fellowship of Freemasons." The distinction is an important one.

The Masons' Company in 1682 constituted in London one of those many city companies which embraced the various trades and handicrafts of the metropolis. Stowe, in his *Survey of London,* says that "the Masons, otherwise termed Freemasons, were a society of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a loving brotherhood should use to do, did frequent their mutual assemblies in the time of King Henry IV., in the 12th year of whose most gracious reign they were incorporated."

In Cheswell's *New View of London,* printed in 1708, it is said that the Masons' Company "were incorporated about the year 1410, having been called the Free Masons, a Fraternity of great account, who have been honored by several Kings, and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society. They are governed by a Master, 2 Wardens, 25 Assistants, and there are 65 on the Livery."

Maitland, in his *London and its Environs,* says, speaking of the Masons: "This company had their arms granted by Clarencieux, King-at-Arms, in the year 1477, though the members were not incorporated by letters patent till they obtained them from King Charles II. in 1677. They have a small convenient hall in Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street."

There were then, in the time of Ashmole, two distinct bodies of men practicing the Craft of Operative Masonry, namely, the Lodges which were to be found in various parts of the country, and the Company of Masons, whose seat was at London.

Into one of the Lodges, which was situated at Warrington, in Lancashire, Ashmole had in 1646 received honorary membership, which, in compliance with the technical language of that and of the present day, he called being "made a Freemason." But this did not constitute him a member of the Masons' Company of London, for this was a distinct incorporated society, with its exclusive rules and regulations, and admission into which could only be obtained by

the consent of the members. There were many Masons who were not members of the Company.

Ashmole, who had for thirty-five years been a Freemason, by virtue of his making at Warrington, was in 1682 elected a member of this Masons' Company, and this he styles being "admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons"—that is, he was admitted to the fellowship or membership of the Company and made "free" of it.

From all of which we may draw the following conclusions: First, that in 1646, at the very date assigned by Nicolai for the organization of the Freemasons as a secret political society, under the leadership of Ashmole and Lilly, the former, being as yet unacquainted with the latter, was at Warrington, in Lancashire, where he found a Lodge of Masons already organized and with its proper officers and its members, by whom he was admitted as an honorary non-professional member of the Craft. And secondly, that while in London he was admitted, being already a Freemason, to the fellowship of the Masons' Company. And thirdly, that he was also a member of the fraternity of Astrologers, having been admitted probably in 1649, and regularly attended their annual feast from that year to 1658, when the festival, and perhaps the fraternity, was suspended until 1682, when it was again revived. But during all this time it is evident from the memoranda of Ashmole that the Freemasons and the Astrologers were two entirely distinct bodies. Lilly, who was the head of the Astrologers, was, we may say almost with certainty, not a Freemason, else the spirit of minuteness with which he has written his autobiography would not have permitted him to omit what to his peculiar frame of mind would have been so important a circumstance as connecting him still more closely with his admired friend, Elias Ashmole, nor would the latter have neglected to record it in his diary, written with even still greater minuteness than Lilly's memoirs.

Notwithstanding the clear historical testimony which shows that Lodges of Freemasons had been organized long before the time of Ashmole, and that he had actually been made a Freemason in one of them, many writers, both Masonic and profane, have maintained the erroneous doctrine that Ashmole was the founder of the Masonic Society.

Thus Chambers, in their *Encyclopædia,* say that "Masonry was founded by Ashmole and some of his literary friends," and De Quincey expressed the same opinion.

Mr. John Yarker, in his very readable *Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity,* offers a modified view and a compromise of the subject. He refers to the meeting of the chemical adepts at Masons' Hall (a fact of which we have no evidence), and then to the "Feast of the Astrologers" which Ashmole attended. He follows Nicolai in asserting that their allegories were founded on Bacon's House of Solomon, and says that they used as emblems the sun, moon, square, triangle, etc. And he concludes, "it is possible that Ashmole may have consolidated the customs of the two associations, but there is *no evidence* that any Lodge of this, his speculative rite, came under the Masonic Constitution."[1]

We may also say that it is possible that Ashmole may have invented a speculative rite of some kind, but there is *no evidence* that he did so. Many things are possible that are not probable, and many probable that are not actual. History is made up of facts, and not of possibilities or probabilities.

Ashmole himself entertained a very different and much more correct notion of the origin of Masonry than any of those who have striven to claim him as its founder.

Dr. Knipe, of Christ Church, Oxford, in a letter to the publisher of Ashmole's Life, says: "What from Mr. E. Ashmole's collections I could gather was, that the report of our society's taking rise from a bull granted by the Pope in the reign of Henry III., to some Italian architects to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, was ill-founded. Such a bull there was, and these architects were Masons; but this bull, in the opinion of the learned Mr. Ashmole, was confirmative only, and did not, by any means, create our Fraternity, or even establish them in this kingdom."

This settles the question. Ashmole could not have been the founder of Freemasonry in London in 1646, since he himself expressed the belief that the Institution had existed in England before the 13th century.

There is no doubt, as I have already said, that he was very intimately connected with the Astrologers. Dr. Krause, in his *Three Oldest Documents of the Masonic Brotherhood*,[2] quotes the following passage from Lilly's *History of my Life and Times.* (I can not

[1] "Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity," p. 106.
[2] "Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerbrüderschaft," IV., 286.

find it in my own copy of that work, but the statements are corroborated by Ashmole's diary.)

"The King's affairs being now grown desperate, Mr. Ashmole withdrew himself, after the surrender of the Garrison of Worcester, into Cheshire, where he continued till the end of October, and then came up to London, where he became acquainted with Master, afterwards Sir Jonas Moore, Mr. William Lilly, and Mr. John Booker, esteemed the greatest astrologers in the world, by whom he was caressed, instructed and received into their fraternity, which then made a very considerable figure, as appeared by the great resort of persons of distinction to their annual feast, of which Mr. Ashmole was afterwards elected Steward."

Ashmole left Worcester for Cheshire July 24, 1646, and removed from Cheshire to London October 25, of the same year. In that interval of three months he was made a Freemason, at Warrington. At that time he was not acquainted with Lilly, Moore, or Booker, and knew nothing of astrology or of the great astrologers.

This destroys the accuracy of Nicolai's assertion that the meeting held at Masons' Hall, in 1682, by Ashmole, Lilly, and other astrologers, when they founded the Society of Freemasons, was preceded by a similar and initiatory one, in 1646, at Warrington.

A few words must now be said upon the subject of Bacon's House of Solomon, which Nicolai and others supposed to have first given rise to the Masonic allegory which was afterward changed to that of the Temple of Solomon.

Bacon, in his fragmentary and unfinished romance of the *New Atlantis,* had devised the fable of an island of Bensalem, in which was an institution or college called the House of Solomon, the fellows of which were to be students of philosophy and investigators of science. He thus described their occupations:

"We have twelve that sail into foreign countries, who bring in the books and patterns of experiments of all other parts; these we call merchants of light. We have three that collect the experiments that are in all books; these are called depredators. We have three that collect experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into the arts; these we call mystery men. We have three that try new experiments such as themselves think good; these we call pioneers or miners. We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and

tablets to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them; these we call compilers. We have three that bind themselves looking into the experiments of their fellows and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge as well for works as for plain demonstrations and the easy and clear discovering of the virtues and parts of bodies; these we call doing men and benefactors. Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number to consider of the former labors and collections, we have three to take care out of them to direct new experiments of higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former; these we call lamps. We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed and report them; these we call inoculators. Lastly we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms and aphorisms; these we call interpreters of nature."[1]

It is evident from this schedule of the occupations of the inmates of the House of Solomon that it could not in the remotest degree have been made the foundation of a Masonic allegory. In fact, the suggestion of a Masonic connection could have been derived only from a confused idea of the relation of the House to the Temple of Solomon, a misapprehension which a reading of the *New Atlantis* would readily remove.

As Plato had written his *Republic* and Sir Thomas More his *Utopia* to give their ideas of a model commonwealth, so Lord Bacon commenced his *New Atlantis* to furnish his idea of a model college to be instituted for the study and interpretation of nature by experimental methods. These views were first introduced in his *Advancement of Human Learning,* and would have been perfected in his *New Atlantis* had he ever completed it.

The new philosophy of Bacon had produced a great revolution in the minds of thinking men, and that group of philosophers who in the 17th century, as Dr. Whewell says, "began to knock at the door where truth was to be found" would very wisely seek the key in the inductive and experimental method taught by Bacon.

To the learned men, therefore, who first met at the house of Dr. Goddard and the other members, and whose meetings finally ended in the formation of the Royal Society, the allegory of the House of

[1] "New Atlantis," Works, vol. ii., p. 376.

Solomon very probably furnished valuable hints for the pursuit of their experimental studies.

To Freemasons in any age the allegory would have been useless and unprofitable, and could by no ingenious method have been twisted into a foundation for their symbolic science. The hypothesis that it was adopted in 1646 by the founders of Freemasonry as a fitting allegory for their esoteric system of instruction is evidently too absurd to need further refutation.

In conclusion, we may unhesitatingly concur with Bro. W. J. Hughan in his opinion that the theory which assigns the foundation of Freemasonry to Elias Ashmole and his friends the Astrologers "is opposed to existing documents dating before and since his initiation." It is equally opposed to the whole current of authentic history, and is unsupported by the character of the Institution and the nature of its symbolism.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE ROSICRUCIANS AND THE FREEMASONS

OF all the theories which have been advanced in relation to the origin of Freemasonry from some one of the secret sects, either of antiquity or of the Middle Ages, there is none more interesting than that which seeks to connect it with the Hermetic philosophy, because there is none which presents more plausible claims to our consideration.

There can be no doubt that in some of what are called the High Degrees there is a very palpable infusion of a Hermetic element. This can not be denied, because the evidence will be most apparent to any one who examines their rituals, and some by their very titles, in which the Hermetic language and a reference to Hermetic principles are adopted, plainly admit the connection and the influence.

There is, therefore, no necessity to investigate the question whether or not some of those High or Philosophic Degrees which were fabricated about the middle of the last century are or are not of a Hermetic character, because the time of their invention, when Craft Masonry was already in a fixed condition, removes them entirely out of the problem which relates to the origin of the Masonic Institution. No matter when Freemasonry was established, the High Degrees were an afterthought, and might very well be tinctured with the principles of any philosophy which prevailed at the period of their invention.

But it is a question of some interest to the Masonic scholar whether at the time of the so-called Revival of Freemasonry, in the early part of the 18th century, certain Hermetic degrees did not exist which sought to connect themselves with the system of Masonry. And it is a question of still greater interest whether this attempt was successful so far, at least, as to impress upon the features of

that early Freemasonry a portion of the characteristic tints of the Hermetic philosophy, some of the marks of which may still remain in our modern system.

But as the Hermetic philosophy was that which was invented and taught by the Rosicrucians, before we can attempt to resolve these important and interesting questions, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the history and the character of Rosicrucianism. On the 17th of August, 1586, Johann Valentin Andreä was born at Herrenberg, a small market-town of what was afterward the kingdom of Würtemburg. After a studious youth, during which he became possessed of a more than moderate share of learning, he departed in 1610 on a pilgrimage through Germany, Austria, Italy, and France, supplied with but little money, but with an indomitable desire for the acquisition of knowledge. Returning home, in 1614, he embraced the clerical profession and was appointed a deacon in the town of Vaihingen, and by subsequent promotions reached, in 1634, the positions of Protestant prelate of the Abbey of Bebenhausen and spiritual counsellor of the Duchy of Brunswick. He died on the 27th of June, 1654, at the ripe age of sixty-eight years.

On the moral character of Andreä his biographers have lavished their encomiums. A philanthropist from his earliest life, he carried, or sought to carry, his plans of benevolence into active operation. Wherever, says Vaughan, the church, the school, the institute of charity have fallen into ruin or distress, there the indefatigable Andreä sought to restore them. He was, says another writer, the guardian genius and the comforter of the suffering; he was a practical helper as well as a theoretical adviser; in the times of dearth and famine, many thousand poor were fed and clothed by his exertions, and the town of Kalw, of which, in 1720, he was appointed the superintendent, long enjoyed the benefit of many charitable institutions which owed their origin to his solicitations and zeal.[1]

It is not surprising that a man indued with such benevolent feelings and actuated by such a spirit of philanthropy should have viewed with deep regret the corruptions of the times in which he lived, and should have sought to devise some plan by which the condition of his fellow-men might be ameliorated and the dry, effete

[1] Biographical Sketch by Wm. Bell, in *Freemasons' Quarterly Magazine,* London, vol. ii., N. S., 1854, p. 27.

theology of the church be converted into some more living, active, humanizing system.

For the accomplishment of this purpose he could see no better method than the establishment of a practical philanthropical fraternity, one that did not at that time exist, but the formation of which he resolved to suggest to such noble minds as might be stimulated to the enterprise.

With this view he invoked the assistance of fiction, and hence there appeared, in 1615, a work which he entitled the *Report of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood,* or, in its original Latin, *Fama Fraternitatis Rosæ Crucis.* An edition had been published the year before with the title of *Universal Reformation of the Whole World, with a Report of the Worshipful Order of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, addressed to all the Learned Men and Nobility of Europe,*[1] There was another work, published in 1616, with the title of *Chemische Hochzeit,* or *Chemical Nuptials, by Christian Rosencreutz.*

All of these books were published anonymously, but they were universally attributed to the pen of Andreä, and were all intended for one purpose, that of discovering by the character of their reception who were the true lovers of wisdom and philanthropy, and of inducing them to come forward to the perfection of the enterprise, by transforming this fabulous society into a real and active organization.

The romantic story of Christian Rosencreutz, the supposed founder of the Order, is thus told by Andreä. I have borrowed for the most part the language of Mr. Sloane,[2] who, although his views and deductions on the subject are for the most part erroneous, has yet given us the best English epitome of the myth of Andreä.

According to Andreä's tale, a certain Christian Rosencreutz, though of good birth, found himself compelled from poverty to enter the cloister at a very early period of life. He was only sixteen years old when one of the monks purposed a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, and Rosencreutz, as a special favor, was permitted to accompany him. At Cyprus the monk is taken ill, but Rosencreutz proceeds onward to Damascus with the intention of going on to

[1] "Allgemeine und General Reformation der ganzen, weiten Welt. Beneben der Fama Fraternitatis des Löblichen Ordens des Rosencreutzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europas geschreiben," Cassel, 1614.

[2] "New Curiosities of Literature," vol. ii., p. 44.

Jerusalem. While detained in the former city by the fatigues of his journey, he hears of the wonders performed by the sages of Damascus, and, his curiosity being excited, he places himself under their direction.

Three years having been spent in the acquisition of their most hidden mysteries, he sets sail from the Gulf of Arabia for Egypt. There he studies the nature of plants and animals and then repairs, in obedience to the instructions of his Arabian masters, to Fez, in Africa. In this city it was the custom of the Arab and African sages to meet annually for the purpose of communicating to each other the results of their experience and inquiries, and here he passed two years in study. He then crossed over to Spain, but not meeting there with a favorable reception, he returned to his native country.

But as Germany was then filled with mystics of all kinds, his proposals for a reformation in morals and science meets with so little sympathy from the public that he resolves to establish a society of his own.

With this view he selects three of his favorite companions from his old convent. To them, under a solemn vow of secrecy, he communicates the knowledge which he had acquired during his travels. He imposes on them the duty of committing it to writing and of forming a magical vocabulary for the benefit of future students.

But in addition to this task they also undertook to prescribe gratuitously for all the sick who should ask their assistance, and as in a short time the concourse of patients became so great as materially to interfere with their other duties, and as a building which Rosencreutz had been erecting, called the Temple of the Holy Ghost, was now completed, he determines to increase the number of the brotherhood, and accordingly initiates four new members.

When all is completed, and the eight brethren are instructed in the mysteries of the Order, they separate, according to agreement, two only staying with Father Christian. The other six, after traveling for a year, are to return and communicate the results of their experience. The two who had stayed at home are then to be relieved by two of the travelers, so that the founder may never be alone, and the six again divide and* travel for a year.

The laws of the Order as they had been prescribed by Rosencreutz were as follows:

1. That they should devote themselves to no other occupation than that of the gratuitous practice of physic.

2. That they were not to wear a particular habit, but were to conform in this respect to the customs of the country in which they might happen to be.

3. That each one was to present himself on a certain day in the year at the Temple of the Holy Ghost, or send an excuse for his absence.

4. That each one was to look out for a brother to succeed him in the event of his death.

5. That the letters R. C. were to be their seal, watchword, and title.

6. That the brotherhood was to be kept a secret for one hundred years.

When one hundred years old, Christian Rosencreutz died, but the place of his burial was unknown to any one but the two brothers who were with him at the time of his death, and they carried the secret with them to the grave.

The society, however, continued to exist unknown to the world, always consisting of eight members only, until another hundred and twenty years had elapsed, when, according to a tradition of the Order, the grave of Father Rosencreutz was to be discovered, and the brotherhood to be no longer a mystery to the world.

It was about this time that the brethren began to make some alterations in their building, and thought of removing to another and more fitting situation the memorial tablet, on which were inscribed the names of their associates. The plate, which was of brass, was affixed to the wall by means of a nail in its center, and so firmly was it fastened that in tearing it away a portion of the plaster of the wall became detached and exposed a concealed door. Upon this door being still further cleansed from the incrustation, there appeared above it in large letters the following words: POST CXX ANNOS PATEBO—*After one hundred and twenty years I will be opened.*

Although the brethren were greatly delighted at the discovery, they so far restrained their curiosity as not to open the door until the next morning, when they found themselves in a vault of seven sides, each side five feet wide and eight feet high. It was lighted by an artificial sun in the centre of the arched roof, while in the

middle of the floor, instead of a tomb, stood a round altar covered with a small brass plate, on which was this inscription:

A. C. R. C. *Hoc, universi compendium, vivus mihi sepulchrum feci—i.e.,* while living, I made this epitome of the universe my sepulcher.

About the outer edge was:

Jesus mihi omnia—i.e., Jesus is all things to me.

In the center were four figures, each enclosed in a circle, with these words inscribed around them:

1. *Nequaquam vacuus.*
2. *Legis Jugum.*
3. *Libertas Evangelii.*
4. *Dei gloria intacta.*

That is—1. By no means void. 2. The yoke of the Law. 3. The liberty of the Gospel. 4. The unsullied Glory of God.

On seeing all this, the brethren knelt down and returned thanks to God for having made them so much wiser than the rest of the world. Then they divided the vault into three parts, the roof, the wall, and the pavement. The first and the last were divided into seven triangles, corresponding to the seven sides of the wall, each of which formed the base of a triangle, while the apices met in the center of the roof and of the pavement. Each side was divided into ten squares, containing figures and sentences which were to be explained to the new initiates. In each side there was also a door opening upon a closet, wherein were stored up many rare articles, such as the secret books of the Order, the vocabulary of Paracelsus, and other things of a similar nature. In one of the closets they discovered the life of their founder; in others they found curious mirrors, burning lamps, and a variety of objects intended to aid in rebuilding the Order, which, after the lapse of many centuries, was to fall into decay.

Pushing aside the altar, they came upon a strong brass plate, which being removed, they beheld the corpse of Rosencreutz as freshly preserved as on the day when it had been deposited, and under his arm a volume of vellum with letters of gold, containing, among other things, the names of the eight brethren who had founded the Order.

Such is an outline of the story of Christian Rosencreutz and his Rosicrucian Order as it is told in the *Fama Fraternitatis.* It is very

evident that Andreä composed this romance—for it is nothing else—not to record the existence of any actual society, but only that it might serve as a suggestion to the learned and the philanthropic to engage in the establishment of some such benevolent association. "He hoped," says Vaughan, "that the few nobler minds whom he desired to organize would see through the veil of fiction in which he had invested his proposal; that he might communicate personally with some such, if they should appear, or that his book might lead them to form among themselves a practical philanthropic confederacy answering to the serious purpose he had embodied in his fiction."[1]

But his design was misunderstood then, as it has been since, and everywhere his fable was accepted as a fact. Diligent search was made by the credulous for the discovery of the Temple of the Holy Ghost. Printed letters appeared continually, addressed to the unknown brotherhood, seeking admission into the fraternity—a fraternity that existed only in the pages of the *Fama.* But the irresponsive silence to so many applications awoke the suspicions of some, while the continued mystery strengthened the credulity of others. The brotherhood, whose actual house "lay beneath the Doctor's hat of Valentin Andreä," was violently attacked and as vigorously defended in numerous books and pamphlets which during that period flooded the German press.

The learned men among the Germans did not give a favoring ear to the philanthropic suggestions of Andreä, but the mystical notions contained in his fabulous history were seized with avidity by the charlatans, who added to them the dreams of the alchemists and the reveries of the astrologers, so that the post-Andrean Rosicrucianism became a very different thing from that which had been devised by its original author. It does not, however, appear that the Rosicrucians, as an organized society, made any stand in Germany. Descartes says that after strict search he could not find a single lodge in that country. But it extended, as we will presently see, into England, and there became identified as a mystical association.

It is strange what misapprehension, either willful or mistaken, has existed in respect to the relations of Andreä to Rosicrucianism. We have no more right or reason to attribute the detection of such

[1] "Hours with the Mystics," vol. ii., p. 103.

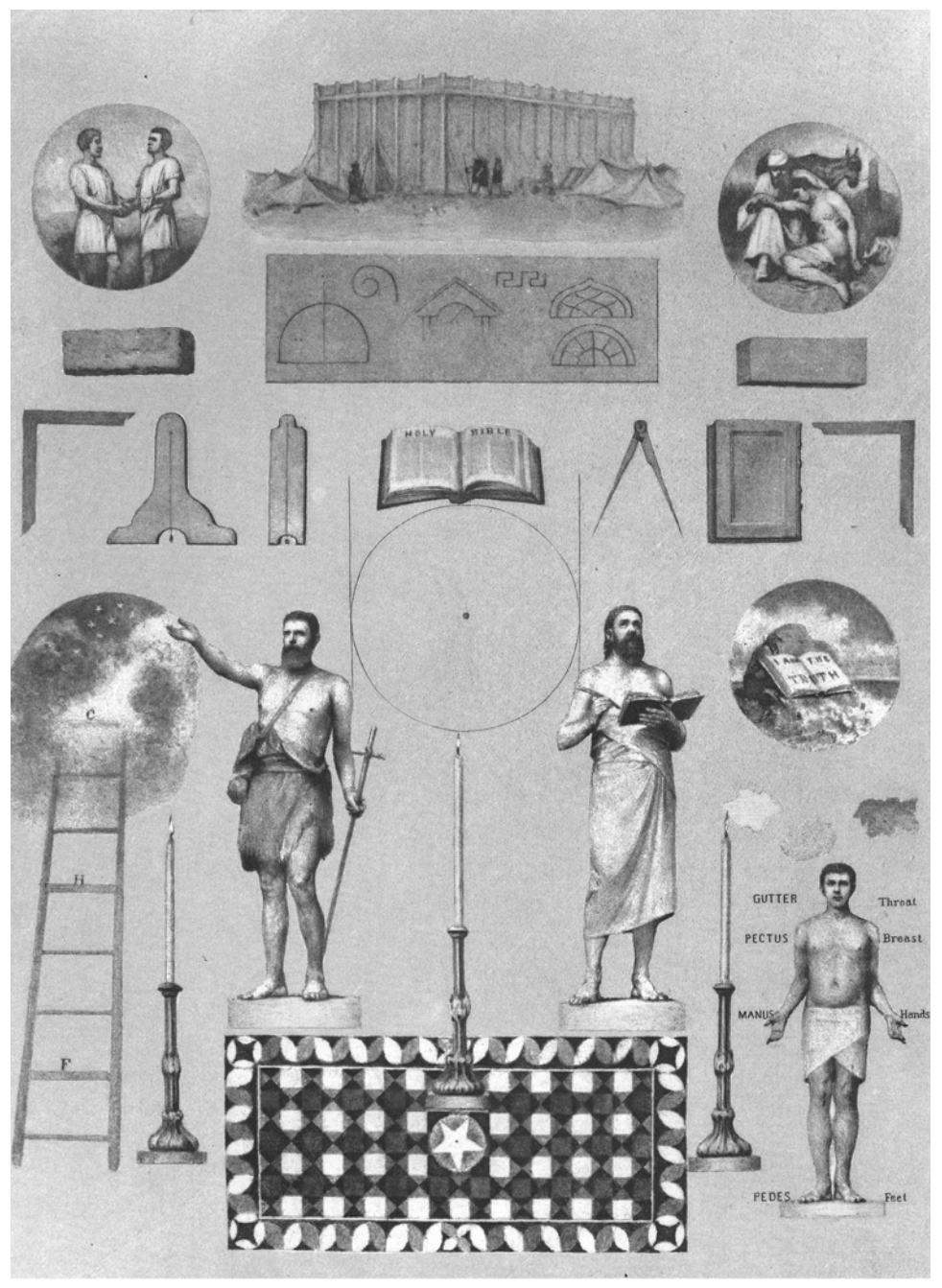
a sect to the German theologian than we have to ascribe the discovery of the republic of Utopia to Sir Thomas More, or of the island of Bensalem to Lord Bacon. In each of these instances a fiction was invented on which the author might impose his philosophical or political thoughts, with no dream that readers would take that for fact which was merely intended for fiction.

And yet Rhigellini, in his *Masonry Considered as the Result of the Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian Religions,* while declining to express an opinion on the allegorical question, as if there might be a doubt on the subject, respects the legend as it had been given in the *Fama,* and asserting that on the return of Rosencreutz to Germany "he instituted secret societies with an initiation that resembled that of the early Christians."[1] He antedates the *Chemical Nuptials* of Andreä a century and a half, ascribes the authorship of that work to Christian Rosencreutz, as if he were a real personage, and thinks that he established, in 1459, the Rite of the Theosophists, the earliest branch of the Rose Croix, or the Rosicrucians; for the French make no distinction in the two words, though in history they are entirely different. History written in this way is worse than fable—it is an *ignis fatuus* which can only lead astray. And yet this is the method in which Masonic history has too often been treated.

Nicolai, although the deductions by which he connects Freemasonry with Rosicrucianism are wholly untenable, is yet, in his treatment of the latter, more honest or less ignorant. He adopts the correct view when he says that the *Fama Fraternitatis* only announced a general reformation and exhorted all wise men to unite in a proposed society for the purpose of removing corruption and restoring wisdom. He commends it as a charming vision, full of poesy and imagination, but of a singular extravagance very common in the writings of that age. And he notes the fact that while the Alchemists have sought in that work for the secrets of their mysteries, it really contains the gravest satire on their absurd pretensions.

The *Fama Fraternitatis* had undoubtedly excited the curiosity of the Mystics, who abounded in Germany at the time of its appearance, of whom not the least prominent were the Alchemists. These, having sought in vain for the invisible society of the Rosicrucians, as it had been described in the romance of Andreä, resolved to form

[1] "La Maçonnerie considerée comme le resultat des Religions Egyptienne, Juive et Chrétienne," L. iii., p. 108.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such a society for themselves. But, to the disappointment and the displeasure of the author of the *Fama,* they neglected or postponed the moral reformation which he had sought, and substituted the visionary schemes of the Alchemists, a body of quasi-philosophers who assigned their origin as students of nature and seekers of the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality to a very remote period.

Thus it is that I trace the origin of the Rosicrucians, not to Valentin Andreä, nor to Christian Rosencreutz, who was only the coinage of his brain, but to the influence exerted by him upon certain Mystics and Alchemists who, whether they accepted the legend of Rosencreutz as a fiction or as a verity, at least made diligent use of it in the establishment of their new society.

I am not, therefore, disposed to doubt the statement of L. C. Orvius, as cited by Nicolai, that in 1622 there was a society of Alchemists at The Hague, who called themselves Rosicrucians and claimed Rosencreutz as their founder.

Michael Maier, the physician of the Emperor Rudolf IL, devoted himself in the early part of the 17th century to the pursuits of alchemy, and, having adopted the mystical views of the Rosicrucians, is said to have introduced that society into England. Maier was the author of many works in Latin in defense and in explanation of the Rosicrucian system. Among them was an epistle addressed "To all lovers of true chemistry throughout Germany, and especially to that Order which has hitherto lain concealed, but is now probably made known by the Report of the Fraternity (*Fama Fraternitatis*) and their admirable Confession."[1] In this work he uses the following language:

"What is contained in the 'Fama' and 'confessio' is true. It is a very childish objection that the brotherhood have promised so much and performed so little. The Masters of the Order hold out the Rose as a remote reward, but they impose the Cross on all who are entering. Like the Pythagoreans and the Egyptians, the Rosicrucians extract vows of silence and secrecy. Ignorant men have treated the whole as a fiction; but this has arisen from the probation of five years to which they subject even well qualified novices,

[1] "Omnibus veræ chymiæ Amantibus per Germaniam, et preciperè illi Ordini adhue delitescenti, at Fama Fraternitatis et confessione suâ admiranda et probabile manifestato."

before they are admitted to the higher mysteries, and within that period they are taught how to govern their own tongues!"

Although Maier died in 1622, it appears that he had lived long enough to take part in the organization of the Rosicrucian sect, which had been formed out of the suggestions of Andreä. His views on this subject were, however, peculiar and different from those of most of the new disciples. He denied that the Order had derived either its origin or its name from the person called Rosencreutz. He says that the founder of the society, having given his disciples the letters R. C. as a sign of their fraternity, they improperly made out of them the words *Rose* and *Cross.* But these heterodox opinions were not accepted by the Rosicrucians in general, who still adhered to Andreä's legend as the source and the signification of their Order.

At one time Maier went to England, where he became intimately acquainted with Dr. Robert Fludd, the most famous as well as the earliest of the English Rosicrucians.

Robert Fludd was a physician of London, who was born in 1574 and died in 1637. He was a zealous student of alchemy, theosophy, and every other branch of mysticism, and wrote in defense of Rosicrucianism, of which sect he was an active member. Among his earliest works is one published in 1616 under the title of *A Compendious Apology clearing the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross from the stains of suspicion and infamy cast upon them*.[1]

There is much doubt whether Maier communicated the system of Rosicrucianism to Fludd or whether Fludd had already received it from Germany before the visit of Maier. The only authority for the former statement is De Quincey (a most unreliable one), and the date of Fludd's *Apology* militates against it.

Fludd's explanation of the name of the sect differs from that of both Andreä and Maier. It is, he says, to be taken in a figurative sense, and alludes to the cross dyed with the blood of Christ. In this explanation he approaches very nearly to the idea entertained by the members of the modern Rose Croix degree.

No matter who was the missionary that brought it over, it is very certain that Rosicrucianism was introduced from Germany, its birth-

[1] "Apologia Compendiaria, Fraternitatem de Rosea Cruce suspicionis et infamiæ maculis aspersum abluens."

place, into England at a very early period of the 17th century, and it is equally certain that after its introduction it flourished, though an exotic, with more vigor than it ever had in its native soil.

That there were in that century, and even in the beginning of the succeeding one, mystical initiations wholly unconnected with Freemasonry, but openly professing a Hermetic or Rosicrucian character and origin, may very readily be supposed from existing documents. It is a misfortune that such authors as Buhle, Nicolai, and Rhigellini, with many others, to say nothing of such non-masonic writers as Sloane and De Quincey, who were necessarily mere sciolists in all Masonic studies, should have confounded the two institutions, and, because both were mystical, and one appeared to follow (although it really did not) the other in point of time, should have proclaimed the theory (wholly untenable) that Free-masonry is indebted for its origin to Rosicrucianism.

The writings of Lilly and Ashmole, both learned men for the age in which they lived, prove the existence of a mystical philosophy in England in the 17th century, in which each of them was a partic-ipant. The Astrologers, who were deeply imbued with the Hermetic philosophy, held their social meetings for mutual instruction and their annual feasts, and Ashmole gives hints of his initiation into what I suppose to have been alchemical or Rosicrucian wisdom by one whom he reverently calls "Father Backhouse."

But we have the clearest documentary testimony of the existence of a Hermetic degree or system at the beginning of the 18th cen-tury, and about the time of what is called the Revival of Masonry in England, by the establishment of the Grand Lodge at London, and which, from other undoubted testimony, we know were not Masonic. This testimony is found in a rare work, some portions of whose contents, in reference to this subject, are well worthy of a careful review.

In the year 1722 there was published in London a work in small octavo bearing the following title:[1]

"Long Livers: A curious History of such Persons of both Sexes who have liv'd several Ages and grown Young again: With the rare Secret of Rejuvenescency of Arnoldus de Villa Nova. And

[1] A copy of this work, and, most probably, the only one in this country, is in the valuable library of Bro. Carson, of Cincinnati, and to it I am indebted for the extracts that I have made.

a great many approv'd and invaluable Rules to prolong Life: Also how to prepare the Universal Medicine. Most humbly dedicated to the Grand Master, Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of the FREE MASONS of Great Britain and Ireland. By Eugenius Philalethes, F.R.S., Author of the Treatise of the Plague. *Viri Fratres audite me.* Act. xv. 13. *Diligite Fraternitatem timete Deum honor aie Regem.* I. Pet. ii. 17. LONDON. Printed for J. Holland, at the Bible and Ball, in St. Paul's Church Yard, and L. Stokoe, at Charing Cross, 1722." pp. 64-199.

Eugenius Philalethes was the pseudonym of Thomas Vaughn, a celebrated Rosicrucian of the 17th century, who published, in 1652, a translation of the *Fama Fraternitatis* into English. But, as he was born in 1612, it is not to be supposed that he wrote the present work. It is, however, not very important to identify this second Philalethes. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that it is a Hermetic treatise written by a Rosicrucian, of which the title alone—the references to the renewal of youth, one of the Rosicrucian secrets, to the recipe of the great Rosicrucian Villa Nova, or Arnold de Villaneuve, and to the Universal Medicine, the Rosicrucian Elixir Vitse—would be sufficient evidence. But the only matter of interest in connection. with the present subject is that this Hermetic work, written, or at least printed, in 1722, one year before the publication of the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions,* refers explicitly to the existence of a higher initiation than that of the Craft degrees, which the author seeks to interweave in the Masonic system.

This is evidently shown in portions of the dedication, which is inscribed to "the Grand Master, Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Most Ancient and Most Honorable Fraternity of the Free Masons of Great Britain and Ireland"; and it is dedicated to them by their "Brother Eugenius Philalethes." This fraternal subscription shows that he was a Freemason as well as a Rosicrucian, and therefore must have been acquainted with both systems.

The important fact, in this dedication, is that the writer alludes, in language that can not be mistaken, to a certain higher degree, or to a more exalted initiation, to the attainment of which the primitive degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry were preparatory. Thus he says, addressing the Freemasons:

"I present you with the following sheets, as belonging more

properly to you than any else. But what I here say, those of you who are not far illuminated, who stand in the outward place and are not worthy to look behind the veil, may find no disagreeable or unprofitable entertainment; and those who are so happy as to have greater light, will discover under these shadows, somewhat truly great and noble and worthy the serious attention of a genius the most elevated and sublime—the spiritual, celestial cube, the only true, solid, and immovable basis and foundation of all knowledge, peace, and happiness." (Page iv.)

Another passage will show that the writer was not only thoroughly acquainted with the religious, philosophical, and symbolic character of the institution, but that he wrote evidently under the impression (rather I should say the knowledge) that at that day others besides himself had sought to connect Freemasonry with Rosicrucianism. He says:

"Remember that you are the salt of the earth, the light of the world, and the fire of the universe. Ye are living stones, built up a spiritual house, who believe and rely on the chief *Lapis Angularis,* which the refractory and disobedient builders disallowed; you are called from darkness to light; you are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood."

Here the symbolism is Masonic, but it is also Rosicrucian. The Masons had derived their symbol of the STONE from the metaphor of the Apostle, and like him had given it a spiritual signification. The Rosicrucians had also the *Stone* as their most important symbol. "Now," says one of them, "in this discourse will I manifest to thee the natural condition of the Stone of the Philosophers, apparelled with a triple garment, even this Stone of Riches and Charity, the Stone of Relief from Languishment—in which is contained every secret; being a Divine Mystery and Gift of God, than which there is nothing more sublime."[1]

It was natural that a Rosicrucian, in addressing Freemasons, should refer to a symbol common to both, though each derived its interpretation through a different channel.

In another passage he refers to the seven liberal arts, of which he calls Astronomy "the grandest and most sublime." This was the

[1] Dialogue of Arislaus in the Alchemist's Enchiridion, 1672. Quoted by Hitchcock in his "Alchemy and the Alchemists," p. 39.

Rosicrucian doctrine. In that of the Freemasons the precedency is given to Geometry. Here we find a difference between the two institutions which proves their separate and independent existence. Still more important differences will be found in the following passages, which, while they intimate a higher degree, show that it was a Hermetic one, which, however, the Rosicrucian writer was willing to ingraft on Freemasonry. He says:

"And now, my Brethren, *you of the higher class* (note that he does not call it a degree), permit me a few words, since you are but few; and these few words I shall speak to you in riddles, because to you it is given to know those mysteries which are hidden from the unworthy.

"Have you not seen then, my dearest Brethren, that stupendous bath, filled with the most limpid water, than which no pure can be purer, of such admirable mechanism, that makes even the greatest philosopher gaze with wonder and astonishment, and is the subject of the contemplation of the wisest men. Its form is a quadrate sublimely placed on six others, blazing all with celestial jewels, each angularly supported with four lions. Here repose our mighty King and Queen, (I speak foolishly, I am not worthy to be of you), the King shining in his glorious apparel of transparent, incorruptible gold, beset with living sapphires; he is fair and ruddy, and feeds among the lilies; his eyes, two carbuncles, the most brilliant, darting prolific never-dying fires; and his large, flowing hair, blacker than the deepest black or plumage of the long-lived crow; his royal consort vested in tissue of immortal silver, watered with emeralds, pearl and coral. O mystical union! O admirable commerce!

"Cast now your eyes to the basis of this celestial structure, and you will discover just before it a large basin of porphyrian marble, receiving from the mouth of a large lion's head, to which two bodies displayed on each side of it are conjoined, a greenish fountain of liquid jasper. Ponder this well and consider. Haunt no more the woods and forests; (I speak as a fool) haunt no more the fleet; let the flying eagle fly unobserved; busy yourselves no longer with the dancing idiot, swollen toads, and his own tail-devouring dragon; leave these as elements to your *Tyrones.*

"The object of your wishes and desires (some of you may, perhaps, have attained it, I speak as a fool), is that admirable thing which has a substance, neither too fiery nor altogether earthy, nor

simply watery; neither a quality the most acute or most obtuse, but of a middle nature, and light to the touch, and in some manner soft, at least not hard, not having asperity, but even in some sort sweet to the taste, odorous to the smell, grateful to the sight, agreeable and delectable to the hearing, and pleasant to the thought; in short, that one only thing besides which there is no other, and yet everywhere possible to be found, the blessed and most sacred subject of the square of wise men, that is ... I had almost blabbed it out and been sacrilegiously perjured. I shall therefore speak of it with a circumlocution yet more dark and obscure, that none but the Sons of Science and those who are illuminated with the sublimest mysteries and profoundest secrets of MASONRY may understand. . . . It is then what brings you, my dearest Brethren, to that pellucid, diaphanous palace of the true disinterested lovers of wisdom, that triumphant pyramid of purple salt, more sparkling and radiant than the finest Orient ruby, in the center of which reposes inaccessible light epitomized, that incorruptible celestial fire, blazing like burning crystal, and brighter than the sun in his full meridian glories, which is that immortal, eternal, never-dying PYROPUS; the King of genius, whence proceeds everything that is great and wise and happy.

"These things are deeply hidden from common view, and covered with pavilions of thickest darkness, that what is sacred may not be given to dogs or your pearls cast before swine, lest they trample them under foot, and turn again and rend you."

All this is Rosicrucian thought and phraseology. Its counterpart may be found in the writings of any of the Hermetic philosophers. But it is not Freemasonry and could be understood by no Freemason relying for his comprehension only on the teaching he had received in his own Order. It is the language of a Rosicrucian adept addressed to other adepts, who like himself had united with the Fraternity of Freemasons, that they might out of its select coterie choose the most mystical and therefore the most suitable candidates to elevate them to the higher mysteries of their own brotherhood.

That Philalethes and his brother Rosicrucians entertained an opinion of the true character of Speculative Masonry very different from that taught by its founders is evident from other passages of this Dedication. Unlike Anderson, Desaguliers, and the writers purely

Masonic who succeeded them, the author of the Dedication establishes no connection between Architecture and Freemasonry. Indeed it is somewhat singular that although he names both David and Solomon in the course of his narrative, it is with little respect, especially for the latter, and he does not refer, even by a single word, to the Temple of Jerusalem. The Freemasonry of this writer is not architectural, but altogether theosophic. It is evident that as a Hermetic philosopher he sought to identify the Freemasons with the disciples of the Rosicrucian sect rather than with the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages. This is a point of much interest in the discussion of the question of a connection between the two associations, considering that this work was published only five years after the revival. It tends to show, not that Freemasonry was established by the Rosicrucians, but, on the contrary, that at that early period the latter were seeking to ingraft themselves upon the former, and that while they were willing to use the simple degrees of Craft Masonry as a nucleus for the growth of their own fraternity, they looked upon them only as the medium of securing a higher initiation, altogether unmasonic in its character and to which but few Masons ever attained.

Neither Anderson nor Desaguliers, our best because contemporary authority for the state of Masonry in the beginning of the 18th century, give the slightest indication that there was in their day a higher Masonry than that described in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723. The Hermetic element was evidently not introduced into Speculative Masonry until the middle of the 18th century, when it was infused in a fragmentary form into some of the High Degrees which were at that time fabricated by certain of the Continental manufacturers of Rites.

But if, as Eugenius Philalethes plainly indicates, there were in the year 1721 higher degrees, or at least a higher degree, attached to the Masonic system and claimed to be a part of it, which possessed mystical knowledge that was concealed from the great body of the Craft, "who were not far illuminated, who stood in the outward place and were not worthy to look behind the veil"—by which it is clearly implied that there was another class of initiates *who were far illuminated, who stood within the inner place and looked behind the veil*—then the question forces itself upon us, why is it that neither Anderson nor Desaguliers nor any of the writers of that

period, nor any of the rituals, make any allusion to this higher and more illuminated system?

The answer is readily at hand. It is because no such system of initiation, so far as Freemasonry was concerned, existed. The Master's degree was at that day the consummation and perfection of Speculative Masonry. There was nothing above or beyond it. The Rosicrucians, who, especially in their astrological branch, were then in full force in England, had, as we see from this book, their own initiation into their Hermetic and theosophic system. Freemasonry then beginning to become popular and being also a mystical society, these mystical brethren of the Rosy Cross were ready to enter within its portals and to take advantage of its organization. But they soon sought to discriminate between their own perfect wisdom and the imperfect knowledge of their brother Masons, and, Rosicrucian-like, spoke of an arcana which they only possessed. There were some Rosicrucians who, like Philalethes, became Freemasons, and some Freemasons, like Elias Ashmole, who became Rosicrucians.

But there was no legitimate derivation of one from the other. There is no similarity between the two systems—their origin is different; their symbols, though sometimes identical, have always a different interpretation; and it would be an impossible task to deduce the one historically from the other.

Yet there are not wanting scholars whose judgment on other matters has not been deficient, who have not hesitated to trace Freemasonry to a Rosicrucian source. Some of these, as Buhle, De Quincey, and Sloane, were not Freemasons, and we can easily ascribe their historical errors to their want of knowledge, but such writers as Nicolai and Reghellini have no such excuse for the fallacy of which they have been guilty.

Johann Gottlieb Buhle was among the first to advance the hypothesis that Freemasonry was an offshoot of Rosicrucianism. This he did in a work entitled *On the Origin and the Principal Events of the Orders of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry?* published in 1804. His theory was that Freemasonry was invented in the year 1629, by John Valentin Andreä, and hence that it sprang out of the

[1] "Uber den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schicksale des Ordens der Rosenkreuteen und Freimaurer."

Rosicrucian system or fiction which was the fabrication of that writer. His fallacious views and numerous inaccuracies met with many refutations at the time, besides those of Nicolai, produced in the work which has been heretofore cited. Even De Quincey himself, a bitter but flippant adversary of Freemasonry, and who translated, or rather paraphrased, the views of Buhle, does not hesitate to brand him as illogical in his reasoning and confused in his arrangement.

Yet both Nicolai and De Quincey have advanced almost the same hypothesis, though that of the former is considerably modified in its conclusions.

The flippancy and egotism of De Quincey, with his complete ignorance as a profane, of the true elements of the Masonic institution, hardly entitle his arguments to a serious criticism. His theory and his self-styled facts may be epitomized as follows:

He thinks that the Rosicrucians were attracted to the Operative Masons by the incidents, attributes, and legends of the latter, and that thus the two Orders were brought into some connection with each other. The same building that was used by the guild of Masons offered a desirable means for the secret assemblies of the early Freemasons, who, of course, were Rosicrucians. An apparatus of implements and utensils, such as was presented in the fabulous sepulcher of Father Rosencreutz, was introduced, and the first formal and solemn Lodge of Freemasons, on which occasion the name of Freemasons was publicly made known, was held in Masons' Hall, Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street, London, in the year 1646. Into this Lodge he tells us that Elias Ashmole was admitted. Private meetings, he says, may have been held, and one at Warrington in Lancashire, which is mentioned in Ashmole's Life, but the name of a Freemasons' Lodge, with the insignia, attributes, and circumstances of a Lodge, first, he assures us, came forward at the date above mentioned.

All of this, he tells us, is upon record, and thus refers to historical testimony, though he does not tell us where it is to be found. Now, all these statements we know, from authentic records, to be false. Ashmole is our authority, and he is the very best authority, because he was an eye-witness and a personal actor in the occurrences which he records.

It has already been seen, by the extracts heretofore given from Ashmole's diary, that there is no record of a Lodge held in 1646 at

Masons' Hall; that the Lodge was held, with all "the attributes and circumstances of a Lodge," at Warrington; that Ashmole was then and there initiated as a Freemason, and not at London; and finally, that the record of the Lodge held at Masons' Hall, London, which is made by the same Ashmole, was in 1683 and not in 1646, or thirty-five years afterward.

An historian who thus falsifies records to sustain a theory is not entitled to the respectful attention of a serious argument. And so De Quincey may be dismissed for what he is worth. I do not concede to him the excuse of ignorance, for he evidently must have had Ashmole's diary under his eyes, and his misquotations could only have been made in bad faith.

Nicolai is more honorable in his mode of treating the question. He does not attribute the use of Freemasonry directly and immediately from the Rosicrucian brotherhood. But he thinks that its mystical theosophy was the cause of the outspring of many other mystical associations, such as the Theosophists, and that, passing over into England, it met with the experimental philosophy of Bacon, as developed especially in his *New Atlantis,* and that the combined influence of the two, the esoteric principles of the one and the experimental doctrines of the other, together with the existence of certain political motives, led to a meeting of philosophers who established the system of Freemasonry at Masons' Hall in 1646. He does not explicitly say so, but it is evident from the names that he gives that these philosophers were Astrologers, who were only a sect of the Rosicrucians devoted to a specialty.

The theory and the arguments of Nicolai have already been considered in the preceding chapter of this work, and need no further discussion here.

The views of Rhigellini are based on the book of Nicolai, and differ from them only in being, from his Gallic ignorance of English history, a little more inaccurate. The views of Rhigellini have already been referred to on a preceding page.

And now we meet with another theorist, who is scarcely more respectful or less flippant than De Quincey, and who, not being a Freemason, labors under the disadvantage of an incorrect knowledge of the principles of the Order. Besides we can expect but little accuracy from one who quotes as authentic history the spurious Leland Manuscript.

Mr. George Sloane, in a very readable book published in London in 1849, under the title of *New Curiosities of Literature,* has a very long article in his second volume on *The Rosicrucians and Freemasons.* Adopting the theory that the latter are derived from the former, he contends, from what he calls proofs, but which are no proofs at all, that "the Freemasons are not anterior to the Rosicrucians; and their principles, so far as they were avowed about the middle of the 17th century, being identical, *it is fair to presume* that the Freemasons were, in reality, the first incorporated body of Rosicrucians or Sapientes."

As he admits that this is but a presumption, and as presumptions are not facts, it is hardly necessary to occupy any time in its discussion.

But he proceeds to confirm his presumption, in the following way.

"In the *Fama* of Andrea," he says, "we have the first sketch of a constitution which bound by oath the members to mutual secrecy, which proposed higher and lower grades, yet leveled all worldly distinctions in the common bonds of brotherhood, and which opened its privileges to all classes, making only purity of mind and purpose the condition of reception."

This is not correct. Long before the publication of the *Fama Fraternitatis* there were many secret associations in the Middle Ages, to say nothing of the Mysteries of antiquity, in which such constitutions prevailed, enjoining secrecy under the severest penalties, dividing their system of esoteric instruction into different grades, establishing a bond of brotherhood, and always making purity of life and rectitude of conduct the indispensable qualifications for admission. Freemasonry needed not to seek the model of such a constitution from the Rosicrucians.

Another argument advanced by Mr. Sloane is this:

"The emblems of the two brotherhoods are the same in every respect—the plummet, the level, the compasses, the cross, the rose, and all the symbolic trumpery which the Rosicrucians named in their writings as the insignia of their imaginary associations, and which they also would have persuaded a credulous world concealed truths ineffable by mere language; both, too, derived their wisdom from Adam, adopted the same myth of building, connected themselves in the same unintelligible way with Solomon's Temple, af-

fected to be seeking *light from the East*—in other words, the Cabala—and accepted the heathen Pythagoras among their adepts."

In this long passage there are almost as many errors and misstatements as there are lines. The emblems of the two Orders were not the same in any respect. The square and compasses were not ordinary nor usual Rosicrucian emblems. In one instance, in a plate in the *Azoth Philosophorum* of Basil Valentine, published in the 17th century, we will, it is true, find these implements forming part of a Rosicrucian figure, but they are there evidently used as phallic symbols, a meaning never attached to them in Freemasonry, whose interpretation of them is derived from their operative use. Besides, we know, from a relic discovered near Limerick, in Ireland, that the square and the level were used by the Operative Masons as emblems in the 16th or, perhaps, the 15th century, with the same signification that is given to them by the Freemasons of the present day. The Speculative Masons derived nearly all of their symbols from the implements and the language of the Operative art; the Rosicrucians took theirs from astronomical and geometrical problems, and were connected in their interpretations with a system of theosophy and not with the art of building. The cross and the rose, referred to by Mr. Sloane, never were at any time, not even at the present day, emblems recognized in Craft Masonry, and were introduced into such of the High Degrees fabricated about the middle of the 18th century as had in them a Rosicrucian element. Again, the Rosicrucians had nothing to do with the Temple of Solomon. Their "invisible house," or their Temple, or "House of the Holy Ghost," was a religious and philosophic idea, much more intimately connected with Lord Bacon's House of Solomon in the Island of Bensalem than it was with the Temple of Jerusalem. And, finally, the early Freemasons, like their successors of the present day, in "seeking light from the East," intended no reference to the Cabala, which is never mentioned in any of their primitive rituals, but alluded to the East as the source of physical light—the place of sunrising, which they adopted as a symbol of intellectual and moral light. It would, indeed, be easier to prove from their symbols that the first Speculative Masons were sun-worshippers than that they were Rosicrucians, though neither hypothesis would be correct.

If any one will take the trouble of toiling through the three books of Cornelius Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy,* which may be

considered as the text-book of the old Rosicrucian philosophy, he will see how little there is in common between Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry. The one is a mystical system founded on the Cabala; the other the outgrowth of a very natural interpretation of symbols derived from the usages and the implements of an operative art. The Rosicrucians were theosophists, whose doctrines were of angels and demons, of the elements, of the heavenly bodies and their influence on the affairs of men, and of the magical powers of numbers, of suffumigations, and other sorceries.

The Alchemists, who have been called "physical Rosicrucians," adopted the metals and their transmutation, the elixir of life, and their universal solvent, as symbols, if we may believe Hitchcock,[1] by which they concealed the purest dogmas of a religious life.

But Freemasonry has not and never had anything of this kind in its system. Its founders were, as we will see when we come to the historical part of this work, builders, whose symbols, applied in their architecture, were of a religious and Christian character; and when their successors made this building fraternity a speculative association, they borrowed the symbols by which they sought to teach their philosophy, not from Rosicrucianism, not from magic, nor from the Cabala, but from the art to which they owed their origin. Every part of Speculative Masonry proves that it could not have been derived from Rosicrucianism. The two Orders had in common but one thing—they both had secrets which they scrupulously preserved from the unhallowed gaze of the profane.

Andreä sought, it is true, in his *Fama Fraternitatis,* to elevate Rosicrucianism to a more practical and useful character, and to make it a vehicle for moral and intellectual reform. But even his system, which was the only one that could have exerted any influence on the English philosophers, is so thoroughly at variance in its principles from that of the Freemasonry of the 17th century, that a union of the two, or the derivation of one from the other, must have been utterly impracticable.

It has been said that when Henry Cornelius Agrippa was in London, in the year 1510, he founded a secret society of Rosicrucians. This is possible, although, during his brief visit to London, Agrippa was the guest of the learned Dean Colet, and spent his time with his

[1] "Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists," *passim*.

host in the study of the works of the Apostle to the Gentiles. "I labored hard," he says himself, "at the Epistles of St. Paul." Still he may have found time to organize a society of Rosicrucians. In the beginning of the 16th century secret societies "chiefly composed," says Mr. Morley, "of curious and learned youths had become numerous, especially among the Germans, and towards the close of that century these secret societies were developed into the form of brotherhoods of Rosicrucians, each member of which gloried in styling himself Physician, Theosophist, Chemist, and now, by the mercy of God, Rosicrucian."[1]

But to say of this society, established by Agrippa in England in 1510 (if one was actually established), as has been said by a writer of the last century, that "this practice of initiation, or secret incorporation, thus and then first introduced has been handed down to our own times, and hence, apparently, the mysterious Eleusinian confederacies now known as the Lodges of Freemasonry,"[2] is to make an assertion that is neither sustained by historical testimony nor supported by any chain of reasoning or probability.

I have said that while the hypothesis that Freemasonry was originally derived from Rosicrucianism, and that its founders were the English Rosicrucians in the 17th century, is wholly untenable, there is no doubt that at a later period, a century after this, its supposed origin, a Rosicrucian element, was very largely diffused in the *Hautes Grades* or High Degrees which were invented on the continent of Europe about the middle of the 18th century.

This subject belongs more appropriately to the domain of history than to that of legend, but its consideration will bring us so closely into connection with the Rosicrucian or Hermetic philosophy that I have thought that it would be more convenient not to dissever the two topics, but to make it the subject of the next chapter.

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[1] "The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Netteshuri," by Henry Morley, voL i., p. 58.

[2] *Monthly Review,* London, 1798, vol. xxv., p. 30.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ROSICRUCIANISM OF THE HIGH DEGREES

THE history of the High Degrees of Masonry begins with the inventions of the Chevalier Michael Ramsay, who about the year 1728 fabricated three which he called Ecossais, Novice, and Knight Templar. But the inventions of Ramsay had nothing in them of a Rosicrucian character. They were intended by him to support his hypothesis that Freemasonry originated in the Crusades, and that the first Freemasons were Templars. His degrees were therefore not philosophic but chivalric. The rite-manufacturers who succeeded him, followed for the most part in his footsteps, and the degrees that were subsequently invented partook of the chivalric and military character, so that the title of "Chevalier" or "Knight," unknown to the early Freemasons, became in time so common as to form the designation in connection with another noun of most of the new degrees. Thus we find in old and disused Rites, as well as in those still existing, such titles as "Knight of the Sword," "Knight of the Eagle," "Knight of the Brazen Serpent," and so many more that Ragon, in his *Nomenclature,* furnishes us with no less than two hundred and ninety-two degrees of Masonic Knighthood, without having exhausted the catalogue.

But it was not until long after the Masonic labors of Ramsay had ceased that the element of Hermetic philosophy began to intrude itself into still newer degrees.

Among the first to whom we are to ascribe the responsibility of this novel infusion is a Frenchman named Antoine Joseph Pernelty, who was born in 1716 and died in 1800, having passed, therefore, the most active and vigorous portion of his life in the midst of that flood of Masonic novelties which about the middle quarters of the 18th century inundated the continent of Europe and more especially the kingdom of France.

Pernelty was at first a Benedictine monk, but, having at the age of forty-nine obtained a dispensation from his vows, he removed from Paris to Berlin, where for a short time he served Frederick the Great as his librarian. Returning to Paris, he studied and became infected with the mystical doctrines of Swedenborg, and published a translation of one of the most important of his works. He then repaired to Avignon, where he established a new Rite, which, on its transferrence to Montpellier, received the name of the "Academy of True Masons." Into this Rite it may well be supposed that he introduced much of the theosophic mysticism of the Swedish sage, in parts of which there is a very strong analogy to Rosicrucianism, or at least to the Hermetic Doctrines of the Rosicrucians. It will be remembered that the late General Hitchcock, who was learned on mystical topics, wrote a book to prove that Swedenborg was a Hermetic philosopher; and the arguments that he advances are not easily to be confuted.

But Pernelty was not a Swedenborgian only. He was a man of multifarious reading and had devoted his studies, among other branches of learning, to theology, philosophy, and the mathematical sciences. The appetite for a mystical theology, which had led him to the study and the adoption of the views of Swedenborg, would scarcely permit him to escape the still more appetizing study of the Hermetic philosophers.

Accordingly we find him inventing other degrees, and among them one, the "Knight of the Sun," which is in its original ritual a mere condensation of Rosicrucian doctrines, especially as developed in the alchemical branch of Rosicrucianism.

There is not in the wide compass of Masonic degrees, one more emphatically Rosicrucian than this. The reference in its ritual to Sylphs, one of the four elementary spirits of the Rosicrucians; to the seven angels which formed a part of the Rosicrucian hierarchy; the dialogue between Father Adam and Truth in which the doctrines of Alchemy and the Cabala are discussed in the search of man for theosophic truth, and the adoption as its principal word of recognition of that which in the Rosicrucian system was deemed the primal matter of all things, are all sufficient to prove the Hermetic spirit which governed the founder of the degree in its fabrication.

There have been many other degrees, most of which are now obsolete, whose very names openly indicate their Hermetic origin.

Such are the "Hermetic Knight," the "Adept of the Eagle" (the word *adept* being technically used to designate an expert Rosicrucian), the "Grand Hermetic Chancellor," and the "Philosophic Cabalist." The list might be increased by fifty more, at least, were time and space convenient. There have been whole rites fabricated on the basis of the Rosicrucian or Hermetic philosophy, such as the "Rite of Philalethes," the "Hermetic Rite," and the "Rite of Illuminated Theosophists," invented in 1767 by Benedict Chartanier, who united in it the notions of the Hermetic philosophy and the reveries of Swedenborg. Gadicke tells us also, in his *Freimaurer-Lexicon,* of a so-called Masonic system which was introduced by the Marquis of Lernais into Berlin in 1758, the objects of which were the Hermetic arcana and the philosopher's stone.

But the Hermetic degree which to the present day has exercised the greatest influence upon the higher grades of Masonry is that of the Rose Croix. This name was given to it by the French, and it must be noticed that in the French language no distinction has ever been made between the *Rosenkreutzer* and *Rose Croix;* or, rather, the French writers have always translated the *Rosenkreutzer* of the German and the *Rosicrucian* of the English by their own words *Rose Croix,* and to this philological inaccuracy is to be traced an historical error of some importance, to be soon adverted to.

The first that we hear in history of a Rosicrucian Masonry, under that distinctive name, is about the middle of the 18th century.

The society to which I allude was known as the "Gold-und-Rosenkreutzer," or the "Golden Rosicrucians." We first find this title in a book published at Berlin, in 1714, by one Samuel Richter, under the assumed name of Sincerus Renatus, and with the title of *A True and Complete Preparation of the Philosopher s Stone by the Order of the Golden Rosicrucians.* In it is contained the laws of the brotherhood, which Findel thinks bear unmistakable evidence of Jesuitical intervention.

The book of Richter describes a society which, if founded on the old Rosicrucians, differed essentially from them in its principles. Findel speaks of these "Golden Rosicrucians" as if originally formed on this work of Richter, and in the spirit of the Jesuits, to repress liberty of thought and the healthy development of the intellect. If formed at that early period, in the beginning of the 18th

century, it could not possibly have had a connection with Freemasonry.

But the Order, as an appendant to Masonry, was not really perfected until about the middle of the 18th century. Findel says after 1756. The Order consisted of nine degrees, all having Latin names, viz.: 1, Junior; 2, Theoreticus; 3, Practicus; 4, Philosophus; 5, Minor; 6, Major; 7, Adeptus; 8, Magister; 9, Magus. It based itself on the three primitive degrees of Freemasonry only as giving a right to entrance; it boasted of being descended from the ancient Rosicrucians, and of possessing all their secrets, and of being the only body that could give a true interpretation of the Masonic symbols, and it claimed, therefore, to be the head of the Order. There is no doubt that this brotherhood was a perfect instance of the influence sought to be cast, about the middle of the 18th century, upon Freemasonry by the doctrines of Rosicrucianism. The effort, however, to make it a Hermetic system failed. The Order of the Golden Rosicrucians, although for nearly half a century popular in Germany, and calling into its ranks many persons of high standing, at length began to decay, and finally died out, about the end of the last century.

Since that period we hear no more of Rosicrucian Masonry, except what is preserved in degrees like that of the Knight of the Sun and a few others, which are still retained in the catalogue of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

I have said that the translation of the word *Rosicrucian* by *Rose Croix* has been the source of an important historical error. This is the confounding of the French degree of "Rose Croix," or "Knight of the Eagle and Pelican," with Rosicrucianism, to which it has not the slightest affinity. Thus Dr. Oliver, when speaking of this degree, says that the earliest notice that he finds of it is in the *Fama Fraternitatis,* evidently showing that he deemed it to be of Rosicrucian origin.

The modern Rose Croix, which constitutes the summit of the French Rite, and is the eighteenth of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, besides being incorporated into several other Masonic systems, has not in its construction the slightest tinge of Rosicrucianism, nor is there in any part of its ritual, rightly interpreted, the faintest allusion to the Hermetic philosophy.

I speak of it, of course, as it appears in its original form. This

has been somewhat changed in later days. The French Masons, objecting to its sectarian character, substituted for it a modification which they have called the "Philosophic Rose Croix." In this they have given a Hermetic interpretation to the letters on the cross, an example that has elsewhere been more recently followed.

But the original Rose Croix, most probably first introduced to notice by Prince Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender," in the Primordial chapter which he established in 1747, at Arras, in France, was a purely Christian, if not a Catholic degree. Its most prominent symbols, the rose, the cross, the eagle, and the pelican, its ceremonies, and even its words and signs of recognition, bore allusion to Jesus Christ, the expounder of the new law, which was to take the place of the old law that had ceased to operate when "the veil of the temple was rent."

The Rose Croix, as we find it in its pure and uncorrupted ritual, was an attempt to apply the rites, symbols, and legends of the primitive degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry to the last and greatest dispensation; to add to the first temple of Solomon, and the second of Zerubbabel, a third, which is the one to which Christ alluded when he said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days will I raise it up "—an expression wholly incomprehensible by the ignorant populace who stood around him at the time, but the meaning of which is perfectly intelligible to the Rose Croix Mason who consults the original ritual of his degree.

In all this there is nothing alchemical, Hermetic, or Rosicrucian and it is a great error to suppose that there is anything but Christian philosophy in the degree as originally invented.

The name of the degree has undoubtedly led to the confusion in its history. But, in fact, the words "Rosa Crucis," common both to the ancient Rosicrucian philosophers and to the modern Rose Croix Masons, had in each a different meaning, and some have supposed a different derivation. In the latter the title has by many writers been thought to allude to the *vos,* or dew, which was deemed by the alchemists to be a powerful solvent of gold, and to *crux*, the cross, which was the chemical hieroglyphic of light. Mosheim says:

"The title of *Rosicrucians* evidently denotes the chemical philosophers and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chemistry. The denomination itself is drawn from the

science of chemistry; and they only who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words *rosa* and *crux*, which signify *rose* and *cross*, but of the latter of these words and the Latin word *ros,* which signifies *dew.* Of all natural bodies *dew* is the most powerful solvent of gold. The *cross*, in the chemical style, is equivalent to *light,* because the figure of the cross exhibits at the same time the three letters of which the word *lux,* i.e., *light,* is compounded. Now, *lux* is called by this sect the *seed* or *menstruum of the red dragon;* or, in other words, that gross and corporeal, when properly digested and modified, produces gold."[1]

Notwithstanding that this learned historian has declared that "all other explications of this term are false and chimerical," others more learned perhaps than he, in this especial subject, have differed from him in opinion, and trace the title to *rosa,* not to *ros.*

There is certainly a controversy about the derivation of *Rosicrucian* as applied to the Hermetic philosophers, but there is none whatever in reference to that of the Masonic *Rose Croix.* Everyone admits, because the admission is forced upon him by the ritual and the spirit of the degree, that the title comes from *rose* and *cross,* and that *rose* signifies Christ, and *cross* the instrument of his passion. In the Masonic degree, *Rose Croix* signifies *Christ on the cross,* a meaning that is carried out by the jewel, but one which is never attached to the rose and cross of the Rosicrucians, where *rose* most probably was the symbol of silence and secrecy, and the cross may have had either a Christian or a chemical application; most probably the latter.

Again, we see in the four most important symbols of the Rose Croix degree, as interpreted in the early rituals (at least in their spirit), the same Christian interpretation, entirely free from all taint of Rosicrucianism.

These symbols are the *eagle,* the *pelican,* the *rose,* and the *cross*, all of which are combined to form the beautiful and expressive jewel of the degree.

Thus the writer of the book of Exodus, in allusion to the be-

[1] Mosheim, "Ecclesiastical History," Maclane's Translation, cent. xvii., sec. i., voL iii., p. 436, note.

lief that the eagle assists its feeble younglings in their first flights by bearing them on its pinions, represents Jehovah as saying, "Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagle's wings and brought you unto myself." Hence, appropriating this idea, the Rose Croix Masons selected the eagle as a symbol of Christ in his divine character, bearing the children of his adoption in their upward course, and teaching them with unequalled love and tenderness to poise their unfledged wings, and soar from the dull corruptions of earth to a higher and holier sphere. And hence the eagle in the jewel is represented with expanded wings, as if ready for flight.

The pelican, "vulning herself and in her piety," as the heralds call it, is, says Mr. Sloane Evans, "a sacred emblem of great beauty and striking import, and the representation of it occurs not unfrequently among the ornaments of churches."[1] The allusion to Christ as a Saviour, shedding his blood for the sins of the world, is too evident to need explanation.

Of the rose and the cross I have already spoken. The rose is applied as a figurative appellation of Christ in only one passage of Scripture, where he is prophetically called the "rose of Sharon," but the flower was always accepted in the iconography of the church as one of his symbols. But the fact that in the jewel of the Rose Croix the blood-red rose appears attached to the center of the cross, as though crucified upon it, requires no profound knowledge of the science of symbolism to discover its meaning.

The cross was, it is true, a very ancient symbol of eternal life. especially among the Egyptians, but since the crucifixion it has been adopted by Christians as an emblem of him who suffered upon it. "The cross," says Didron, "is more than a mere figure of Christ; it is, in iconography, either Christ himself or his symbol." As such it is used in the Masonry of the Rose Croix.

It is evident, from these explanations, that the Rose Croix was, in its original conception, a purely Christian degree. There was no intention of its founders to borrow for its construction anything from occult philosophy, but simply to express in its symbolization a purely Christian sentiment.

I have, in what I have said, endeavored to show that while Rosi-

[1] "The Art of Blazon," p. 130.

crucianism had no concern, as has been alleged, with the origination of Freemasonry in the 17th century, yet that in the succeeding century, under various influences, especially, perhaps, the diffusion of the mystical doctrines of Swedenborg, a Hermetic or Rosicrucian element was infused into some of the High Degrees then newly fabricated. But the diffusion of that element went no farther; it never affected the pure Masonic system; and, with the few exceptions which I have mentioned, even these degrees have ceased to exist. Especially was it not connected with one of the most important and most popular of those degrees.

From the beginning of the 19th century Rosicrucianism has been dead to Masonry, as its exponent, the Hermetic philosophy, has been to literature. It has no life now, and we preserve its relics only as memorials of a past obscuration which the sunbeams of modern learning have dispersed.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PYTHAGOREANS AND FREEMASONRY

HE theory which ascribes, if not the actual origin of Freemasonry to Pythagoras, at least its introduction into Europe by him, through the school which he established at Crotona, in Italy, which was a favorite one among our early writers, may very properly be placed among the legends of the Order, since it wants all the requisites of historical authority for its support.

The notion was most probably derived from what has been called the Leland Manuscript, because it is said to have been found in the Bodleian Library, in the handwriting of that celebrated antiquary. The author of the *Life of Leland* gives this account of the manuscript:

"The original is said to be the handwriting of King Henry VI. and copied by Leland by order of his highness, King Henry VIII. If the authenticity of this ancient monument of literature remains unquestioned, it demands particular notice in the present publication, on account of the singularity of the subject, and no less from a due regard to the royal writer and our author, his transcriber, indefatigable in every part of literature. It will also be admitted, acknowledgment is due to the learned Mr. Locke, who, amidst the closest studies and the most strict attention to human understanding, could unbend his mind in search of this ancient treatise, which he first brought from obscurity in the year 1796."[1]

This production was first brought to the attention of scholars by being published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753, where it is stated to have been previously printed at Frankfort, in Germany, in 1748, from a copy found in "the writing-desk of a deceased brother."

[1] "Life of John Leland," p. 67.

The title of it, as given in the magazine, is in the following words:

"Certeyne Questyons wyth Answeres to the same, concernynge the Mystery of Maconrye; wrytenne by the hande of Kynge Henrye the Sixthe of the Name, and faythefullye copyed by me Johan Leylande, Antiquarius, by the commaunde of His Highnesse."

The opinion of Masonic critics of the present day is that the document is a forgery. It was most probably written about the time and in the spirit in which Chatterton composed his imitations of the Monk Rowley, and of Ireland with his impositions of Shakespeare, and was fabricated as an unsuccessful attempt to imitate the archaic language of the 15th century, and as a pious fraud intended to elevate the character and sustain the pretensions of the Masonic Fraternity by furnishing the evidence of its very ancient origin.

Such were not, however, the views of the Masonic writers of the last and beginning of the present century.

They accepted the manuscript, or rather the printed copy of it —for the original codex has never been seen—with unhesitating faith as an authentic document. Hutchinson gave it as an appendix to his *Spirit of Masonry,* Preston published it in the second and enlarged edition of his *Illustrations,* Calcott in his *Candid Disquisition,* Dermott in his *Ahiman Rezon,* and Krause in his *Drei Altesten Kunslurkunden.* In none of these is there the faintest hint of its being anything but an authentic document. Oliver said: "I entertain no doubt of the genuineness and authenticity of this valuable Manuscript." The same view has been entertained by Reghellini among the French, and by Krause, Fessier, and Lenning among the Germans.

Mr. Halliwell was perhaps the first of English scholars to express a doubt of its genuineness. After a long and unsuccessful search in the Bodleian Library for the original, he came, very naturally, to the conclusion that it is a forgery. Hughan and Woodford, both excellent judges, have arrived at the same conclusion, and it is now a settled question that the Leland or Locke Manuscript (for it is known by both titles) is a document of no historic character.

It is not, however, without its value. To its appearance about the middle of the last century, and the unhesitating acceptance of its truth by the Craft at the time, we can, in all probability, assign the establishment of the doctrine that Freemasonry was of a Py-

thagorean origin, though it had been long before adverted to by Dr. Anderson.

Before proceeding to an examination of the rise and progress of this opinion, it will be proper to cite so much of the manuscript as connects Pythagoras with Masonry. I do not quote the whole document, though it is short, because it has so repeatedly been printed, in even elementary Masonic works, as to be readily accessible to the reader. In making my quotations I shall so far defer to the artifice of the fabricator as to preserve unchanged his poor attempt to imitate the orthography and style of the 15th century, and interpolate in brackets, when necessary, an explanation of the most unintelligible words.

The document purports to be answers by some Mason to questions proposed by King Henry VI., who, it would seem, must have taken some interest in the "Mystery of Masonry," and had sought to obtain from competent authority a knowledge of its true character. The following are among the questions and answers:

"Q. Where dyd ytt [*Masonry*] begynne?

"A. Ytt dyd begynne with the fyrst menne, yn the Este, which were before the fyrste Manne of the Weste, and comynge westlye, ytt hathe broughte herwyth alle comfortes to the wylde and comfortlesse.

"Q. Who dyd brynge ytt Westlye?

"A. The Venetians [*Phœnicians*] who beynge grate Merchaundes, corned ffyrst ffrome the Este yn Venetia [*Phœnicia*] ffor the commodyte of Merchaundysinge beithe [*both*] Este and Weste bey the redde and Myddlelonde [*Mediterranean*] Sees.

"Q. Howe comede ytt yn Englonde?

"A. Peter Gower [*Pythagoras*] a Grecian journeyedde ffor kunnynge yn Egypt and in Syria and in everyche Londe whereat the Venetians [*Phœnicians*] hadde plauntedde Maconrye and wynnynge Entraunce yn al Lodges of Maconnes, he lerned muche, and retournedde and woned [*dwelt*] yn Grecia Magna wachsynge [*growing*] and becommynge a myghtye wyseacre [*philosopher*] and gratelyche renouned and here he framed a grate Lodge at Groton [*Crotona*] and maked many Maconnes, some whereoffe dyd journeye yn Fraunce, and maked manye Maconnes wherefromme, yn processe of Tyme, the Arte passed yn Engelonde."

I am convinced that there was a French original of this docu-

ment, from which language the fabricator translated it into archaic English. The internal proofs of this are to be found in the numerous preservations of French idioms. Thus we meet with *Peter Gower,* evidently derived from *Pythagore,* pronounced *Petagore,* the French for Pythagoras; *Maconrye* and *Maconnes,* for *Masonry* and *Masons,* the French *c* in the word being used instead of the English *s;* the phrase *wynnynge the Facultye of Abrac,* which is a pure Gallic idiom, instead of *acquiring the faculty,* the word *gayner* being indifferently used in French as signifying to *win* or to *acquire;* the word *Freres* for *Brethren;* and the statement, in the spirit of French nationality, that Masonry was brought into England out of France.

None of these idiomatic phrases or national peculiarities would have been likely to occur if the manuscript had been originally written by an Englishman and in the English language.

But be this as it may, the document had no sooner appeared than it seemed to inspire contemporary Masonic writers with the idea that Masonry and the school of Pythagoras, which he established at Crotona, in Italy, about five centuries before Christ, were closely connected—an idea which was very generally adopted by their successors, so that it came at last to be a point of the orthodox Masonic creed.

Thus Preston, in his *Illustrations of Masonry,* when commenting on the dialogue contained in this document, says that "the records of the fraternity inform us that Pythagoras was regularly initiated into Masonry; and being properly instructed in the mysteries of the Art, he was much improved, and propagated the principles of the Order in other countries into which he afterwards travelled."

Calcott, in his *Candid Disquisition,* speaks of the Leland Manuscript as "an antique relation, from whence maybe gathered many of the original principles of the ancient society, on which the institution of Freemasonry was ingrafted"—by the "ancient society" meaning the school of Pythagoras.

Hutchinson, in his *Spirit of Masonry,* quotes this "ancient Masonic record," as he calls it, and says that "it brings us positive evidence of the Pythagorean doctrine and Basilidian principles making the foundation of our religious and moral duties." Two of the lectures in his work are appropriated to a discussion of the doctrines of Pythagoras in connection with the Masonic system.

But this theory of the Pythagorean origin of Freemasonry does not owe its existence to the writers of the middle of the 18th century. It had been advanced at an early period, and soon after the Revival in 1717 by Dr. Anderson. In the first edition of the *Constitutions,* published in 1723, he alludes to Pythagoras as having borrowed great knowledge from the Chaldean Magi and the Babylonish Jews, but he is more explicit in his *Defense of Masonry,* published in 1730, wherein he says: "I am fully convinced that Freemasonry is very nearly allied to the old Pythagorean Discipline, from whence, I am persuaded, it may in some circumstances very justly claim a descent."

Now, how are we to explain the way in which this tradition of the connection of the Philosopher of Samos first acquired a place among the legends of the Craft? The solution of the problem does not appear to be very difficult.

In none of the old manuscript constitutions which contain what has been called the *Legend of the Guild,* or the *Legend of the Craft,* is there, with a single exception, any allusion to the name of Pythagoras. That exception is found in the Cooke MS., where the legendist, after relating the story of the two pillars inscribed with all the sciences, which had been erected by Jabal before the flood, adds, in lines 318-326, this statement:

"And after this flode many yeres as the cronycle telleth these ii were founde and as the polycronicon seyeth that a grete clerke that called putogaras [*Pythagoras*] fonde that one and hermes the philisophre fonde that other, and thei tought forthe the sciens that thei fonde therein y written."

Now, although the Cooke MS. is the earliest of the old records, after the Halliwell poem, none of the subsequent constitutions have followed it in this allusion to Pythagoras. This was because the writer of the Cooke MS., being in possession of the *Polychronicon* of the monk Ranulph Higden, an edition of which had been printed during his time by William Caxton, he had liberally borrowed from that historical work and incorporated parts of it into his Legend.

Of these interpolations, the story of the finding of one of the pillars by Pythagoras is one. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness for the statement to Higden's *Polychronicon.* But it formed no part of the *Legend of the Craft,* and hence no notice is taken of

it in the subsequent manuscript copies of the Legend. In none of them is Pythagoras even named.

It is evident, then, that in the 14th and following centuries, to the beginning of the 18th, the theory of the Pythagorean origin of Freemasonry, or of the connection of the Grecian philosopher with it, was not recognized by the Craft as any part of the traditional history of the Fraternity. There is no safer rule than that of the old schoolmen, which teaches us that we must reason alike concerning that which does not appear and that which does not exist — "*de non apparentibus et de non existentibus, eadem est ratio*." The old craftsmen who fabricated the Legend were workmen and not scholars; they were neither acquainted with the scholastic nor the ancient philosophy; they said nothing about Pythagoras because they knew nothing about him.

But about the beginning of the 18th century a change took place, not only in the organization of the Masonic institution, but also in the character and qualifications of the men who were engaged in producing the modification, or we might more properly call it the revolution.

Although in the 17th, and perhaps in the 16th century, many persons were admitted into the Lodges of Operative Masons who were not professional builders, it is, I think, evident that the society did not assume a purely speculative form until the year 1717. The Revival in that year, by the election of Anthony Sayer, "Gentleman," as Grand Master; Jacob Lamball, a "Carpenter," and Joseph Elliott, a "Captain," as Grand Wardens, proves that the control of the society was to be taken out of the hands of the Operative Masons.

Among those who were at about that time engaged in the reconstruction of the Institution were James Anderson and Theophilus Desaguliers. Anderson was a Master of Arts, and afterward a Doctor of Divinity, the minister of a church in London, and an author; Desaguliers was a Doctor of Laws, a fellow of the Royal Society, and a teacher of Experimental Philosophy of no little reputation.

Both of these men, as scholars, were thoroughly conversant with the system of Pythagoras, and they were not unwilling to take advantage of his symbolic method of inculcating his doctrine, and to introduce some of his symbols into the symbolism of the Order which they were renovating.

Jamblichus, the biographer of Pythagoras, tells us that while the sage was on his travels he caused himself to be initiated into all the mysteries of Byblos and Tyre and those which were practiced in many parts of Syria. But as these mysteries were originally received by the Phoenicians from Egypt, he passed over into that country, where he remained twenty-two years, occupying himself in the study of geometry, astronomy, and all the initiations of the gods, until he was carried a captive into Babylon by the soldiers of Cambyses. There he freely associated with the Magi in their religion and their studies, and, having obtained a thorough knowledge of music, the science of numbers, and other arts, he finally returned to Greece.[1]

The school of philosophy which Pythagoras afterward established at the city of Crotona, in Italy, differed from those of all the other philosophers of Greece, in the austerities of initiation to which his disciples were subjected, in the degrees of probation into which they were divided, and in the method which he adopted of veiling his instructions under symbolic forms. In his various travels he had imbibed the mystical notions prevalent among the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, and had borrowed some of their modes of initiation into their religious mysteries, which he adopted in the method by which he communicated his own principles.

Grote, in his *History of Greece,* has very justly said that "Pythagoras represents in part the scientific tendencies of his age, in part also the spirit of mysticism and of special fraternities for religious and ascetic observance which became diffused throughout Greece in the 6th century before the Christian era."

Of the character of the philosophy of Pythagoras and of his method of instruction, which certainly bore a very close resemblance to that adopted by the founders of the speculative system, such cultivated scholars as Anderson and Desaguliers certainly were not ignorant. And if, among those who were engaged with them in the construction of this new and improved school of speculative Masonry, there were any whose limited scholastic attainments would not enable them to consult the Greek biographies of Pythagoras by Jamblichus and by Porphyry, they had at hand and readily accessible an English translation of M. Dacier's life of the philosopher, con-

[1] "Jamblichus de Pythagorica Vita," c. iii., iv.

taining also an elaborate explication of his symbols, together with a translation of the *Commentaries of Hierodes on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras,* all embraced in one volume and published in London in the year 1707, by the celebrated bibliopole Jacob Tonson.

There was abundant material and ready opportunity for the partially unlearned as well as for the more erudite to obtain a familiarity with the philosophy of Pythagoras, his method of initiation, and his system of symbols.

It is not, therefore, surprising that these "Revivalists," as they have been called, should have delighted, as Anderson has done in his *Defense of Masonry,* to compare the two schools of the Pythagoreans and the Freemasons; that they should have dwelt on their great similarity; and in the development of their speculative system should have adopted many symbols from the former which do not appear to have been known to or used by the old Operative Masons whom they succeeded.

Among the first Pythagorean symbols which were adopted by the Speculative Masons was the symbolism of the science of numbers, which appears in the earliest rituals extant, and of which Dr. Oliver has justly said, in his posthumous work entitled *The Pythagorean Triangle,* that "the Pythagoreans had so high an opinion of it that they considered it to be the origin of all things, and thought a knowledge of it to be equivalent to a knowledge of God."

This symbolism of numbers, which was adopted into Speculative Masonry at a very early period after the Revival, has been developed and enlarged in successive revisions of the lectures, until at the present day it constitutes one of the most important and curious parts of the system of Freemasonry. But we have no evidence that the same system of numerical symbolism, having the Pythagorean and modern Masonic interpretation, prevailed among the Craft anterior to the beginning of the 18th century. It was the work of the Revivalists, who, as scholars familiar with the mystical philosophy of Pythagoras, deemed it expedient to introduce it into the equally mystical philosophy of Speculative Masonry.

In fact, the Traveling Freemasons, Builders, or Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, who were the real predecessors of the Speculative Masons of the 18th century, did not, so far as we can learn from their remains, practice any of the symbolism of Pythagoras. Their symbols, such as the *vesica piscis,* the cross, the

rose, or certain mathematical figures, were derived either from the legends of the church or from the principles of geometry applied to the art of building. These skillful architects who, in the dark ages, when few men could read or write, erected edifices surpassing the works of ancient Greece or Rome, and which have never been equalled by modern builders, were wonderful in their peculiar skill, but were wholly ignorant of metaphysics or philosophy, and borrowed nothing from Pythagoras.

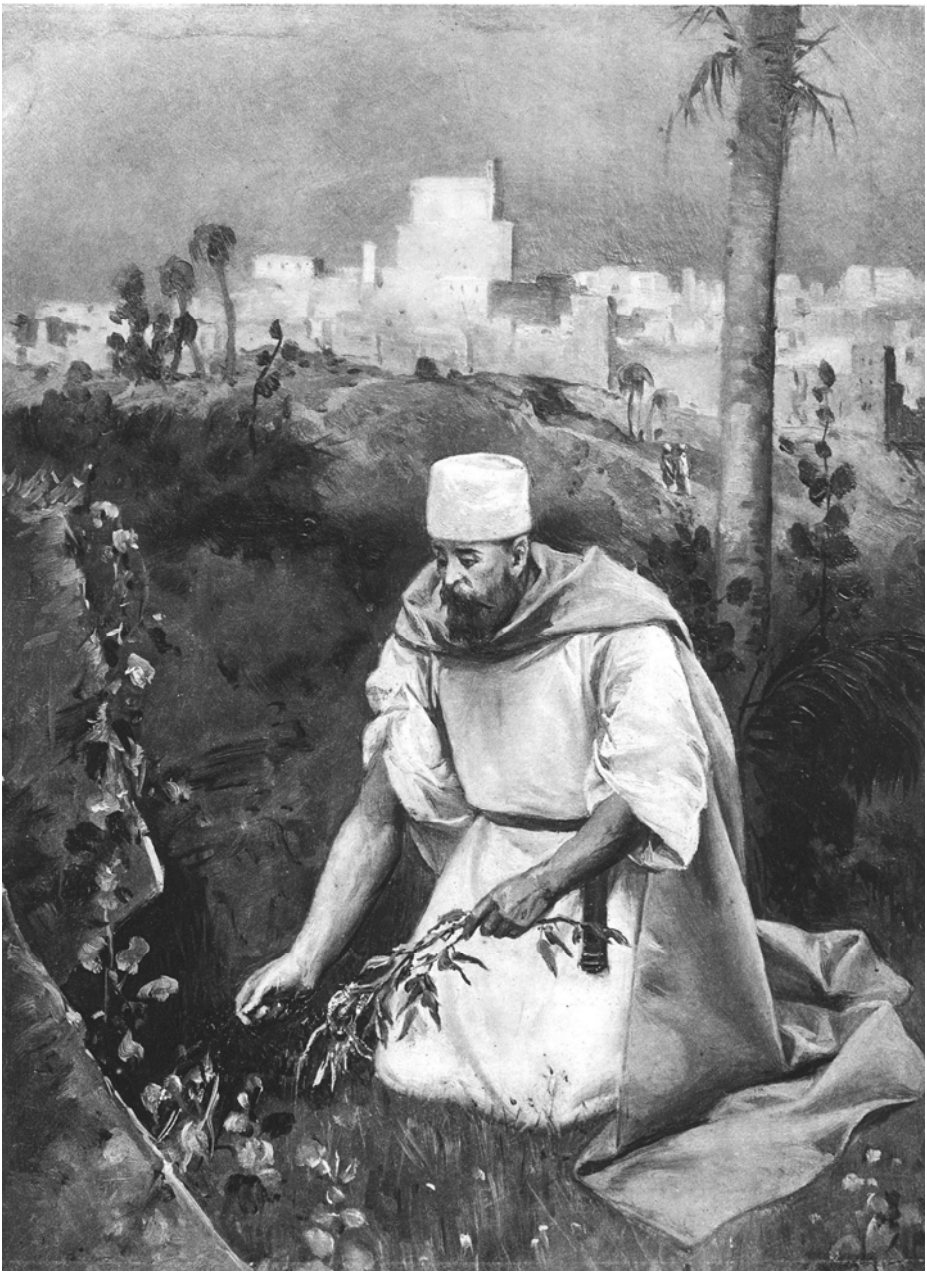
Between the period of the Revival and the adoption of the Prestonian system, in 1772, the lectures of Freemasonry underwent at least seven revisions. In each of these, the fabricators of which were such cultivated scholars as Dr. Desaguliers, Martin Clare, a President of the Royal Society, Thomas Dunckerley, a man of considerable literary attainments, and others of like character, there was a gradual increment of Pythagorean symbols. Among these, one of the most noted is the forty-seventh proposition of Euclid, which is said to have been discovered by Pythagoras, and which the introducer of it into the Masonic system, in his explanation of the symbol, claims the sage to have been "an ancient brother."

For some time after the Revival, the symbols of Pythagoras, growing into gradual use among the Craft, were referred to simply as an evidence of the great similarity which existed between the two systems—a theory which, so far as it respects modern Speculative Masonry, may be accepted with but little hesitation.

The most liberal belief on this subject was that the two systems were nearly allied, but, except in the modified statement of Anderson, already quoted from his *Defense of Masonry,* there was no claim in the years immediately succeeding the Revival that the one was in direct descent from the other.

In none of the speeches, lectures, or essays of the early part of the last century, which have been preserved, is there any allusion to this as a received theory of the Craft.

Drake, in his speech before the Grand Lodge of York, delivered in 1726, does, indeed, speak of Pythagoras, not as the founder of Masonry, but only in connection with Euclid and Archimedes as great proficients in Geometry, whose works have been the basis "on which the learned have built at different times so many noble superstructures." And of Geometry, he calls it "that noble and useful science which must have begun and goes hand-in-hand with



Masonry," an assertion which, to use the old chorus of the Masons, "nobody will deny."

But to say that Geometry is closely connected with Operative Masonry, and that Pythagoras was a great geometrician, is very different from saying that he was a Mason and propagated Masonry in Europe.

Martin Clare, in his lecture on the *Advantages Enjoyed by the Fraternity,* whose date is 1735, does not even mention the name of Pythagoras, although, in one passage at least, when referring to "those great and worthy spirits with whom we are intimately related," he had a fair opportunity to refer to that illustrious sage.

In a *Discourse Upon Masonry,* delivered before a Lodge of England in 1742, now lying before me, in which the origin of the Order is fully discussed, there is not one word of reference to Pythagoras.

The same silence is preserved in a *Lecture on the Connection Between Freemasonry and Religion,* by the Rev. C. Brockwell, published in 1747.

But after the middle of the century the frequent references in the lectures to the Pythagorean symbols, and especially to that important one, in its Masonic as well as its geometrical value, the forty-seventh proposition, began to lead the members of the society to give to Pythagoras the credit of a relationship to the order to which historically he had no claim.

Thus, in *A Search After Truth,* delivered in the Lodge in 1752, the author says that "Solon, Plato, and Pythagoras, and from them the Grecian literati in general, in a great measure, were obliged for their learning to Masonry and the labors of some of our ancient brethren."

And then, when this notion of the Pythagorean origin of Freemasonry began to take root in the minds of the Craft, it was more firmly established by the appearance in 1753, in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* of that spurious document already quoted, in which, by a "pious fraud," the fabricator of it sought to give the form of an historical record to the statement that Pythagoras, learning his Masonry of the Eastern Magi, had brought it to Italy, and established a Lodge at Crotona, whence the institution was propagated throughout Europe, and from France into England.

As to this statement in the Leland MS., it may be sufficient to say that the sect of Pythagoras did not subsist longer than to the

end of the reign of Alexander the Great. So far from disseminating its Lodges or schools after the Christian era, we may cite the authority of the learned Dacier, who says that "in after ages there were here and there some disciples of Pythagoras, but these were only private persons who never established any society, nor had the Pythagoreans any longer a public school."

And so the result of this investigation into the theory of the Pythagorean origin of Freemasonry may be briefly epitomized thus:

The mediæval Freemasons never entertained any such theory, nor in their architectural labors did they adopt any of his symbols.

The writer of the Cooke MS., in 1490, having at hand Higden's *Polychronicon,* in Trevisa's translation, a new edition of which had just been printed by Caxton, incorporated into the *Legend of the Craft* some of the historical statements (such as they were) of the Monk of Chester, but they were extraneous to and formed no part of the original Legend. Therefore, in all the subsequent *Old Records* these interpolations were rejected and the *Legend of the Craft,* as accepted by the writers of the manuscripts which succeeded that of the Cooke codex, from 1550 to 1701, contained no mention of Pythagoras.

Upon the Revival, in 1717, which was really the beginning of genuine Speculative Masonry, the scholars who fabricated the scheme, finding the symbolic teaching of Pythagoras very apposite, adopted some of its symbols, especially those relating to numbers in the new Speculative system which they were forming.

By the continued additions of subsequent ritualists these symbols were greatly increased, so that the name and the philosophy of Pythagoras became familiar to the Craft, and finally, in 1753, a forged document was published which claimed him as the founder and propagator of Masonry.

In later days this theory has continued to be maintained by a few writers, and the received rituals of the Order require it as a part of the orthodox Masonic creed, that Pythagoras was a Mason and an ancient brother and patron of the Order.

Neither early Masonic tradition nor any historical records exist which support such a belief.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

FREEMASONRY AND THE GNOSTICS

HE hypothesis which seeks to trace a connection between Gnosticism and Freemasonry, and perhaps even an origin of the latter from the former, has been repeatedly advanced, and is therefore worthy of consideration.

The latest instance is in a work of Mr. C. W. King, published in 1864, under the title of *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval.*

Mr. King is not a Freemason, and, like all the writers non-Masonic, such as Barnell, Robison, De Quincey, and a host of others, who have attempted to discuss the history and character of Freemasonry, he has shown a vast amount of ignorance. In fact, these self-constituted critics, when treating of subjects with which they are not and can not be familiar, remind one of the busybodies of Plautus, of whom he has said that, while pretending to know everything, they in fact know nothing — "*Qui omnia se simulant scise nec quicquam sciunt*."

Very justly has Mr. Hughan called this work of King's, so far as its Masonic theories are concerned, one of an "unmasonic and unhistoric character."

But King, it must be admitted, was not the first writer who sought to trace Freemasonry to a Gnostic origin.

In a pamphlet published in 1725, a copy of which has been preserved in the Bodleian Library, among the manuscripts of Dr. Rawlinson, and which bears the title of *Two Letters to a Friend. The First concerning the Society of Free-Masons. The Second, giving an Account of the Most Ancient Order of Gormogons,* etc., we find, in the first letter, on the Freemasons, the following passage:

"But now, Sir, to draw towards a conclusion; and to give my opinion seriously, concerning these prodigious Virtuosi;—My belief is, that if they fall under any denomination at all, or belong to any

sect of men, which has hitherto appeared in the world, they may be ranked among the GNOSTICS, who took their original from Simon Magus; these were a set of men, which ridiculed not only Christianity, but even rational morality; teaching that they should be saved by their capacious knowledge and understanding of no mortal man could tell what. They babbled of an amazing intelligence they had, from nobody knows whence. They amused and puzzled the hair-brained, unwary crowd with superstitious interpretations of extravagant talismanic characters and abstruse significations of uncommon Cabalistic words; which exactly agrees with the proceedings of our modern Freemasons."

Although the intrinsic value of this pamphlet was not such as to have preserved it from the literary tomb which would have consigned it to oblivion, had not the zeal of an antiquary preserved a single copy as a relic, yet the notion of some relation of Freemasonry to Gnosticism was not in later years altogether abandoned.

Hutchinson says that "under our present profession of Masonry, we allege our morality was originally deduced from the school of Pythagoras, and that the Basilidian system of religion furnished us with some tenets, principles, and hieroglyphics."[1] Basilides, the founder of the sect which bears his name, was the most eminent of the Egyptian Gnostics.

About the time of the fabrication of the High Degrees on the continent of Europe, a variety of opinions of the origin of Masonry —many of them absurd—sprang up among Masonic scholars. Among these theorists, there were not a few who traced the Order to the early Christians, because they found it, as they supposed, among the Gnostics, and especially its most important sect, the Basilidians.

Some German and French writers have also maintained the hypothesis of a connection, more or less intimate, between the Gnostics and the Masons.

I do not know that any German writer has positively asserted the existence of this connection. But the doctrine has, at times, been alluded to without any absolute disclaimer of a belief in its truth.

Thus Carl Michaeler, the author of a *Treatise on the Phœnician*

[1] "Spirit of Masonry," lect. x., p. 106.

Mysteries, has written some observations on the subject in an article published by him in 1784, in the Vienna *Journale für Freimaurer,* on the analogy between the Christianity of the early times and Freemasonry. In this essay he adverts to the theory of the Gnostic origin of Freemasonry. He is, however, very guarded in his deductions, and says conditionally that, if there is any connection between the two, it must be traced to the Gnosticism of Clement of Alexandria, and on which simply as a school of philosophy and history it may have been founded, while the differences between the two now existing must be attributed to changes of human conception in the intervening centuries.

But, in fact, the Gnosticism of Clement was something entirely different from that of Basilides, to whom Hutchinson and King attribute the origin of our symbols, and whom Clement vigorously opposed in his works. It was what he himself calls it, "a true gnosis or Christian philosophy on the basis of faith." It was that higher knowledge, or more perfect state of Christian faith, to which St. Paul is supposed to allude when he says, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, that he made known to those who were perfect a higher wisdom.

Reghellini speaks more positively, and says that the symbols and doctrines of the Ophites, who were a Gnostic sect, passed over into Europe, having been adapted by the Crusaders, the Rosicrucians, and the Templars, and finally reached the Masons.[1]

Finally, I may refer to the Leland MS., the author of which distinctly brought this doctrine to the public view, by asserting that the Masons were acquainted with the "facultye of Abrac," by which expression he alludes to the most prominent and distinctive of the Gnostic symbols. That the fabricator of this spurious document should thus have intimated the existence of a connection between Gnosticism and Freemasonry would lead us to infer that the idea of such a connection was not wholly unfamiliar to the Masonic mind at that period—an inference which will be strengthened by the passage already quoted from the pamphlet in the Rawlinson collection, which was published about a quarter of a century before.

But before we cart enter into a proper discussion of this îm-

[1] "Maçonnerie consideries comme re Resultat des Relig. Egypt. Juive et Chretienne," tom, i., p. 291.

portant question, it will be expedient for the sake of the general reader that something should be said of the Gnostics and of the philosophical and religious system which they professed.

I propose, therefore, very briefly to reply to the questions, What is Gnosticism, and Who were the Gnostics?

Scarcely had the light of Christianity dawned upon the world before a multitude of heresies sprang up to disturb the new religion. Among these Gnosticism holds the most important position. The title of the sect is derived from the Greek word *γνῶσις,* (gnosis), "wisdom or knowledge," and was adopted in a spirit of ostentation, to intimate that the disciples of the sect were in possession of a higher degree of spiritual wisdom than was attainable by those who had not been initiated into their mysteries.

At so early a period did the heresy of Gnosticism arise in the Christian Church, that we find the Apostle Paul warning the converts to the new faith of the innovations on the pure doctrine of Christ, and telling his disciple Timothy to avoid "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called." The translators of the authorized version have so rendered the passage. But in view of the greater light that has since their day been thrown upon the religious history and spirit of the apostolical age, and the real nature of the Gnostic element which disturbed it, we may better preserve the true sense of the original Greek by rendering it "oppositions of the false gnosis."

There were then two kinds of *Gnosis,* or Gnosticism—the true and the false, a distinction which St. Paul himself makes in a passage in his Epistle to the Corinthians, in which he speaks of the wisdom which he communicated to the perfect, in contradistinction to the wisdom of the world.

Of this true Gnosticism, Clement declared himself to be a follower. With it and Freemasonry there can be no connection, except that modified one admitted by Michaeler, which relates only to the investigation of philosophical and historical truth.

The false *Gnosis* to which the Apostle refers is the Gnosticism which is the subject of our present inquiry.

When John the Baptist was preaching in the Wilderness, and for some time before, there were many old philosophical and religious systems which, emanating from the East, all partook of the mystical character peculiar to the Oriental mind. These various systems were

then, in consequence of the increased communication of different nations which followed the conquests of Alexander of Macedon, beginning to approximate each other. The disciples of Plato were acquiring some of the doctrines of the Eastern Magi, and these in turn were becoming more or less imbued with the philosophy of Greece. The traditions of India, Persia, Egypt, Chaldea, Judea, Greece, and Rome were commingling in one mass, and forming out of the conglomeration a mystical philosophy and religion which partook of the elements of all the ingredients out of which it was composed, and yet contained within its bosom a mysticism which was peculiar to itself.

This new system was Gnosticism, which derived its leading doctrines from Plato, from the Zend-Avesta, the Cabala, the Vedas, and the hieroglyphs of Egypt. It taught as articles of faith the existence of a Supreme Being, invisible, inaccessible, and incomprehensible, who was the creator of a spiritual world consisting of divine intelligences called *æons,* emanating from him, and of matter which was eternal, the source of evil and the antagonist of the Supreme Being.

One of these *æons,* the lowest of all, called the Demiurge, created the world out of matter, which, though eternal, was inert and formless.

The Supreme Father, or First Principle of all things, had dwelt from all eternity in a *pleroma,* or fullness of inaccessible light, and hence he was called *Bythos,* or the Abyss, to denote the unfathomable nature of his perfections. "This Being," says Dr. Burton, in his able exposition of the Gnostic system, in the *Bampton Lectures,* "by an operation purely mental, or by acting upon himself, produced two other beings of different sexes, from whom by a series of descents, more or less numerous according to different schemes, several pairs of beings were formed, who were called *æons,* from the periods of their existence before time was, or *emanations* from the mode of their production. These successive *æons* or *emanations* appear to have been inferior each to the preceding; and their existence was indispensable to the Gnostic scheme, that they might account for the creation of the world, without making God the author of evil. These *æons* lived through countless ages with their first Father. But the system of *emanations* seems to have resembled that of concentric circles, and they gradually deteriorated as they

approached nearer and nearer to the extremity of the *pleroma.* Beyond this *pleroma* was matter, inert and powerless, though co-eternal with the Supreme God, and like him without beginning. At length one of the *æons* (the Demiurge) passed the limits of the *pleroma,* and, meeting with matter, created the world after the form and model of an ideal world, which existed in the *pleroma* or the mind of the Supreme God."

It is not necessary to enter into a minute recapitulation of the other points of doctrine which were evolved out of these three. It is sufficient to say that the old Gnosticism was not an original system, but was really a cosmogony, a religion and a philosophy which was made up of portions of the older Grecian and Oriental systems, including the Platonism of the Greeks, the Parsism of the Persians, and the Cabala of the Jews.

The advent of Christianity found this old Gnosticism prevailing in Asia and in Egypt. Some of its disciples became converts to the new religion, but brought with them into its fold many of the mystical views of their Gnostic philosophy and sought to apply them to the pure and simple doctrines of the Gospel.

Thus it happened that the name of Gnosticism was applied to a great variety of schools, differing from each other in their interpretations of the Christian faith, and yet having one common principle of unity—that they placed themselves in opposition to the conceptions of Christianity as it was generally received by its disciples. And this was because they deemed it insufficient to afford any germs of absolute truth, and therefore they claimed for themselves the possession of an amount of knowledge higher than that of ordinary believers.

"They seldom pretended," says the Rev. Dr. Wing, "to demonstrate the principles on which their systems were founded by historical evidence or logical reasonings, since they rather boasted that these were discovered by the intuitional powers of more highly endowed minds, and that the materials thus obtained, whether through faith or divine revelation, were then worked up into a scientific form, according to each one's natural power and culture. Their aim was to construct, not merely a theory of redemption, but of the universe—a cosmogony. No subject was beyond their investigations. Whatever God could reveal to the finite intellect they looked upon as within their range. What to others seemed only specula-

tive ideas, were by them hypostatized or personified into real beings or historical facts. It was in this way that they constructed systems of speculation on subjects entirely beyond the range of human knowledge, which startle us by their boldness and their apparent consciousness of reality."[1]

Such was the Gnosticism whose various sects intruded with their mystical notions and their allegorical interpretations into the Church, before Christianity had been well established. Although denounced by St. Paul as "vain babblers," they increased in strength and gave rise to many heresies which lasted until the 4th century.

The most important of these sects, and the one from which the moderns have derived most of their views of what Christian Gnosticism is, was established in the 2d century by Basilides, the chief of the Egyptian Gnostics.

The doctrine of Basilides and the Basilidians was a further development of the original Gnostic system. It was more particularly distinguished by its adoption from Pythagoras of the doctrine of numbers and its use and interpretation of the word *Abraxas*—that word the meaning of which, according to the Leland MS., so greatly puzzled the learned Mr. Locke.

In the system of Basilides the Supreme God was incomprehensible, non-existent, and ineffable. Unfolded from his perfection were seven attributes or personified powers, namely, *Mind, Reason, Thought, Wisdom, Power, Holiness,* and *Peace.* Seven was a sacred number, and these seven powers referred to the seven days of the week. Basilides also supposed that there were seven similar beings in every stage or region of the spiritual world, and that these regions were three hundred and sixty-five in number, thus corresponding to the days in the solar year. These three hundred and sixty-five regions were so many heavenly mansions between the earth and the empyrean, and he supposed the existence of an equal number of angels. The number three hundred and sixty-five was in the Basilidian system one of sacred import. Hence he fabricated the word ABRAXAS, because the Greek letters of which it is composed have the numerical value, when added together, of exactly three hundred and sixty-five. The learned German theologian, Bellerman,

[1] Strong and McClintock's "Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature."

thinks that he has found the derivation in the Captu, or old Egyptian language, where the words *abrah,* signifying "word," and *sadsch,* signifying "blessed," "holy," or "adorable," and therefore *abrahsadsch,* Hellenized into *Abraxas*, would denote "the holy, blessed, or adorable Word," thus approximating to the spirit of the Jewish Cabalists in their similar use of a Holy Name.

Whether the word was thus derived or was invented by Basilides on account of the numerical value of its letters, is uncertain. He, however, applied it in his system as the name of the Supreme God.

This word *Abraxas,* like the *Tetragrammaton* of the Jews, became one of great importance to the sect of Basilidians. Their reverence for it gave origin to what are called "abraxas gems."

These are gems, plates, or tablets of metal, which have been discovered principally in Egypt, but have also been found in France and Spain. They are inscribed with the word *Abraxas* and an image supposed to designate the Basilidian god. Some of them have on them Jewish words, such as *Jehovah* or *Adonai,* and others contain Persian, Egyptian, or Grecian symbols.

Montfaucon, who has treated the subject of "abraxas gems" elaborately, divides them into seven classes. 1. Those inscribed with the head of a cock as a symbol of the sun. 2. Those having the head of a lion, to denote the heat of the sun, and the word *Mithras.* 3. Those having the image of the Egyptian god *Serapis.* 4. Those having the images of sphinxes, apes, and other animals. 5. Those having human figures with the words *Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, etc.* 6. Those having inscriptions without figures. 7. Those having monstrous forms.

From these gems we have derived our knowledge of the Gnostic or Basilidian symbols, which are said to have furnished ideas to the builders of the Middle Ages in their decorative art, and which Mr. King and some other writers have supposed to have been transmitted to the Freemasons.

The principal of these Gnostic symbols is that of the Supreme God, *Abraxas.* This is represented as a human figure with the head of a cock, the legs being two serpents. He brandishes a sword in one hand (sometimes a whip) and a shield in the other.

The serpent is also a very common symbol, having sometimes the head of a cock and sometimes that of a lion or of a hawk.

Other symbols, known to be of a purely Gnostic or rather Basi-

lidian origin, from the accompanying inscription, *Abraxas,* or *Iao,* or both, are *Horus,* or the Sun, seated on a lotus flower, which is supported by a double lamp, composed of two phallic images conjoined at their bases; the dog; the raven; the tancross surmounted by a human head; the Egyptian god, *Anubis;* and Father *Nilus,* in a bending posture and holding in his hand the double, phallic lamp of *Horus.* This last symbol is curious because the word *Heilos,* like *Mithras,* which is also a Gnostic symbol, and *Abraxas,* expresses, in the value of the Greek letters of which it is composed, the number three hundred and sixty-five.

All these symbols, it will be seen, make some reference to the sun, either as the representative of the Supreme God or as the source of light, and it might lead to the supposition that in the later Gnosticism, as in the Mithraic Mysteries, there was an allusion to sun-worship, which was one of the earliest and most extensively diffused of the primitive religions. Evidently in both the Gnostic and the Mithraic symbolism the sun plays a very important part.

While the architects or builders of the Middle Ages may have borrowed, and probably did borrow, some suggestions from the Gnostics in carrying out the symbolism of their art, it is not probable, from their ecclesiastical organization and their religious character, that they would be more than mere suggestions. Certainly they would not have been accepted by these orthodox Christians with anything of their real Gnostic interpretation.

We may apply to the use of Gnostic symbols by the mediaeval architects the remarks made by Mr. Paley on the subject of the adoption of certain Pagan symbols by the same builders. Their Gnostic origin was a mere accident. They were employed not as the symbolism of any Gnostic doctrine, but in the spirit of Christianity, and "the Church, in perfecting their development, stamped them with a purer and sublimer character."[1]

On a comparison of these Gnostic symbols with those of Ancient Craft or Speculative Masonry, I fail to find any reason to subscribe to the opinion of Hutchinson, that "the Basilidian system of religion furnished Freemasonry with some tenets, principles, and hieroglyphics." As Freemasons we will have to repudiate the "tenets and principles" of the sect which was condemned by

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 4.

Clement and by Irenseus; and as to its "hieroglyphics," by which is meant its symbols, we will look in vain for their counterpart or any approximation to them in the system of Speculative Masonry.

That the Masons at a very early period exhibited a tendency to the doctrine of sacred numbers, which has since been largely developed in the Masonry of the modern High Degrees, is true, but this symbolism was derived directly from the teachings of Pythagoras, with which the founders of the primitive rituals were familiar.

That the sun and the moon are briefly referred to in our rituals and may be deemed in some sort Masonic symbols, is also true, but the use made of this symbolism, and the interpretation of it, very clearly prove that it has not been derived from a Gnostic source.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis, which was taught by the Basilidians, is another marked point which would widely separate Freemasonry from Gnosticism, the dogma of the resurrection being almost the foundation-stone on which the whole religious philosophy of the former is erected.

Mr. King, in his work on the Gnostics, to which allusion has already been made, seeks to trace the connection between Freemasonry and Gnosticism through a line of argument which only goes to prove his absolute and perhaps his pardonable ignorance of Masonic history. It requires a careful research, which must be stimulated by a connection with the Order, to enable a scholar to avoid the errors into which he has fallen.

"The foregoing considerations," he says, "seem to afford a rational explanation of the manner in which the genuine Gnostic symbols (whether still retaining any mystic meaning or kept as mere lifeless forms, let the Order declare) have come down to these times, still paraded as things holy and of deep significance. Treasured up amongst the dark sectaries of the Lebanon and the Sofis of Persia, communicated to the Templars, and transmitted to their heirs, the Brethren of the Rosy Cross, they have kept up an unbroken existence."[1]

In the line of history which Mr. King has here pursued, he has presented a mere jumble of non-consecutive events which it would be impossible to disentangle. He has evidently confounded the old Rosicrucians with the more modern Rose Croix, while the only

[1] "The Gnostics and their Remains," p. 191.

connection between the two is to be found in the apparent similarity of name. If he meant the former, he has failed to show a relation between them and the Freemasons; if the latter, he was wholly ignorant that there is not a Gnostic symbol in their system, which is wholly constructed out of an ecclesiastical symbolism. Such inconsequential assertions need no refutation.

Finally he says that "Thus those symbols, in their origin, embodying the highest mysteries of Indian theosophy, afterward eagerly embraced by the subtle genius of the Alexandrian Greeks, and combined by them with the hidden wisdom of Egypt, in whose captivating and profound doctrines the few bright spirits of the Middle Ages sought a refuge from the childish fables then constituting orthodoxy, engendered by monkery upon the primal Buddhistic stock; these sacred symbols exist even now, but serve merely for the insignia of what at best is but a charitable, probably nothing more in its present form than a convivial institution."

These last lines indicate the precise amount of knowledge that he possesses of the character and the design of Freemasonry. It is to be regretted that he had not sought to explain the singular anomaly that "what at best is but a charitable, and probably nothing more than a convivial institution" has been made the depository of the symbols of an abstruse theosophy. Benevolent societies and convivial clubs do not, as a rule, meddle with matters of such high import.

But to this uncritical essay there need be no reply. When anyone shall distinctly point out and enumerate the Gnostic symbols that made a part of the pure and simple symbolism of the primitive Speculative Masons, it will be time enough to seek the way in which they came there.

For the present we need not undergo the needless labor of searching for that which we are sure can not be found.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE SOCINIANS AND FREEMASONRY

HILE some of the adversaries of Freemasonry have pretended that its origin is to be found in the efforts of the Jesuits, who sought to effect certain religious and political objects through the influence of such a society, one, at least, has endeavored to trace its first rise to the Socinians, who sprang up as a religious sect in Italy about the middle of the 16th century.

This hypothesis is of so unhistorical a character that it merits a passing notice in the legendary history of the Institution.

It was first promulgated (and I do not know that it has ever since been repeated) by the Abbé Le Franc, the Superior of the House of the Eudists, at Caën, in a book published by him in the year 1791, under the title of *Le Voile levé pour les curieux, ou le secret des Révolutions, révelé à l'aide de la Franc-Maçonnerie;* i.e., "The Veil lifted for the Inquisitive, or the Secret of Revolutions revealed by the assistance of Freemasonry." This work was deemed of so much importance that it was translated in the following year into Italian.

In this essay Le Franc, as a loyal Catholic ecclesiastic, hating both the Freemasons and the Socinians, readily seized the idea, or at all events advanced it, that the former was derived from the latter, whose origin he assigns to the year 1546.

He recapitulates, only to deny, all the other theories that have been advanced on the subject, such as that the origin of the Institution is to be sought in the fraternities of Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, or in the assembly held at York under the auspices of King Athelstane, or in the builders of King Solomon's Temple, or in the Ancient Mysteries of Egypt. Each of these hypotheses he refuses to admit as true.

On the contrary, he says the Order can not be traced beyond the

famous meeting of Socinians, which was held at the City of Vicenza, in Italy, in the year 1546, by Lælius Socinus, Ochirius, Gentilis, and others, who there and then established the sect which repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity, and whose successors, with some modification of tenets, still exist under the name of Unitarians, or Liberal Christians.

But it is to Faustus Socinus, the nephew of Lælius, he asserts, that the real foundation of Freemasonry as a secret and symbolical society is to be ascribed. This "artful and indefatigable sectary," as he calls him, having beheld the burning of Servetus at Geneva by Calvin, for maintaining only a part of the system that he advocated, and finding that both Catholics and Protestants were equally hostile to his views, is said to have concealed it under symbols and mysterious ceremonies, accompanied by oaths of secrecy, in order that, while it was publicly taught to the people in countries where it was tolerated, it might be gradually and safely insinuated into other states, where an open confession of it would probably lead its preachers to the stake.

The propagation of this system, he further says, was veiled under the enigmatical allegory of building a temple whose extent, in the very words of Freemasonry, was to be "in length from the east to the west, and in breadth from north to south." The professors of it were therefore furnished, so as to carry out the allegory, with the various implements used in building, such as the square, the compasses, the level, and the plumb. And here it is that the Abbé Le Franc has found the first form and beginning of the Masonic Institution as it existed at the time of his writing.

I have said that, so far as I have been able to learn, Le Franc is the sole author or inventor of this hypothesis. Reghellini attributes it to three distinct writers, the author of the *Voile levé,* Le Franc, and the Abbé Barruel. But in fact the first and second of these are identical, and Barruel has not made any allusion to it in his *History of Jacobinism.* He attributes the origin of Freemasonry to the Manicheans, and makes a very elaborate and learned collation of the usages and ceremonies of the two, to show how much the one has taken from the other.

Reghellini, in commenting on this theory of the Abbé Le Franc, says that all that is true in it is that there was at the same period, about the middle of the 16th century, a learned society of philoso-

phers and literary men at Vicenza, who held conferences on the theological questions which at that time divided Europe, and particularly Germany.

The members of this celebrated academy, he says, looked upon all these questions and difficulties concerning the mysteries of the Christian religion as points of doctrine which pertained simply to the philosophy of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Christians, and had no relation whatever to the dogmas of faith.[1]

Considering that out of these meetings of the philosophers at Vicenza issued a religious sect, whose views present a very important modification of the orthodox creeds, we may well suppose that Reghellini is as much in error in his commentary as Le Franc has been in his text.

The society which met at Vicenza and at Venice, though it sought to conceal its new and heterodox doctrines under a veil of secrecy, soon became exposed to the observation of the Papal court, through whose influence the members were expelled from the Venetian republic, some of them seeking safety in Germany, but most of them in Poland, where their doctrines were not only tolerated, but in time became popular. In consequence, flourishing congregations were established at Cracow, Lublin, and various other places in Poland and in Lithuania.

Lælius Socinus had, soon after the immigration of his followers into Poland, retired to Zurich, in Switzerland, where he died. He was succeeded by his nephew, Faustus Socinus, who greatly modified the doctrines of his uncle, and may be considered as the real founder of the Socinian sect of Christians.

Now, authentic history furnishes us with these few simple facts.

In the 16th century secret societies were by no means uncommon in various countries of Europe. In Italy especially many were to be found. Some of these coteries were established for the cultivation of philosophical studies, some for the pursuit of alchemy, some for theological discussions, and many were of a mere social character. In all of them, however, there was an exclusiveness which shut out the vulgar, the illiterate, or the profane.

Thus there was founded at Florence a club which called itself the "Società delia Cucchiara," or the *Society of the Trowel.* The

[1] Reghellini, "La Maçonnerie," tom, iii., p. 60.

name and the symbols it used, which were the trowel, the hammer, the square, and the level, have led both Lenning and Reghellini to suppose that it was a Masonic association. But the account given of it by Vasari, in his *Lives of the Painters and Sculptors,* shows that it was merely a social club of Florentine artists, and that it derived its existence and its name from the accidental circumstance that certain painters and sculptors dining together once upon a time, in a certain garden, discovered, not far from their table, a heap of mortar in which a trowel was sticking. In an exuberance of spirits they began to throw the mortar on each other, and to call for the trowel to scrape it off. In the same sportive humor they then and there resolved to form an association which should annually thereafter dine together, and to commemorate the ludicrous event which had given rise to their association, they called it the Society of the Trowel, and adopted as emblems certain tools connected with the mystery of bricklaying.

Every city in Italy in which science was cultivated had its academy, many of which, like the Platonic Academy, established at Florence in 1540, held their sessions in secret, and admitted none but members to participate in their mystical studies. In Germany the secret societies of the Alchemists were abundant. These spread also into France and England. To borrow the language of a modern writer, mystical interpretation ran riot, everything was symbolized, and metaphors were elaborated into allegories.[1]

It is a matter of historical record that in 1546 there was a society of this kind, consisting of about forty persons, eminent for their learning, who, in the words of Mosheim,[2] "held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of Venice, and particularly at Vicenza, in which they deliberated concerning a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and, in a more especial manner, undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinians."

Mosheim, who was rigorous in the application of the canons of criticism to all historical questions that came under his review, says, in a note appended to this passage: "Many circumstances and relations sufficiently prove that immediately after the reformation had

[1] Vaughan, "Hours with the Mystics," I., p. 119.
[2] "Ecclesiast. Hist. XVI. Cent.," Part III., chap. iv.

taken place in Germany, secret assemblies were held and measures proposed in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of Rome, with a view to combat the errors and superstitions of the times."

Such was the character of the secret society at Vicenza to which Le Franc attributes the origin of Freemasonry. It was an assembly of men of advanced thought, who were compelled to hold their meetings in secret, because the intolerance of the church and the jealous caution of the state forbade the free and open discussion of opinions which militated against the common sentiments of the period.

The further attempt to connect the doctrines of Socinus with those of Freemasonry, because, when speaking of the new religion which he was laboring to establish, he compared it to the building of a new temple, in which his disciples were to be diligent workers, is futile. The use of such expressions is to be attributed merely to a metaphorical and allegorical spirit by no means uncommon in writers of every age. The same metaphor is repeatedly employed by St. Paul in his various Epistles, and it is not improbable that from him Socinus borrowed the idea.

There is, therefore, as I conceive, no historical evidence whatever to support the theory that Faustus Socinus and the Socinians were the founders of Freemasonry. At the very time when he was establishing the sect whose distinctive feature was its denial of the dogma of the Trinity, the manuscript constitutions of the Masons were beginning their *Legend of the Craft,* with an invocation to "the Might of the Father, the Wisdom of the Glorious Son, and the Goodness of the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God."

The idea of any such connection between two institutions whose doctrines were so antagonistic was the dream—or rather the malicious invention—of Le Franc, and has in subsequent times received the amount of credit to which it is entitled.

CHAPTER XL

FREEMASONRY AND THE ESSENES

AWRIE—or I should rather say Brewster- -was the first to discover a connection between the Freemasons and the Jewish sect of the Essenes, a doctrine which is announced in his *History of Freemasonry.* He does not indeed trace the origin of the Masonic Institution to the Essenes, but only makes them the successors of the Masons of the Temple, whose forms and tenets they transmitted to Pythagoras and his school at Crotona, by whom the art was disseminated throughout Europe.

Believing as he did in the theory that Freemasonry was first organized at the Temple of Solomon by a union of the Jewish workmen with the association of Dionysian Artificers—a theory which has already been discussed in a preceding chapter—the editor of Lawrie's *History* meets with a hiatus in the regular and uninterrupted progress of the Order which requires to be filled up. The ingenious mode in which he accomplishes this task may be best explained in his own words:

"To these opinions it may be objected, that if the Fraternity of Freemasons flourished during the reign of Solomon, it would have existed in Judea in after ages, and attracted the notice of sacred or profane historians. Whether or not this objection is well founded, we shall not pretend to determine; but if it can be shown that there did exist, after the building of the temple, an association of men resembling Freemasons, in the nature, ceremonies, and object of their institution, the force of the objection will not only be taken away, but additional strength will be communicated to the opinion which we have been supporting. The association here alluded to is that of the Essenes, whose origin and sentiments have occasioned much discussion among ecclesiastical historians. They are all, however, of

one mind concerning the constitution and observances of this religious order."[1]

The peace-making quality of "if" is here very apparent. "If it can be shown" that there is a chronological sequence from the builders of the Temple to the Essenes, and that there is a resemblance of both to the Freemasons in "the nature, ceremonies, and object of their institution," the conclusion to which Brewster has arrived will be better sustained than it would be if these premises are denied or not proved.

The course of argument must therefore be directed to these points.

In the first place we must inquire, who were the Essenes and what was their history? This subject has already been treated to some extent in a previous portion of this work. But the integrity of the present argument will require, and I trust excuse, the necessity of a repetition.

The three sects into which the Jews were divided in the time of Christ were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Of these, while the Saviour makes repeated mention of the first two, he never alludes in the remotest manner to the third. This singular silence of Jesus has been explained by some imaginative Masonic writers, such, for instance, as Clavel, by asserting that he was probably an initiate of the sect. But scholars have been divided on this subject, some supposing that it is to be attributed to the fact (which, however, has not been established) that the Essenes originated in Egypt at a later period; others that they were not an independent sect, but only an order or subdivision of Pharisaism. However, in connection with the present argument, the settlement of this question is of no material importance.

The Essenes were an association of ascetic celibates whose numbers were therefore recruited from the children of the Jewish community in which they lived These were carefully trained by proper instructions for admission into the society. The admission into the interior body of the society and to the possession of its mystical doctrine was only attained after a long probation through three stages or degrees, the last of which made the aspirant a participant in the full fellowship of the community.

[1] Lawrie's "History of Freemasonry," p. 33.

The history of the Essenes has been so often written by ancient and modern authors, from Philo and Josephus to Ginsburg, that an inquirer can be at no loss for a knowledge of the sect. The Masonic student will find the subject discussed in the author's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry,* and the ordinary reader may be referred to the able article in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* I shall content myself, in fairness to the theory, with quoting the brief but compendious description given by the editor of Lawrie's *History.* It is in the main correct and sustained by other authorities, except a few deductions which must be attributed to the natural inclination of every theorist to adapt facts to his hypothesis. A few interpolations will be necessary to correct manifest errors.

"When a candidate was proposed for admission, the strictest scrutiny was made into his character. If his life had been hitherto exemplary, and if he appeared capable of curbing his passions and regulating his conduct according to the virtuous though austere maxims of their order, he was presented, at the expiration of his novitiate, with a white garment, as an emblem of the regularity of his conduct and the purity of his heart."

It was not at the termination, but at the beginning of the novitiate, that the white garment or robe was presented, and it was accompanied by the presentation of an apron and a spade.

"A solemn oath was then administered to him that he would never divulge the mysteries of the Order; that he would make no innovations on the doctrines of the society; and that he would continue in that honorable course of piety and virtue which he had begun to pursue."

This is a mere abstract of the oath, which is given at length by Josephus. It was not, however, administered until the candidate had passed through all the degrees or stages, and was ready to be admitted into full fellowship.

"Like Freemasons, they instructed the young member in the knowledge which they derived from their ancestors."

He might have said, like all other sects, in which the instruction of the young member is an imperative duty.

"They admitted no women into their Order."

Though this is intended by the editor to show a point of identity with Freemasonry, it does no such thing. It is the common rule of

all masculine associations. It distinguishes the Essenes from other religious sects, but it by no means essentially likens them to the Freemasons.

"They had particular signs for recognizing each other, which have a strong resemblance to those of Freemasons."

This is a mere assumption. That they had signs for mutual recognition is probable, because such has been in all ages the custom of secret societies. We have classical authority that they were employed in the ancient Pagan Mysteries. But there is no authority for saying that these signs of the Essenes bore any resemblance to those of the Freemasons. The only allusion to this subject is in the treatise of Philo Judæus, *De Vita Contemplativa,* where that author says that "the Essenes meet together in an assembly and the right hand is laid upon the part between the chin and the breast, while the left hand hangs straight by the side." But Philo does not say that it was used as a sign of recognition, but rather speaks of it as an attitude or posture assumed in their assemblies. Of the resemblance every Mason can judge for himself.

"They had colleges, or places of retirement, where they resorted to practice their rites, and settle the affairs of the society; and after the performance of these duties, they assembled in a large hall, where an entertainment was provided for them by the president, or master, of the college, who allotted a certain quantity of provisions to every individual."

This was the common meal, not partaken on set occasions and in a particular place, as the writer intimates, but every day, in their usual habitation and at the close of daily labor.

"They abolished all distinctions of rank; and if preference was ever given, it was given to piety, liberality, and virtue. Treasurers were appointed in every town to supply the wants of indigent strangers. The Essenes pretended to higher degrees of piety and knowledge than the uneducated vulgar, and though their pretensions were high, they were never questioned by their enemies. Austerity of manners was one of the chief characteristics of the Essenian Fraternity. They frequently assembled, however, in convivial parties, and relieved for awhile the severity of those duties which they were accustomed to perform."

In concluding this description of an ascetic religious sect, the writer of Lawrie's *History* says that "this remarkable coinci-

dence between the chief features of the Masonic and Essenian Fraternities can be accounted for only by referring them to the same origin." Another, and, perhaps, a better reason to account for these coincidences will be hereafter presented.

While admitting that there is a resemblance in some points of the two institutions to each other, such as their secrecy, their classification into different degrees, although there is no evidence that the Essenian initiation had any form except that of a mere passage from a lower to a higher grade, and their cultivation of fraternal love, which resemblances may be found in many other secret associations, I fail to see the identity "in the nature, the object, and the external forms of the two institutions" which Brewster claims.

On the contrary, there is a total dissimilarity in each of these points.

The nature of the Essenian institution was that of an ascetic and a bigoted religious sect, and in so far has certainly no resemblance to Freemasonry.

The object of the Essenes was to preserve in its most rigid requirements the observance of the Mosaic law; that of Freemasonry is to diffuse the tolerant principles of a universal religion, which men of every sect and creed may approve.

As to the external form of the two institutions, what little we know of those of the Essenes certainly does not exhibit any other resemblance than that which is common to all secret associations, whatever may be their nature and objects.

But the most fatal objection to the theory of a connection between them, which is maintained by the author of Lawrie's *History,* has been admitted with some candor by himself.

"There is one point, however," he says, "which may, at first sight, seem to militate against this supposition. The Essenes appear in no respects connected with architecture; nor addicted to those sciences and pursuits which are subsidiary to the art of building."

This objection, I say, is fatal to the theory which makes the Essenes the successors of the builders of Solomon's Temple and the forerunners of the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, out of whom sprang the Speculative Masons of the 18th century. Admitting for a moment the reality of the organization of Masonry at the building of the Temple in Jerusalem, any chain which unites that

body of builders with the Freemasonry of the present day must show, in every link, the presence and the continuance of pursuits and ideas connected with the operative art of building. Even the Speculative Masons of the present day have not disturbed that chain, because, though the fraternity is not now composed, necessarily, of architects and builders, yet the ideas and pursuits of those professions are retained in the Speculative science, all of whose symbolism is founded on the operative art.

The Essenes were not even Speculative Masons. Their symbolism, if they had any, was not founded on nor had any reference to the art of building. The apron which they presented to their novice was intended to be used, according to their practice, in baptism and in bathing; and the spade had no symbolic meaning, but was simply intended for practical purposes.

The defense made by the author of the *History,* that in modern times there are "many associations of Freemasons where no architects are members, and which have no connection with the art of building," hardly needs a reply. There never has been an association of Freemasons, either Operative or Speculative, which did not have a connection with the art of building, in the former case practically, in the latter symbolically.

It is absurd to suppose the interpolation between these two classes of an institution which neither practically nor symbolically cultivated the art on which the very existence of Freemasonry in either condition is based.

But another objection, equally as fatal to the theory which makes the Essenes the uninterrupted successors of the Temple builders, is to be found in the chronological sequence of the facts of history. If this succession is interrupted by any interval, the chain which connects the two institutions is broken, and the theory falls to the ground.

The Temple of Solomon was finished about a thousand years before the Christian era, and, according to the Masonic legendary account, the builders who were engaged in its construction immediately dispersed and traveled into foreign countries to propagate the art which they had there acquired. This, though merely a legend, is not at all improbable. It is very likely that the Tyrian workmen, at least (and they constituted the larger number of those employed in the building), returned to their homes after the tasks for which

they had been sent to Solomon, by the King of Tyre, had been accomplished. If there were any Jewish Masons at ail, who were not mere laborers, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they would seek employment elsewhere, in the art of building which they had acquired from their Tyrian masters. This is a proper deduction from the tradition, considered as such.

Who, then, were left to continue the due succession of the fraternity? Brewster, in Lawrie's *History,* and Oliver, in his *Antiquities,* affirm that it was the Essenes.

But we do not hear of this sect as an organized body until eight centuries afterward. The apocryphal statement of Pliny, that they had been in being for thousands of years — "*per seculorum millia*" — has met with no reception from scholars. It is something which, as he himself admits, is incredible; and Pliny is no authority in Jewish affairs.

Josephus speaks of them, as existing in the days of Jonathan the Maccabæan; but this was only 143 years before Christ. They are never mentioned in any of the books of the Old Testament, written subsequently to the building of the Temple, and the silence of the Saviour and the Apostles concerning them has been attributed to the fact that they were not even at that time an organized body, but merely an order of the Pharisees. The Rabbi Nathan distinctly says that "those Pharisees who live in a state of celibacy are Essenes;" and McClintock collates from various authorities fourteen points of resemblance, which are enumerated to show the identity in the most important usages of the two institutions. At all events, we have no historic evidence of the existence of the Essenes as a distinct organization before the war of the Maccabees, and this would separate them by eight centuries from the builders of Solomon's Temple, of whom the theory under review erroneously supposes them to be the direct descendants.

But Brewster[1] seeks to connect the Essenes and the builders of Solomon through the Assideans, whom he also calls "an order of the KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM, who bound themselves to adorn the porches of that magnificent structure and to pre-

[1] The unfairness of the author of Lawrie's "History" is apparent when he quotes the "Histoire des Juifs," by Basnage, as authority for the existence of the Essenes three hundred years before the Christian era. Basnage actually says that they existed in the reign of Antigonus, but this was only 105 B.C.

serve it from injury and decay." He adds that "this association was composed of the greatest men of Israel, who were distinguished for their charitable and peaceful dispositions; and always signalized themselves by their ardent zeal for the purity and preservation of the temple." Hence he argues that "the Essenes were not only an ancient fraternity, but that they originated from an association of architects who were connected with the building of Solomon's temple."

All this is very ingenious, but it is very untrue. It is, however, the style, now nearly obsolete, it is to be hoped, in which Masonic history has been written.

The fact is that the Assideans were not of older date than the Essenes. They are not mentioned by the canonical writers of the Scriptures, nor by Josephus, but the word first occurs in the book of Maccabees, where it is applied, not, as Brewster calls them, to men of "peaceful dispositions," but to a body of devoted and war-like heroes and patriots who, as Kitto says, rose at the signal for armed resistance given by Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, and who, under him and his successors, upheld with the sword the great doctrine of the unity of God, and stemmed the advancing tide of Grecian manners and idolatries.

Hence the era of the Assideans, like that of the Essenes, is removed eight centuries from the time of the building of the Solomonic Temple.

Scaliger, who is cited in Lawrie's *History* as authority, only says that the Assideans were a confraternity of Jews whose principal devotion consisted in keeping up the edifices belonging to the Temple; and who, not content with paying the common tribute of half a shekel a head, appointed for Temple repairs, voluntarily imposed upon themselves an additional tax.

But as they are not known to have come into existence until the wars of the Maccabees, it is evident that the Temple to which they devoted their care must have been the second one, which had been built after the return of the Jews from their Babylonian captivity. With the Temple of Solomon and with its builders the Assideans could not have had any connection.

Prideaux says that the Jews were divided, after the captivity, into two classes—the Zadikim or righteous, who observed only the written law of Moses, and the Chasidim or pious, who superadded

the traditions of the elders. These latter, he says, were the Assideans, the change of name resulting from a common alteration of the sounds of the original Hebrew letters.

But if this division took place after the captivity, a period of nearly five centuries had then elapsed since the building of Solomon's Temple, and an uninterrupted chain of sequences between that monarch's builders and the Essenes is not preserved.

After the establishment of the Christian religion we lose sight of the Essenes. Some of them are said to have gone to Egypt, and there to have founded the ascetic sect of Therapeutists. Others are believed to have been among the first converts to Christianity, but in a short time they faded out of all notice. I think, from what has been said, that there can be no hesitation in pronouncing the theory of the descent of Freemasonry to modern times through the Assideans and the Essenes to be wholly untenable and unsupported by historical testimony.

In relation to what has been called the "remarkable coincidences" to be met with in the doctrines and usages of this Jewish sect and the Freemasons, giving to them all the weight demanded, the rational explanation appears to be such as I have elsewhere given, and which I may repeat here.

The truth is that the Essenes and the Freemasons derive whatever similarity or resemblance they may have from that spirit of brotherhood which has prevailed in all ages of the civilized world, the inherent principles of which, as the natural results of any fraternization, where all the members are engaged in the same pursuit and governed by one common bond of unity, are brotherly love, charity, and generally that secrecy and exclusiveness which secures to them an isolation, in the practice of their rites, from the rest of the world. And hence, between all fraternities, ancient and modern, these "remarkable coincidences" will be apt to be found.

CHAPTER XLI

THE LEGEND OF ENOCH

EFORE concluding this series of essays, as they might be called, on the legendary history of Freemasonry, it will be necessary, so that a completion may be given to the subject, to refer to a few Legends of a peculiar character, which have not yet been noticed. These Legends form no part of the original *Legend of the Craft.* There are, however, brief allusions in that document to them; so brief as almost to attract no especial observation, but which might possibly indicate that some form, perhaps a very mutilated one, of these Legends was familiar to the Mediæval Masons, or, perhaps, which is more probable, that they have suggested a foundation for the fabrication of these legendary narratives at a later period by the Speculative Freemasons of the 18th century.

Or it may be supposed that both those views are correct, and that while the imperfect and fragmentary Legend was known to the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, its completed form was thereby suggested to the Fraternity at a later period, and after the era of the Revival.

Whichever of these views we may accept, it is at least certain that at the present day, and in the present condition of the Order, these Legends form an important part of the ritualism of the Order. They can not be rejected in their symbolic interpretation, unless we are willing with them to reject the whole fabric of Freemasonry, into which they have been closely interwoven.

Of these Legends and of some minor ones of the same class, Dr. Oliver has spoken with great fairness in his *Historical Landmarks,* in the following words:

"It is admitted that we are in possession of numerous legends which are not found in holy writ, but being of very ancient date, are entitled to consideration, although their authenticity may be

questioned and their aid rejected. I shall not, however, in any case, use their evidence as a *prima facie* means of proving any doubtful proposition, but merely in corroboration of an argument which might probably be complete without their aid. Our system of typical or legendary tradition adds to the dignity of the institution by its general reference to sublime truths, which were considered necessary to its existence or its consistency, although some of the facts, how pure soever at their first promulgation, may have been distorted and perverted by passing through a multitude of hands in their transmission down the stream of time, amidst the fluctuation of the earth and the downfall of mighty states and empires."

Without discussing the question of their great antiquity, or of their original purity and subsequent distortion and perversion, I propose to present these Legends to the Masonic reader, because they are really not so much traditional narratives of events that are supposed to have at some time occurred, but because they are to be considered really as allegorical attempts to symbolize certain ethical or religious ideas, the expression of which lies at the very foundation of the Masonic system.

So considered, they must be deemed of great value. Their interest will also be much enhanced by a comparison of the facts of history that are interwoven with them, and to certain traditions of the ancient Oriental nations which show the existence of the same Legends among them. These may, indeed, have been the foundation on which the Masonic ones have been built, the "distortion or perversion" being simply those variations which were necessary to connect the legendary statements more intimately and consistently with the Masonic symbolic ideas.

The first of these to which our attention will be directed is the *Legend of Enoch,* the seventh of the Patriarchs, of whom Milton has said:

> . . . "him the Most High,
> (Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds)
> Did, as thou seest, receive to walk with God
> High in salvation and the claims of bliss,
> Exempt from death."

I shall first present the reader with the Masonic Legend, and then endeavor to trace out the idea which it was intended to convey, by a comparison of it with historical occurrences, with Oriental

traditions of a similar nature, and with the Masonic symbolism which it seems to embody. The Legend as accepted by the Craft, from a time hereafter to be referred to, runs to the following effect.

Enoch, being inspired by the Most High, and in obedience to a vision, constructed underground, in the bosom of Mount Moriah, an edifice consisting of nine brick vaults situated perpendicularly beneath each other and communicating by apertures left in the arch of each vault.

He then caused a triangular plate of gold to be made, each side of which was a cubit long; he enriched it with the most precious stones, and engraved upon it the ineffable name of God. He then encrusted the plate upon a stone of agate of the same form, which he placed upon a cubical stone of marble, and deposited the whole within the ninth or innermost vault.

When this subterranean building was completed, Enoch made a slab or door of stone, and, attaching to it a ring of iron, by which it might, if necessary, be raised, he placed it over the aperture of the uppermost arch, and so covered it over with soil that the opening could not easily be discovered. Enoch himself was not permitted to enter it more than once a year, and on his death or translation all knowledge of this building and of the sacred treasure which it contained was lost until in succeeding ages it was accidentally discovered while Solomon was engaged in building a temple above the spot, on the same mountain.

The Legend proceeds to inform us that after Enoch had finished the construction of the nine vaults, fearing that the principles of the arts and sciences which he had assiduously cultivated would be lost in that universal deluge of which he had received a prophetic vision, he erected above-ground two pillars, one of marble, to withstand the destructive influences of fire, and one of brass, to resist the action of water. On the pillar of brass he engraved the history of the creation, the principles of the arts and sciences, and the doctrines of Speculative Masonry as they were then practiced; and on the pillar of marble he inscribed in hieroglyphic characters the information that near the spot where they stood a precious treasure was deposited in a subterranean vault.

Such is the *Legend of Enoch,* which forms a very important part of the legendary history of the High Degrees. As a traditional narrative it has not the slightest support of authentic history, and

the events that it relates do not recommend themselves by an air of probability. But, accepted as the expression of a symbolic idea, it undoubtedly possesses some value.

That part of the Legend which refers to the two pillars is undoubtedly a perversion of the old Craft Legend of Lamech's sons, which has already been treated in this work. It will need no further consideration.

The germ of the Legend is the preservation through the efforts of the Patriarch of the Ineffable Name. This is in fact the true symbolism of the Legend, and it is thus connected with the whole system of Freemasonry in its Speculative form.

There is no allusion to this story in the *Legend of the Craft.* None of the old manuscript Constitutions contain the name of Enoch, nor does he appear to have been deemed by the Mediaeval Masons to be one of the worthies of the Craft. The Enoch spoken of in the Cooke MS. is the son of Cain, and not the seventh Patriarch. We must conclude, therefore, that the Legend was a fabrication of a later day, and in no way suggested by anything contained in the original Craft Legend.

But that there were traditions outside of Masonry, which prevailed in the Middle Ages, in reference to subterranean caves in Mount Moriah is evident from the writings of the old historians. Thus there was a tradition of the Talmudists that when King Solomon was building the Temple, foreseeing that at some future time the edifice would be destroyed, he caused a dark and intricate vault to be constructed underground, in which the ark might be concealed whenever such a time of danger should arrive; and that Josiah, being warned by Huldah, the prophetess, of the approaching peril, caused the ark to be hidden in the crypt which had been built by Solomon. There was also in this vault, as in that of Enoch, a cubical stone, on which the ark was placed.[1]

There is a tradition also, among the Arabians, of a sacred stone found by Abraham beneath the earth, and made by him the stone of foundation of the temple which Jehovah ordered him to erect—a temple the tradition of which is confined to the Mohammedans.

But the most curious story is one told by Nicephorus Callistus, a Greek historian of the 14th century, in his *Ecclesiastical Histories.*

[1] Lightfoot, "Prospect of the Temple," ch. xv.

When detailing the events that occurred while Julian the Apostate was making his attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, he narrates the following fable, but of whose fabulous character the too credulous monk has not the slightest notion.

"When the foundations were being laid, as has been said, one of the stones attached to the lowest part of the foundation was removed from its place and showed the mouth of a cavern which had been cut out of the rock. But as the cave could not be distinctly seen, those who had charge of the work, wishing to explore it, that they might be better acquainted with the place, sent one of the workmen down tied to a long rope. When he got to the bottom he found water up to his legs. Searching the cavern on every side, he found by touching with his hands that it was of a quadrangular form. When he was returning to the mouth, he discovered a certain pillar standing up scarcely above the water. Feeling with his hand, he found a little book placed upon it, and wrapped up in very fine and clean linen. Taking possession of it, he gave the signal with the rope that those who had sent him down, should draw him up. Being received above, as soon as the book was shown all were struck with astonishment, especially as it appeared untouched and fresh notwithstanding that it had been found in so dismal and dark a place. But when the book was unfolded, not only the Jews but the Greeks were astounded. For even at the beginning it declared in large letters: IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD WITH GOD, AND THE WORD WAS GOD. To speak plainly, the writing embraced the whole Gospel which was announced in the Divine tongue of the Virgin disciple."[1]

It is true that Enoch has been supposed to have been identical with Hermes, and Keriher says, in the *Œdipus Egyptiacus,* "Idris, among the Hebrews, has been called Enoch, among the Egyptians Osiris and Hermes, and he was the first who before the Flood had any knowledge of astronomy and geometry." But the authors of the *Legend of the Craft* were hardly likely to be acquainted with this piece of archaeology, and the Hermes to whom, with a very corrupt spelling, they refer as the son of Cush, was the Hermes Trismegistus, popularly known as the "Father of Wisdom."

Enoch is first introduced to the Craft as one of the founders of

[1] Nicephori Callisti "Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ," tom. ii., lib. x., cap. xxxiii.

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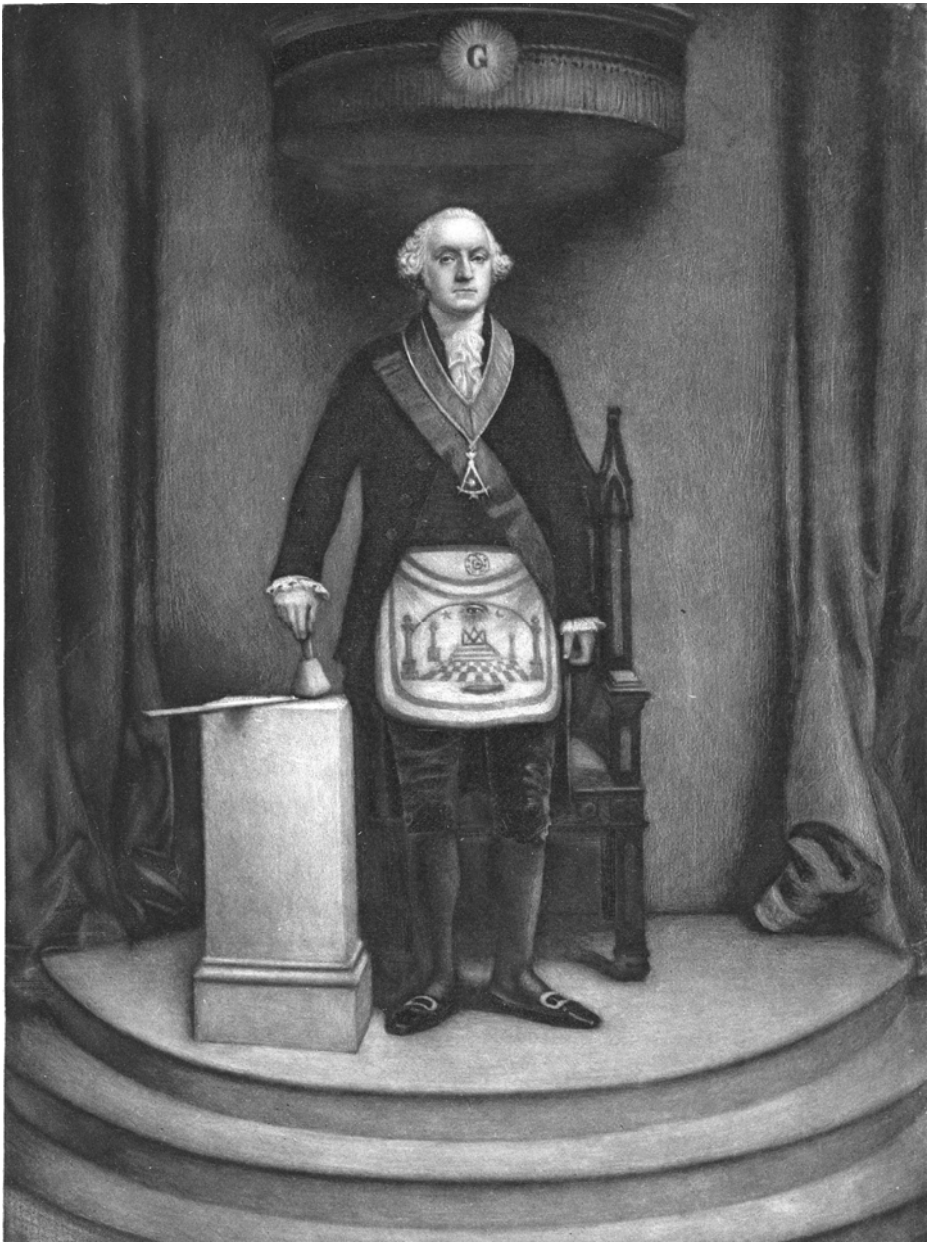
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Geometry and Masonry, by Anderson, in the year 1723, who, in the *Constitutions* printed in that year, has the following passage:

"By some vestiges of antiquity we find one of them (the off-spring of Seth) prophesying of the final conflagration at the day of Judgment, as St. Jude tells, and likewise of the general deluge for the punishment of the world. Upon which he erected his two large pillars (though some ascribe them to Seth), the one of stone and the other of brick, whereon were engraven the liberal sciences, etc. And that the stone pillar remained in Syria until the days of Vespasian, the Emperor."[1]

Fifteen years afterward, when he published the second edition of the *Constitutions,* he repeated the Legend, with the additional statement that Enoch was "expert and bright both in the science and the art" of Geometry and Masonry, an abridgment of which he placed on the pillars which he had erected. He adds that "the old Masons firmly believed this tradition," but as there is no appearance of any such tradition in the old records, of which since his date a large number have been recovered (for in them the building of the pillars is ascribed to the sons of Lamech), we shall have to accept this assertion with many grains of allowance, and attribute it to the general inaccuracy of Anderson when citing legendary authority.

But as the first mention of Enoch as a Freemason is made by Anderson, and as we not long afterward find him incorporated into the legendary history of the Order, we may, I think, attribute to him the suggestion of the Legend, which was, however, afterward greatly developed.

It was not, however, adopted into the English system, since neither Entick nor Northouck, who subsequently edited the *Book of Constitutions,* say anything more of Enoch than had already been said by Anderson. They, indeed, correct to some extent his statement, by ascribing the pillars either to Seth or to Enoch, leaning therefore, to the authority of Josephus, but, equally with Anderson, abandoning the real tradition of the old Legend, which gave them to the children of Lamech.

It is, I think, very evident that the *Legend of Enoch* was of Continental origin, and I am inclined conjecturally to assign its invention to the fertile genius of the Chevalier Ramsay, the first fab-

[1] "Constitutions," 1723, p. 3, notes.

ricator of High Degrees, or to some of his immediate successors in the manufactory of Masonic Rites.

Ramsay was too learned a man to be ignorant of the numerous Oriental traditions, Arabic, Egyptian, and Rabinical, concerning Enoch, that had been long in existence. Of this we have evidence in a very learned work on *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, published by him in 1749.

In this work[1] he refers to the tradition extant in all nations, of a great man or legislator who was the first author of sacred symbols and hieroglyphics, and who taught the people their sacred mysteries and religious rites. This man, he says, was, among the Phœnicians, Thaut; the Greeks, Hermes; the Arabians, Edris. But he must have known that Thaut, Hermes, and Edris were all synonymous of Enoch, for he admits that "all these lived some time before the universal deluge, and they were all the same man, and consequently some antediluvian patriarch."

And, finally, he adds that "some think that this antediluvian patriarch was Enoch himself." And then he presents, in the following language, those views which most probably supplied the suggestions that were afterward developed by himself, or some of his followers, in the full form of the Masonic Legend of Enoch.

"Whatever be in these conjectures," says Ramsay, "it is certain, from the principles laid down, that the antediluvian or Noevian patriarchs ought to have taken some surer measures for transmitting the knowledge of divine truths to their posterity, than by oral tradition, and, consequently, that they either invented or made use of hieroglyphics or symbols to preserve the memory of these sacred truths." And these he calls the Enochian symbols.

He does not, indeed, make any allusion to a secret depository of these symbols of Enoch, and supposes that they must have been communicated to the sons of Noah and their descendants, though in time they lost their true meaning. But the change made in the Masonic Legend was necessary to adapt it to a peculiar system of ritualism.

It is singular how Enoch ever became among the ancients a type of the mysteries of religion. The book of Genesis devotes only

[1] Vol. ii., p. 12 *et seq.*

three short verses to an account of him, and nothing is there said of him, his deeds, or his character, except an allusion to his piety.

The Oriental writers, however, abound in traditionary tales of the learning of the Patriarch. One tradition states that God bestowed upon him the gift of knowledge, and that he received thirty volumes from Heaven, filled with all the secrets of the most mysterious sciences. The Babylonians supposed him to have been intimately acquainted with the nature of the stars, and they attribute to him the invention of astrology.

The Jewish Rabbins maintained that he was taught by Adam how to sacrifice and to worship the Deity aright. The Cabalistic book of Raziel says that he received the divine mysteries through the direct line of the preceding Patriarchs.

Bar Hebræus, a Jewish writer, asserts that Enoch was the first who invented books and writing; that he taught men the art of building cities—thus evidently confounding him with another Enoch, the son of Cain; that he discovered the knowledge of the Zodiac and the course of the stars; and that he inculcated the worship of God by religious rites.

There is a coincidence in the sacred character thus bestowed upon Enoch with his name and the age at which he died, and this may have had something to do with the mystical attributes bestowed upon him by the Orientalists.

The word *Enoch* signifies, in the Hebrew, *initiated* or *consecrated,* and would seem, as all Hebrew names are significant, to have authorized, or, perhaps, rather suggested the idea of his connection with a system of initiation into sacred rites.

He lived, the Scriptures say, three hundred and sixty-five years. This, too, would readily be received as having a mystical meaning, for 365 is the number of the days in a solar year and was, therefore, deemed a sacred number. Thus we have seen that the letters of the mystical word *Abraxas,* which was the Gnostic name of the Supreme Deity, amounted, according to their numerical value in the Greek alphabet, to 365, which was also the case with *Mithras,* the god to whom the Mithraic mysteries were dedicated. And this may account for the statement of Bar Hebræus that Enoch appointed festivals and sacrifices to the sun at the periods when that luminary entered each of the zodiacal signs.

Goldziher, one of the latest of the German ethnologists, has ad-

vanced a similar idea in his work on *Mythology Among the Hebrews,* He says:

"The solar character of Enoch admits of no doubt. He is brought into connection with the building of towns—a solar feature. He lives exactly three hundred and sixty-five years, the number of days of the solar year; which can not be accidental. And even then he did not die, but 'Enoch walked with Elohim, and was no more (to be seen), for Elohim *took him away*.' In the old times when the figure of Enoch was imagined, this was doubtless called Enoch's Ascension to heaven, as in the late traditional legends Ascensions to heaven are generally acknowledged to be solar features."[1]

These statements and speculations have been objected to, because they would tend to make Enoch an idolater and a sun-worshipper. This is a consequence by no means absolutely necessary, but, as the whole is merely traditionary, we need waste no time in defending the orthodox character of the Patriarch's religious views.

After all, it would appear that the *Legend of Enoch,* being wholly unknown to the Fraternity in the Middle Ages, unrecognized in the *Legend of the Craft,* and the name even, not mentioned in any of the old records, was first introduced into the rituals of some of the higher degrees which began to be fabricated toward the middle of the 18th century; that it was invented by the Chevalier Ramsay, or by some of those ritual-mongers who immediately succeeded him, and that in its fabrication very copious suggestions were borrowed from the Rabbinical and Oriental traditions on the same subject.

It is impossible then to assign to this Legend the slightest historical character. It is made up altogether out of traditions which were the inventions of Eastern imagination.

We must view it, therefore, as an allegory; but as one which has a profound symbolic character. It was intended to teach the doctrine of Divine Truth by the symbol of the Holy Name—the Tetragrammaton—the Name most reverently consecrated in the Jewish system as well as in others, and which has always constituted one of the most important and prominent symbols of Speculative Masonry.

In the Continental system of the High Degrees, this symbol is

[1] Chap, v., sect. viii., p. 127, Martineau's Translation.

presented in the form of the *Legend of Enoch.* From the English system of Ancient Craft Masonry, that Legend is rejected, or rather it never has been admitted into it. In its place, there is another esoteric Legend, which, differing altogether in details, is identical in result and effects the same symbolism. But this will be more appropriately discussed when the symbolism of Freemasonry is treated, in a future part of this work.

CHAPTER XLII

NOAH AND THE NOACHITES

N reality, there is no Legend of Noah to be found in any of the Masonic Rituals. There is no myth, like that of Enoch or Euclid, which intimately connects him with the legendary history of the institution. And yet the story of his life has exercised a very important influence in the origin and the development of the principles of Speculative Masonry.

Dr. Oliver has related a few traditions of Noah which, he says, are Masonic, but they never had any general acceptance among the Craft, as they are referred to by no other writer, and, if they ever existed, are now happily obsolete.

The influence of Noah upon Masonic doctrine is to be traced to the almost universal belief of men in the events of the deluge, and the consequent establishment in many nations of a system of religion known to ethnologists as the "Arkite worship." Of this a brief notice must be taken before we can proceed to investigate the connection of the name of Noah with Speculative Masonry.

The character and the actions of Noah are to be looked upon from a twofold stand-point, the historic and the legendary.

The historic account of Noah is contained in portions of the sixth and seventh chapters of the Book of Genesis, and are readily accessible to every reader, with which, however, they must already be very familiar.

The legendary account is to be found in the almost inexhaustible store of traditions which are scattered among almost all the nations of the world where some more or less dim memory of a cataclysm has been preserved.

If we examine the ancient writers, we shall find ample evidence that among all the pagan peoples there was a tradition of a deluge which, at some remote period, had overwhelmed the earth. This

tradition was greatly distorted from the biblical source, and the very name of the Patriarch who was saved was forgotten and replaced by some other, which varied in different countries. Thus, in different places, he had received the names of Xisuthrus, Prometheus, Deucalion, Ogyges, and many others, where the name has been rendered very unlike itself by terminations and other idiomatic changes. But everywhere the name was accompanied by a tradition, which also varied in its details, of a deluge by which mankind had been destroyed, and the race had, through the instrumentality of this personage, been renewed.

It is to be supposed that so important an event as the deluge would have been transmitted by the Patriarch to his posterity, and that in after times, when, by reason of the oral transmission of the history, the particular details of the event would be greatly distorted from the truth, a veneration for this new founder of the race of men would be retained. At length, when various systems of idolatry began to be established, Noah, under whatever name he may have been known, would have been among the first to whom divine honors would be paid. Hence arose that system known to modern scholars as the "Arkite worship," in whose rites and mysteries, which were eventually communicated to the other ancient religions, there were always some allusions to the events of the Noachic flood—to the ark, as the womb of Nature, to the eight persons saved in it, as the ogdoad or sacred number—and to the renovation of the world, as symbolizing the passage from death to immortal life.

It is not, therefore, surprising that Noah should have become a mystical personage, and that the modern Speculative Masons should have sought to incorporate some reference to him in their symbolic system, though no such idea appears to have been entertained by the Operative Masons who preceded them.

On examining the old records of the Operative Masons it will be found that no place is assigned to Noah, either as a Mason or as one of the founders of the "science." He receives only the briefest mention.

In the Halliwell Poem his name and the flood are merely referred to as denoting an era of time in the world's history. It is only a statement that the tower of Babel was begun many years after "Noees flod."

In the Cooke MS. the record is a little more extended, but still

is but an historical narrative of the flood, in accordance with the biblical details.

In the Dowland MS. and in all the other manuscripts of the *Legend of the Craft* that succeeded it, the reference to Noah is exceedingly meager, his name only being mentioned, and that of his sons, from whom descended Hermes, who found one of the pillars and taught the science thereon described to other men. So far, Noah has had no part in Masonry.

Anderson, who, in the *Book of Constitutions* modified and enlarged the old Craft Legends at his pleasure, calls Noah and his three sons "all Masons true," and says that they brought over from the flood the traditions and arts of the antediluvians and communicated them to their growing offspring. And this was perhaps the first time that the Patriarch was presented to the attention of the Fraternity in a Masonic character.

Anderson seems to have cherished this idea, for in the second edition of the *Constitutions* he still further develops it by saying that the offspring of Noah, "as they journeyed from the East (the plains of Mount Ararat, where the ark rested) towards the West, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there together as NOACHIDÆ:, or sons of Noah." And, he adds, without the slightest historical authority, that this word "Noachidæ" was "the first name of Masons, according to some old traditions." It would have puzzled him to specify any such tradition.

Having thus invented and adopted the name as the distinctive designation of a Mason, he repeats it in his second edition or revision of the "Old Charges" appended to the *Book of Constitutions.* The first of these charges, in the *Constitutions* of 1723, contained this passage: "A Mason is obliged by his tenure to obey the moral law." In the edition of 1738, Dr. Anderson has, without authority, completed the sentence by adding the words "as a true Noachida." This interpolation was rejected by Entick, who edited the third and fourth editions in 1756 and 1767, and by Northouck, who published the fifth in 1784, both of whom restored the old reading, which has ever since been preserved in all the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England.

Dermott, however, who closely followed the second edition of Anderson, in the composition of his *Ahiman Rezon* of course adopted the new term.

About that time, or a little later, a degree was fabricated on the continent of Europe, bearing the name of "Patriarch Noachite," one peculiar feature of which was that it represented the existence of two classes or lines of Masons, the one descending from the Temple of Solomon, and who were called Hiramites, and the other tracing their origin to Noah, who were styled Noachites.

Neither Preston nor Hutchinson, nor any other writer of the 18th century, appear to have accepted the term. But it was a favorite with Dr. Oliver, and under his example it has become of so common use that *Noachida* and *Freemason* have come to be considered as synonymous terms.

What does this word really signify, and how came Anderson to adopt it as a Masonic term? The answers to these questions are by no means difficult.

Noachida, or Noachides, from which we get the English Noachite, is a gentilitial name, or a name designating the member of a family or race, and is legitimately formed according to Greek usage, where Atrides means a descendant of Atreus, or Heraclides a descendant of Heracles. And so Noachides, or its synonyms Noachida or Noachites, means a descendant of Noah.

But why, it may be asked, are the Freemasons called the descendants of Noah? Why has he been selected alone to represent the headship of the Fraternity? I have no doubt that Dr. Anderson was led to the adoption of the word by the following reason.

After Noah's emergence from the ark, he is said to have promulgated seven precepts for the government of the new race of men of whom he was to be the progenitor.

These seven precepts are: 1, to do justice; 2, worship God; 3, abstain from idolatry; 4, preserve chastity; 5, do not commit murder; 6, do not steal; 7, do not eat the blood.

These seven obligations, says the Rev. Dr. Raphall,[1] are held binding on all men, inasmuch as all are descendants of Noah, and the Rabbins maintain that he who observes them, though he be not an Israelite, has a share in the future life, and it is the duty of every Jew to enforce their due observance whenever he has the power to do so.

In consequence of this, the Jewish religion was not confined

[1] "Genesis, with Translation and Notes," by Rev. Morris J. Raphall, p. 52.

during its existence in Palestine to the Jewish nation only, but proselytes of three kinds were freely admitted. One of these classes was the "proselytes of the gate." These were persons who, without undergoing the rite of circumcision or observing the ritual prescribed by the law of Moses, engaged to worship the true God and to observe the seven precepts of Noah, and these things they were to do whether they resided in Judea or in foreign lands. They were not, however, admitted to all the privileges of the Jewish religion; marriage with Israelites was forbidden, and they were not permitted to enter within the sacred inclosure of the temple. So that, although they were Noachidæ, they were not considered equal to the true children of Abraham.

Anderson, who was a theologian, was, of course, acquainted with these facts, but, with a more tolerant spirit than the Jewish law, which gave the converted Gentiles only a qualified reception, he was disposed to admit into the full fellowship of Freemasonry all the descendants of Noah who would observe the precepts of the Patriarch, these being the only moral laws inculcated by Masonry.

In giving the history of the introduction of the word into Masonry, I have not cited among the authorities the document known as the Stonehouse MS., because it was verified by a person of that name, but more usually the Krause MS., because it was first published in a German translation by Dr. Krause in his *Three Oldest Documents.* It is alleged to be a copy of the *York Constitutions,* enacted in 926, but is generally admitted by scholars to be spurious. Yet, as it is probable that it was originally written by a contemporary of Anderson, and about the time of the publishing of the *Constitutions* of 1738, it may be accepted, so far as it supplies us with a suggestion of the motive that induced Anderson to interpolate the word "Noachida" into the "Old Charges."

In the Krause MS., under the head of "The Laws or Obligations laid before his Brother Masons by Prince Edwin," we find the following article. (I translate from the German of Krause, because the original English document is nowhere to be found.)

"The first obligation is that you shall sincerely honor God and obey the laws of the Noachites, because they are divine laws, which should be obeyed by all the world. Therefore, you must avoid all heresies and not thereby sin against God."

The language of this document is more precise than that of An-

derson, though both have the same purpose. The meaning is that the only religious laws which a Freemason is required to obey are those which are contained in the code that has been attributed to Noah. This sentiment is still further expressed toward the close of the "Old Charges," where it is said that the Mason is obliged only "to that religion in which all men agree," excluding, therefore, atheism, and requiring the observance of such simple laws of morality as are enjoined in the precepts of Noah.

Anderson had, however, a particular object in the use of the word "Noachida." The Krause MS. says that the Mason "must obey the laws of the Noachites; "that is, that he is to observe the seven precepts of Noah, without being required to observe any other religious dogmas outside of these—a matter which is left to himself.

But Anderson says he "must obey the moral law as a true Noachida," by which he intimates that that title is the proper designation of a Mason. And he has shown that this was his meaning by telling us, in a preceding part of his book, that "Noachida; was the first name of Masons, according to some old traditions."

Now the object of Anderson in introducing this word into the second edition of the *Constitutions* was to sustain his theory that Noah was the founder of the science of Freemasonry after the flood. This was the theory taught by Dr. Oliver a century afterward, who followed Anderson in the use of the word, with the same meaning and the same object, and his example has been imitated by many recent writers. But when Anderson speaks of a Noachida or a Noachite as a word synonymous with Freemason, he is in error; for although all Freemasons are necessarily the descendants of Noah, all the descendants of Noah are not Freemasons.

And if by the use of the word he means to indicate that Noah was the founder of post-diluvian Freemasonry, he is equally in error; for that theory, it has heretofore been shown, can not be sustained, and his statement that Noah and his three sons were "all Masons true " is one for which there is no historical support, and which greatly lacks an element of probability.

It is better, therefore, when we speak or write historically of Freemasonry, that this word Noachida, or Noachite, should be avoided, since its use leads to a confusion of ideas, and possibly to the promulgation of error.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE LEGEND OF HIRAM ABIF

HIS is the most important of all the legends of Freemasonry. It will therefore be considered in respect to its origin, its history, and its meaning.

Before, however, proceeding to the discussion of these important subjects, and the investigation of the truly mythical character of Hiram Abif, it will be proper to inquire into the meaning of his name, or rather the meaning of the epithet that accompanies it.

In the places in Scripture in which he is mentioned he is called at one time (in 2 Chronicles ii., 13), by the King of Tyre, in the letter written by him to King Solomon, CHURAM ABI; in another place (in 2 Chronicles iv., 16), where the writer of the narrative is recording the work done by him for Solomon, CHURAM ABIV, or, as it might be pronounced according to the sound of the Hebrew letters, ABIU. But Luther, in his German translation of the Bible, adopted the pronunciation ABIF, exchanging the flat *v* for the sharp *f* In this he was followed by Anderson, who was the first to present the full name of *Hiram Abif to* the Craft. This he did in the first edition of the English book of *Constitutions.*

And since his time at least the appellation of Hiram Abif has been adopted by and become familiar to the Craft as the name of the cunning or skillful artist who was sent by Hiram, King of Tyre, to assist King Solomon in the construction of the Temple. In *Chronicles* and *Kings* we find Churam or Huram, as we may use the initial letter as a guttural or an aspirate, and Chiram or Hiram, the vowel *u* or *i* being indifferently used. But the Masonic usage has universally adopted the word *Hiram.*

Now, the *Abi* and *Abiv,* used by the King of Tyre, in the book of Chronicles form no part of the name, but are simply inflections of the possessive pronouns my and his suffixed to the appellative *Ab.*

Ab in Hebrew means *father, i* is *my,* and *in, iv,* or *if is his. Abi* is therefore *my father,* and so he is called by the King of Tyre when he is describing him to Solomon, "Hiram my father;" *Abif* is *his father,* and he is so spoken of by the historian when he recounts the various kinds of work which were done for King Solomon by "Hiram his father."

But the word *Ab* in Hebrew, though primarily signifying a male parent, has other derivative significations. It is evident that in none of the passages in which he is mentioned is it intended to intimate that he held such relationship to either the King of Tyre or the King of Israel.

The word "father" was applied by the Hebrews as a term of honor, or to signify a station of pre-eminence. Buxtorf[1] says it sometimes signified *Master,* and he cites the fourth chapter of Genesis, where Jabal is called the father of cattle and Jubal the father" of musicians.

Hiram Abif was most probably selected by the King of Tyre to be sent to Solomon as a skillful artificer of pre-eminent skill that he might execute the principal works in the interior of the Temple and fabricate the various utensils intended for the sacred services. He was a master in his art or calling, and properly dignified with a title which announced his distinguished character. The title of Father, which was given to him, denotes, says Smith,[2] the respect and esteem in which he was held, according to the similar custom of the people of the East at the present day.

I am well pleased with the suggestion of Dr. McClintock that "*Hiram my father* seems to mean *Hiram my counsellor;* that is to say, *foreman* or *master-workman*."[3]

Applying this meaning to the passages in Chronicles which refer to this artist, we shall see how easily every difficulty is removed and the Craftsman Hiram placed in his true light.

When King Hiram, wishing to aid the King of Israel in his contemplated building, writes him a letter in which he promises to comply with the request of Solomon to send him timber from Lebanon and wood-cutters to hew it, as an additional mark of his friendship and his desire to contribute his aid in building "a house for Je-

[1] "Lexicon Talmudicum." [2] "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature."
[3] "Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Classical Literature."

hovah," he gives him the services of one of his most skillful artisans and announces the gift in these words: "And now I have sent a skillful man, endued with understanding, my master-workman Hiram."

And when the historian who wrote the *Chronicles* of the kingdom had recapitulated all the work that Hiram had accomplished, such as the pillars of the porch, the lavers and the candlesticks, and the sacred vessels, he concludes by saying that all these things were made for King Solomon by *his master-workman* Hiram, in the Hebrew *gnasah Huram Abif Lammelech Schelomoh.*

Hiram or Huram was his proper name. *Ab, father of his trade* or *master-workman,* his title, and *i* or *if, my* or *his,* the possessive pronominal suffix, used according to circumstances. The King of Tyre calls him *Hiram Abi,* "*my* master-workman." When the chronicler speaks of him in his relation to King Solomon, he calls him *Hiram Abif* "*his* master-workman." And as all his Masonic relations are with Solomon, this latter designation has been adopted, from Anderson, by the Craft.

Having thus disposed of the name and title of the personage who constitutes the main point in this Masonic Legend, I proceed to an examination of the origin and progressive growth of the myth.

"The Legend of the Temple-Builder," as he is commonly but improperly called, is so intimately connected in the ritual with the symbolic history of the Temple, that we would very naturally be led to suppose that the one has always been contemporary and coexistent with the other. The evidence on this point is, however, by no means conclusive or satisfactory, though a critical examination of the old manuscripts would seem to show that the writers of those documents, while compiling from traditional sources the *Legend of the Craft,* were not altogether ignorant of the rank and services that have been subsequently attributed by the Speculative Masons of the present day to Hiram Abif. They certainly had some notion that in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem King Solomon had the assistance of a skillful artist who had been supplied to him by the King of Tyre.

The origin of the Legend must be looked for in the Scriptural account of the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, The story, as told in the books of Kings and Chronicles, is to this effect.

On the death of King David, his son and successor, Solomon, resolved to carry into execution his father's long-contemplated design of erecting a Temple on Mount Moriah for the worship of Jehovah. But the Jews were not a nation of artisans, but rather of agriculturists, and had, even in the time of David, depended on the aid of the Phœnicians in the construction of the house built for that monarch at the beginning of his reign. Solomon, therefore, applied to his ally, Hiram, King of Tyre, to furnish him with trees from Lebanon and with hewers to prepare them, for, as he said in his letter to the Tyrian King, "thou knowest that there is not any among us that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians."

Hiram complied with his request, and exchanged the skilled workmen of sterile Phœnicia for the oil and corn and wine of more fertile Judea.

Among the artists who were sent by the King of Tyre to the King of Israel, was one whose appearance at Jerusalem seems to have been in response to the following application of Solomon, recorded in the second book of Chronicles, the second chapter, seventh verse:

"Send me now therefore a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple and in crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah, and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide."

In the epistle of King Hiram, responsive to this request, contained in the same book and chapter, in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses, are the following words:

"And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my father's. The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre, skillful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David, thy father."

A further description of him is given in the seventh chapter of the first book of Kings, in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses, and in these words:

"And King Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre. He was a widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali—and his father was a

man of Tyre, a worker in brass; and he was filled with wisdom and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass, and he came to King Solomon and wrought all his work."

It is very evident that this was the origin of the Legend which was incorporated into the Masonic system, and which, on the institution of Speculative Freemasonry, was adopted as the most prominent portion of the Third Degree.

The medæval Masons were acquainted with the fact that King Solomon had an assistant in the works of the Temple, and that that assistant had been sent to him by King Hiram. But there was considerable confusion in their minds upon the subject, and an ignorance of the scriptural name and attributes of the person.

In the Halliwell MS., the earliest known to us, the Legend is not related. Either the writers of the two poems of which that manuscript is composed were ignorant of it, or in the combination of the two poems there has been a mutilation and the Hiramic Legend has been omitted.

In the Cooke MS., which is a hundred years later, we meet with the first allusion to it and the first error, which is repeated in various forms in all the subsequent manuscript constitutions.

That manuscript says: "And at the makyng of the temple in Salamonis tyme as hit is seyd in the bibull in the iii boke of Regum in tertio Regum capitulo quinto, that Salomon had iiii score thousand masons at his werke. And the kyngis sone of Tyry was his master mason."

The reference here made to the third book of Kings is according to the old distribution of the Hebrew canon, where the two books of Samuel are called the first and second books of Kings. According to our present canon, the reference would be to the fifth chapter of the first book of Kings. In that chapter nothing is said of Hiram Abif, but it is recorded there that "Adoniram was over the levy." Now the literal meaning of Adoniram is *the lord Hiram.* As the King of Tyre had promised to send his workmen to Lebanon, and as it is stated that Adoniram superintended the men who were there hewing the trees, the old legendist, not taking into account that the levy of thirty thousand, over whom Adoniram presided, were Israelites and not Phoenicians, but supposing that they had been sent to Lebanon by Hiram, King of Tyre, and that he had sent Adoniram with them, and viewing the word as meaning *the lord Hiram,*

hastily came to the conclusion that this Lord or Prince Hiram was the son of the King. And hence he made the mistake of saying that the son of the King of Tyre was the person sent to Solomon to be his master-mason or master-builder.

This error was repeated in nearly all the succeeding manuscripts, for they are really only copies of each other, and the word *Adon,* as meaning *lord* or prince, seems to have been always assumed in some one or other corrupted form as the name of the workman sent by King Hiram to King Solomon, and whom the Freemasons of the present day know as Hiram Abif.

Thus in the Dowland MS., conjecturally dated at A.D. 1550, it is said:

"And furthermore there was a Kinge of another region that men called IRAM, and he loved well Kinge Solomon and he gave him tymber to his worke. And he had a sonn that height (was called) AYNON, and he was a Master of Geometrie and was chief Master of all his Masons, and was Master of all his gravings and carvinge and of all manner of Masonrye that longed to the Temple."

There can be no doubt that *Aynon* is here a corruption of *Adon.*

In the Landsdowne MS., whose date is A.D. 1560, the language is precisely the same, except that it says King Iram "had a sonne that was called *a man*."

It seems almost certain that the initial letter *a* in this name has been, by careless writing, dislocated from the remaining letters, man, and that the true reading is *Aman,* which is itself an error, instead of *Anton,* and this a manifest corruption of *Adon.* This is confirmed by the York MS., Number 1, which is about forty years later (A.D. 1600), where the name is spelled *Amon.* This is also the name in the Lodge of Hope MS., dated A.D. 1680.

In the Grand Lodge MS., date of A.D. 1632, he is again called the son of the King of Tyre, but his name is given as *Aynone,* another corrupted form of *Adon.* In the Sloane MS., Number 3,848, A.D. 1646, it is *Aynon,* the final *e* being omitted. In the Harleian MS., Number 1,942, dated A.D. 1670, both the final *e* and the medial *y* are omitted, and the name becoming *Anon,* approximates still nearer to the true *Adon.*

In the Alnwick MS., of A.D. 1701, the name is still further corrupted into *Ajuon.* In all of these manuscripts the Legend continues to call this artist the son of the King of Tyre, whose name is

said to be *Hiram,* or more usually *Iram;* and hence the corrupted orthography of *Amon, Aynon,* or *Anon,* being restored to the true form of *Adon,* with which word the old Masons were acquainted, as signifying *Lord* or *Prince,* we get, by prefixing it to his father's name, *Adon-Iram* or *Adoniram,* the Lord or Prince Hiram. And hence arose the mistake of confounding Hiram Abif with Adoniram, the chief of the workmen on Mount Lebanon, who was a very different person.

The Papworth MS., whose date is A.D. 1714, is too near the time of the Revival and the real establishment of Speculative Masonry to be of much value in this inquiry. It, however, retains the statement from the Old Legend, that the artist was the son of King Hiram. But it changes his name to that of *Benaim.* This is probably an incorrect inflection of the Hebrew word *Boneh* a builder, and shows that the writer, in an attempt to correct the error of the preceding legendists who had corrupted *Adon* into *Anon* or *Amon,* or *Ajuon,* had in his smattering of Hebrew committed a greater one.

The Krause MS. is utterly worthless as authority. It is a forgery, written most probably, I think I may say certainly, after the publication of the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions,* and, of course, takes the name from that work.

The name of Hiram Abif is first introduced to public notice by Anderson in 1723, in the book of *Constitutions* printed in that year.

In this work he changes the statement made in the *Legend of the Craft,* and says that the King of Tyre sent to King Solomon "his namesake Hiram Abif, the prince of architects."

Then quoting in the original Hebrew a passage from the second book of Chronicles, where the name of Hiram Abif is to be found, he explains it "by allowing the word *Abif* to be the surname of Hiram the Mason;" furthermore he adds that in the passage where the King of Tyre calls him "Huram of my father's," the meaning is that Huram was "the chief Master Mason of my father, King Abibalus," a most uncritical attempt, because he intermixes, as its foundation, the Hebrew original and the English version. He had not discovered the true explication, namely, that *Hiram* is the name, and *Ab* the title, denoting, as I have before said, *Master Workman,* and that *in,* or *iv,* or *if,* is a pronominal suf-

fix, meaning *his,* so that when speaking of him in his relation to King Solomon, he is called *Hiram Abif,* that is *Hiram, his* or *Solomon's Master Workman.*

But Anderson introduced an entirely new element in the Legend when he said, in the same book, that "the wise King Solomon was Grand Master of the Lodge at Jerusalem, King Hiram was Grand Master of the Lodge at Tyre, and the inspired Hiram Abif was Master of Work."

In the second or 1738 edition of the *Constituitions,* Anderson considerably enlarged the Legend, for reasons that will be adverted to when I come, in the next part of this work, to treat of the origin of the Third Degree, but on which it is here unnecessary to dwell.

In that second edition, he asserts that the tradition is that King Hiram had been Grand Master of all Masons, but that when the Temple was finished he surrendered the pre-eminence to King Solomon. No such tradition, nor any allusion to it, is to be found in any of the Old Records now extant, and it is, moreover, entirely opposed by the current of opinion of all subsequent Masonic writers.

From these suggestions of Anderson, and from some others of a more esoteric character, made, it is supposed, by him and by Dr. Desaguliers about the time of the Revival, we derive that form of the *Legend of Hiram Abif* which has been preserved to the present day with singular uniformity by the Freemasons of all countries.

The substance of this Legend, so far as it is concerned in the present investigation, is that at the building of the Temple there were three Grand Masters—Solomon, King of Israel; Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram Abif, and that the last was the architect or chief builder of the edifice.

As what relates to the fate of Hiram Abif is to be explained in an altogether allegorical or symbolical sense, it will more appropriately come under consideration when we are treating, in a subsequent part of this work, of the Symbolism of Freemasonry.

Our present study will be the legendary character of Hiram Abif as the chief Master Mason of the Temple, and our investigations will be directed to the origin and meaning of the myth which has now, by universal consent of the Craft, been adopted, whether correctly or not we shall see hereafter.

The question before us, let it be understood, is not as to the his'

toric truth of the Hiramic legend, as set forth in the Third Degree of the Masonic ritual—not as to whether this be the narrative of an actual occurrence or merely an allegory accompanied by a moral signification—not as to the truth or fallacy of the theory which finds the origin of Freemasonry in the Temple of Jerusalem—but how it has been that the Masons of the Middle Ages should have incorporated into their *Legend of the Craft* the idea that a worker in metal—in plain words, a smith—was the chief builder at the Temple. This thought, and this thought alone, must govern us in the whole course of our inquiry.

Of all the myths that have prevailed among the peoples of the earth, hardly any has had a greater antiquity or a more extensive existence than that of the *Smith* who worked in metals, and fabricated shields and swords for warriors, or jewelry for queens and noble ladies. Such a myth is to be found among the traditions of the earliest religions,[1] and being handed down through ages of popular transmission, it is preserved, with various natural modifications, in the legends of the Middle Ages, from Scandinavia to the most southern limit of the Latin race. Long before this period it was to be found in the mythology and the folk-lore of Assyria, of India, of Greece, and of Rome.

Freemasonry, in its most recent form as well as in its older Legend, while adopting the story of Hiram Abif, once called Adon Hiram, has strangely distorted its true features, as exhibited in the books of Kings and Chronicles; and it has, without any historical authority, transformed the Scriptural idea of a skillful smith into that of an architect and builder. Hence, in the Old Legend he is styled a "Master of Geometry and of all Masonry," and in the modern ritual of Speculative Masonry he is called "the Builder," and to him, in both, is supposed to have been intrusted the superintendence of the Temple of Solomon, during its construction, and the government and control of those workmen—the stone squarers and masons—who were engaged in the labor of its erection.

To divest this Legend of its corrupt form, and to give to Hiram

[1] "Vala, one of the names of Indra, in the Aryan mythology, is traced," says Mr. Cox, "through the Teutonic lands until we reach the cave of Wayland Smith, in Warwickshire." "Mythology of the Aryan Nations," vol. ii., p. 326.

Abif, who was actually an historic personage, his true position among the workmen at the Temple, can not affect, in the slightest degree, the symbolism of which he forms so integral a part, while it will rationally account for the importance that has been attributed to him in the old as well as in the new Masonic system.

Whether we make Hiram Abif the chief Builder and the Operative Grand Master of Solomon's Temple, or whether we assign that position to Anon, Amon, or Ajuon, as it is in the Old Legend, or to Adoniram, as it is done in some Masonic Rites, the symbolism will remain unaffected, because the symbolic idea rests on the fact of a Chief Builder having existed, and it is immaterial to the development of the symbolism what was his true name. The instruction intended to be conveyed in the legend of the Third Degree must remain unchanged, no matter whom we may identify as its hero; for he truly represents neither Hiram nor Anon nor Adoniram nor any other individual person, but rather the idea of man in an abstract sense.

It is, however, important to the truth of history that the real facts should be eliminated out of the mythical statements which envelop them. We must throw off the husk, that we may get at the germ. And besides, it will add a new attraction to the system of Masonic ritualism if we shall be able to trace in it any remnant of that oldest and most interesting of the myths, the *Legend of the Smith*, which, as I have said, has universally prevailed in the most ancient forms of religious faith.

Before investigating this *Legend of the Smith* in its reference to Freemasonry and to this particular *Legend of Hiram Abif* which we are now considering, it will be proper to inquire into the character of the Legend as it existed in the old religions and in the mediaeval myths. We may then inquire how this Legend, adopted in Freemasonry in its stricter ancient form of the Legend of Tubal Cain, became afterward confounded with another legend of a Temple-Builder.

If we go back to the oldest of all mythologies, that which is taught in the Vedic hymns, we shall find the fire-god Agni, whose flames are described as being "luminous, powerful, fearful, and not to be trusted."

The element of fire thus worshipped by the primeval Aryans, as an instrument of good or of evil, was subsequently personified by

the Greeks; the Vedic hymns, referring to the continual renovation of the flame, as it was fed by fuel, called it the fire-god Agni; also Gavishtha, that is, the ever young. From this the Greeks got their Hephaestus, the mighty workman, the immortal smith who forged the weapons of the gods, and, at the prayer of Thetis, fabricated the irresistible armor of Achilles. The Romans were indebted to their Aryan ancestors for the same idea of the potency of fire, and personified it in their Vulcan, a name which is evidently derived from the Sanscrit *Ulka,* a firebrand, although a similarity of sound has led many etymologists to deduce the Roman Vulcan from the Semitic Tubal Cain. Indeed, until the modern discoveries in comparative philology, this was the universal opinion of the learned.

Among the Babylonians an important god was Bil-can. He was the fire-god, and the name seems to be derived from Baal, or Bel, and Cain, the god of smiths, or the master smith. George Smith, in his *Chaldæan Account of Genesis,* thinks that there is possibly some connection here with the Biblical Tubal Cain and the classical Vulcan.

From the fragments of Sanchoniathon we learn that the Phoenicians had a hero whom he calls Chrysor. He was worshipped after his death, in consequence of the many inventions that he bestowed on man, under the name of Diamichius; that is, the great inventor. To him was ascribed the invention of all those arts which the Greeks attributed to Hephaestus, and the Romans to Vulcan. Bishop Cumberland derives the name of Chrysor from the Hebrew *Charatz,* or the *Sharpener,* an appropriate designation of one who taught the use of iron tools. The authorized version of Genesis, which calls Tubal Cain "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," is better rendered in the Septuagint and the Vulgate as "a sharpener of every instrument in brass and iron."

Tubal Cain has been derived, in the English lectures of Dr. Hemming, and, of course, by Dr. Oliver, from a generally received etymology that *Cain* meant *worldly possessions,* and the true symbolism of the name has been thus perverted. The true derivation is from *kin,* which, says Gesenius, has the especial meaning to *forge iron,* whence comes *Kain,* a spear or lance, an instrument of iron that has been forged. In the cognate Arabic it is *Kayin.* "This word," says Dr. Goldziher in his work on *Mythology Among the He-*

brews, "which with other synonymous names of trades occurs several times on the so-called Nabatean Sinaitic inscriptions, signifies *Smith,* maker of agricultural implements,[1] and has preserved this meaning in the Arabic *Kayin* and the Aramaic *kinaya,* whilst in the later Hebrew it was lost altogether, being probably suppressed through the Biblical attempt to derive the proper name Cain etymologically from *kana,* "*to gain*." Here it is that Hemming and Oliver got their false symbolism of "worldly possessions."

Goldziher attempts to identify mythologically Cain the fratricide with the son of Lamech. Whether he be correct or not in his theory, it is at least a curious coincidence that Cain, which I have shown to mean a smith, should have been the first builder of a city, and that the same name should have been assigned to the first forger of metals, while the old Masonic Legend makes the master smith, Hiram of Tyre, also the chief builder of Solomon.

It will, I think, be interesting to trace the progress of the myth which has given in every age and every country this prominent position among artisans to the smith.

Hephaestus, or Vulcan, kindling his forges in the isle of Lemnos, and with his Cyclops journeymen beating out and shaping and welding the red-hot iron into the forms of spears and javelins and helmets and coats of mail, was the southern development of the Aryan fire-god Agni. "Hephaestus, or Vulcan," says Diodorus Siculus, "was the first founder in iron, brass, gold, silver, and all fusible metals, and he taught the uses to which fire might be applied by artificers." Hence he was called by the ancients the god of blacksmiths.

The Scandinavians, or northern descendants of the Aryan race, brought with them, in their emigration from Caucasus, the same reverence for fire and for the working of metals by its potent use. They did not, however, bring with them such recollections of Agni as would invent a god of fire like the Hephaestus and Vulcan of the Greeks and Romans. They had, indeed, Loki, who derived his name, it is said by some, from the Icelandic *logi,* or flame. But he was an

[1] He confines the expression to "agricultural" to enforce a particular theory then under consideration. He might correctly have been more general and included all other kinds of implements, warlike and mechanical as well as agricultural.

evil principle, and represented rather the destructive than the creative powers of fire.

But the Scandinavians, interpolating, like all the northern nations, their folk-lore into their mythology, invented their legends of a skillful smith, beneath whose mighty blows upon the yielding iron swords of marvelous keenness and strength were forged, or by whose wonderful artistic skill diadems and bracelets and jewels of surpassing beauty were constructed. Hence the myth of a wonderfully cunning artist was found everywhere, and the *Legend of the Smith* became the common property of all the Scandinavian and Teutonic nations, and was of so impressive a character that it continued to exist down to mediaeval times, and traces of it have extended to the superstitions of the present day. May we not justly look to its influence for the prominence given by the old Masonic legendists to the Master Smith of King Hiram among the workmen of Solomon?

Among the Scandinavians we have the Legend of Völund, whose story is recited in the Völunddarkvitha, or Lay of Völund, contained in the *Edda* of Sæmund. Völund (pronounced as if spelled *Wayland*) was one of three brothers, sons of an Elf-king; that is to say, of a supernatural race. The three brothers emigrated to Ulfdal, where they married three Valkyries, or choosers of the slain, maidens of celestial origin, the attendants of Odin, and whose attributes were similar to those of the Greek Parcæ, or Fates. After seven years the three wives fled away to pursue their allotted duty of visiting battle-fields. Two of the brothers went in search of their errant wives; but Völund remained in Ulfdal. He was a skillful workman at the forge, and occupied his time in fabricating works in gold and steel, while patiently awaiting the promised return of his beloved spouse.

Niduth, the king of the country, having heard of the wonderful skill of Völund as a forger of metals, visited his home during his absence and surreptitiously got possession of some of the jewels which he had made, and of the beautiful sword which the smith had fabricated for himself.

Völund, on his return, was seized by the warriors of Niduth and conducted to the castle. There the queen, terrified at his fierce looks, ordered him to be hamstrung. Thus, maimed and deprived of the power of escape or resistance, he was confined to a small

island in the vicinity of the royal residence and compelled to fabricate jewels for the queen and her daughter, and weapons of war for the king.[1]

It were tedious to recount all the adventures of the smith while confined in his island prison. It is sufficient to say that, having constructed a pair of wings by which he was enabled to fly (by which we are reminded of the Greek fable of Dædalus), he made his escape, having by stratagem first dishonored the princess and slain her two brothers.

This legend of "a curious and cunning workman" at the forge was so popular in Scandinavia that it extended into other countries, where the *Legend of the Smith* presents itself under various modifications.

In the Icelandic legend Völund is described as a great artist in the fabrication of iron, gold, and silver. It does not, however, connect him with supernatural beings, but attributes to him great skill in his art, in which he is assisted by the power of magic.

The Germans had the same legend at a very early period. In the German Legend the artificer is called Wieland, and he is represented as the son of a giant named Wade. He acquires the art of a smith from Minner, a skillful workman, and is perfected by the Dwarfs in all his operations at the forge as an armorer and goldsmith. He goes of his own accord to the king, who is here called Nidung, where he finds another skillful smith, named Amilias, with whom he contends in battle, and kills him with his sword, Mimung. For this offense he is maimed by the king, and then the rest of the story proceeds very much like that of the Scandinavian legend.

Among the Anglo-Saxons the legend is found not varying much from the original type. The story where the hero receives the name of Weland is contained in an ancient poem, of which fragments, unfortunately, only remain. The legend had become so familiar to the people that in the metrical romance of Beowulf the coat of mail of the hero is described as the work of Weland; and King Alfred, in his translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy,* by Boethius, where the author alludes to the bones of the Consul Fabricius, in the passage "*ubi sunt ossa Fabricie?*" (where now are the bones of Fabricius?), thus paraphrases the question: "Where now

[1] All these smiths of mythology and folk-lore are represented as being lame, like Hephæstus, who broke his leg in falling from heaven.

are the bones of the wise Weland, the goldsmith that was formerly so famed?" Geoffrey of Monmouth afterward, in a Latin poem, speaks of the gold, and jewels, and cups that had been sculptured by Weland, which name he Latinizes as Gueilandus.

In the old French chronicles we repeatedly encounter the legend of the skillful smith, though, as might be expected, the name undergoes many changes. Thus, in a poem of the 6th century, entitled *Gautier à la main forte, or Walter of the strong hand,* it is said that in a combat of Walter de Varkastein he was protected from the lance of Randolf by a cuirass made by Wieland.

Another chronicle, of the 12th century, tells us that a Count of Angoulême, in a battle with the Normans, cut the cuirass and the body of the Norman King in twain at a single stroke, with his sword Durissima, which had been made by the smith Walander. A chronicle of the same period, written by the monk John of Marmontier, describes the magnificent habiliments of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, among which, says the author, was "a sword taken from the royal treasury and long since renowned. Galannus, the most skillful of armorers, had employed much labor and care in making it." Galans, for Walans (the *G* being substituted for the *W,* as a letter unknown in the French alphabet), is the name bestowed in general on this skillful smith, and the romances of the Trouvères and Troubadours of northern and southern France, in the 12th and 13th centuries, abound in references to swords of wondrous keenness and strength that were forged by him for the knights and paladins.

Whether the name was given as *Völund,* or *Wieland,* or *Weland,* or *Galans,* it found its common origin in the Icelandic *Völundr,* which signifies a *smith.* It is a generic term, from which the mythical name has been derived. So the Greeks called the skillful workman, the smith of their folk-lore, *Dædalus,* because there is a verb in their language *daidallo,* which means *to do skillful or ornamental work.*

Here it may not be irrelevant to notice the curious fact that concurrently with these legends of a skillful smith there ran in the Middle Ages others, of which King Solomon was the subject. In many of these old romances and metrical tales, a skill is attributed to him which makes him the rival of the subordinate artisan. Indeed, the artistic reputation of Solomon was so proverbial at the

very time when these legends of the smith were prevalent, that in the poems of those days we meet with repeated uses of the expression "l'uevre Salemon," or "the work of Solomon," to indicate any production of great artistic beauty.

So fully had the Scandinavian sagas, the German chronicles, and the French romances spoken of this mythical smith that the idea became familiar to the common people, and was handed down in the popular superstitions and the folk-lore, to a comparatively modern period. Two of these, one from Germany and one from England, will suffice as examples, and show the general identity of the legends and the probability of their common origin.[1]

Herman Harrys, in his *Tales and Legends of Lower Saxony,* tells the story of a smith who dwelt in the village of Hagen, on the side of a mountain, about two miles from Osnabrück. He was celebrated for his skill in forging metals; but, being discontented with his lot, and murmuring against God, he was supernaturally carried into a cavernous cleft of the mountain, where he was condemned to be a metal-king, and, resting by day, to labor at night at the forge for the benefit of men, until the mine in the mountain should cease to be productive.

In the coolness of the mine, says the legend, his good disposition returned, and he labored with great assiduity, extracting ore from its veins, and at first forging household and agricultural implements. Afterward he confined himself to the shoeing of horses for the neighboring farmers. In front of the cavern was a stake fixed in the ground, to which the countryman fastened the horse which he wished to have shod, and on a stone near by he laid the necessary fee. He then retired. On returning in due time he would find the task completed; but the smith, or, as he was called, the *Hiller,* i.e., Hider, would never permit himself to be seen.

Similar to this is the English legend, which tells us that in a vale of Berkshire, at the foot of White Horse Hill, evidently, from the stones which lay scattered around, the site of a Druidic monument, formerly dwelt a person named Wayland Smith. It is easily

[1] For many of the details of these two legends, as well as for much that has already been said of the mythological smith of the Middle Ages, I have been indebted to the learned Dissertation of MM. Depping and Michel. It has been ably translated from the French, with additions by Mr. S. W. Singer, London, 1847.

understood that here the handicraft title has been incorporated with the anglicized name, and that it is the same as the mediaeval Weland the Smith. No one ever saw him, for the huge stones afforded him a hiding-place. He, too, was a *Hiller;* for the word in the preceding legend does not mean "the man of the hill," but is from the German *hüllen,* to cover or conceal, and denotes the man who conceals himself. In this studious concealment of their persons by both of these smiths we detect the common origin of the two legends. When his services were required to shoe a horse, the animal was left among the stones and a piece of money placed on one of them. The owner then retired, and after some time had elapsed he returned, when he found that the horse was shod and the money had disappeared. The English reader ought to be familiar with this story from the use made of it by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of *Kenilworth.*

It is very evident, from all that has been here said, that the smith, as the fabricator of weapons for the battle-field and jewels for the *boudoir,* as well as implements of agriculture and household use, was a most important personage in the earliest times, deified by the ancients, and invested by the moderns with supernatural gifts. It is equally evident that this respect for the smith as an artificer was prevalent in the Middle Ages. But in the very latest legends, by a customary process of degeneration in all traditions, when the stream becomes muddled as it proceeds onward, he descended in character from a forger of swords, his earliest occupation, to be a shoer of horses, which was his last.

It must be borne in mind, also, that in the Middle Ages the respect for the smith as a "curious and cunning" workman began by the introduction of a new element, brought by the Crusaders and pilgrims from the East to be shared with King Solomon, who was supposed to be invested with equal skill.

It is not, therefore, strange that the idea should have been incorporated into the rituals of the various secret societies of the Middle Ages, and adopted by the Freemasons, at first by the Operative branch and afterward, in a more enlarged form, by the Speculative Masons.

In all of the old manuscript constitutions of the Operative Masons we find the *Legend of the Craft,* and with it, except in one instance, and that the earliest, a reference to Tubal Cain as the one

who "found [that is, invented] the Smith Craft of gold and silver, iron and copper and steel."

Nothing but the universal prevalence of the mediaeval legend of the smith, Völund or Weland, can, I think, account for this reference to the Father of Smith Craft in a legend which should have been exclusively appropriated to Stone Craft. There is no connection between the forge and the trowel which authorized on any other ground the honor paid by stone-masons to a forger of metals—an honor so marked that in time the very name of Tubal Cain came to be adopted as a significant and important word in the Masonic ritual, and the highest place in the traditional labors of the Temple was assigned to a worker in gold and brass and iron.

Afterward, when the Operative Art was superseded by the Speculative Science, the latter supplemented to the simple *Legend of the Craft* the more recondite *Legend of the Temple.* In this latter Legend, the name of that Hiram whom the King of Tyre had sent with all honor to the King of Israel, to give him aid in the construction of the Temple, is first introduced under his biblical appellation. But this is not the first time that this personage is made known to the fraternity. In the older Legends he is mentioned, always with a different name but always, also, as "King Solomon's Master Mason."

In the beginning of the 18th century, when what has been called the Revival took place, there was a continuation of the general idea that he was the chief Mason at the Temple; but the true name of Hiram Abif is, as we have already said, then first found in a written or printed record. Anderson speaks of his architectural abilities in exaggerated terms. He calls him in one place "the most accomplished Mason on earth," and in another "the prince of architects." This character has adhered to him in all subsequent times, and the unwritten Legend of the present day represents him as the "Chief Builder of the Temple," the "Operative Grand Master," and the "Skillful Architect" by whose elaborate designs on his trestle-board the Craft were guided in their labors and the edifice was constructed.

Now, it will be profitable in the investigation of historic truth to compare these attributes assigned to Hiram Abif by the older and more recent legendists with the biblical accounts of the same person which have already been cited.

In the original Hebrew text of the passage in the book of

Chronicles, the words which designate the profession of Hiram Abif are *khoresh nekhoshet;* literally, a worker in brass. The Vulgate, which was the popular version in those days and from which the old legendists must have derived their knowledge of biblical history, thus translates the letter of King Hiram to King Solomon: "Therefore I have sent to thee a wise and most skillful man, Hiram the workman or smith, my father"—*Hiram fabrem patrem meum.*

Indeed, in the close of the verse in the Authorized Version he is described as being "cunning to work all works in brass." And hence Dr. Adam Clarke, in his *Commentaries,* calls him "a very intelligent coppersmith."

The error into which the old legendists and the modern Masonic writers have fallen, in supposing him to have been a stone-mason or an architect, has arisen from the mistranslation in the Authorized Version of the passage in Chronicles where he is said to have been "skillful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber." The words in the original are *Baabanim vebagnetsim,* in *stones* and in *woods;* that is, in *precious stones* and in *woods of various kinds.* That is to say, besides being a coppersmith he was a lapidary and a carver and gilder. The words in the original Hebrew are in the plural, and therefore the translation "in wood and in timber" is not correct. Gesenius says—and there is no better authority for a Hebraism—that the word *eben* is used by way of excellence, to denote a precious stone, and its plural, *abanim,* means, therefore, precious stones. In the same way *gnetz,* which in the singular signifies a tree, in the plural denotes *materials of wood*, for any purpose.

The work that was done by Hiram Abif in the Temple is fully recounted in the first book of Kings, the seventh chapter, from the fifteenth to the fortieth verse, and is briefly recapitulated in verses forty-one to fifty. It is also enumerated in the third and fourth chapters of second Chronicles, and in both books care is taken to say that when this work was done the task of Hiram Abif was completed. In the first book of Kings (vii. 40) it is said: "So Hiram made an end of doing all the work that he made King Solomon for the house of the Lord. In the second book of Chronicles (iv. 2) the statement is repeated thus: "And Hiram finished the work that he was to make for King Solomon for the house of God."

The same authority leaves us in no doubt as to what that work was to which the skill of Hiram Abif had been devoted. "It was," says

the book of Chronicles, "the two pillars, and the pommels and the chapiters which were on the top of the pillars; and four hundred pomegranates on the two wreaths; two rows of pomegranates on each wreath, to cover the two pommels of the chapiters which were upon the pillars. He made also bases, and lavers made he upon the bases; one sea and twelve oxen under it. The pots also, and the shovels and the flesh hooks and all their instruments, did Huram his father (Hiram Abif) make to King Solomon, for the house of the Lord, of bright brass."

Enough has been said to show that the labors of Hiram Abif in the Temple were those of a worker in brass and in precious stones, in carving and in gilding, and not those of a stonemason. He was the decorator and not the builder of the Temple. He owes the position which he holds in the legends and in the ritual of Freemasonry, not to any connection which he had with the art of architecture, of which there is not the slightest mention by the biblical authorities, but, like Tubal Cain, to his skill in bringing the potency of fire under his control and applying it to the forging of metals.

The high honor paid to him is the result of the influence of that *Legend of the Smith,* so universally spread in the Middle Ages. which recounted the wondrous deeds of Völund, or Wieland, or Wayland. The smith was, in the mediaeval traditions, in the sagas of the north and in the romances of the south of Europe, the maker of swords and coats of mail; in the Legends of Freemasonry he was transmuted into the fabricator of holy vessels and sacred implements.

But the idea that of all handicrafts smith-craft was the greatest was unwittingly retained by the Masons when they elevated the skillful smith of Tyre, the "cunning" worker in brass, to the highest place as a builder in their Temple legend.

The spirit of critical iconoclasm, which strips the exterior husk from the historic germ of all myths and legends, has been doing much to divest the history of Freemasonry of all fabulous assumptions. This attempt to give to Hiram Abif his true position, and to define his real profession, is in the spirit of that iconoclasm.

But the doctrine here advanced is not intended to affect in the slightest degree the part assigned to Hiram Abif in the symbolism of the Third Degree. Whatever may have been his profession, he must have stood high in the confidence of the two kings, of him who sent him and him who received him, as "a master workman;"

and he might well be supposed to be entitled in an allegory to the exalted rank bestowed upon him in the *Legend of the Craft* and in the modern ritual.

Allegories are permitted to diverge at will from the facts of history and the teachings of science. Trees may be made to speak, as they do in the most ancient fable extant, and it is no infringement of their character that a worker in brass may be transmuted into a builder in stone to suit a symbolic purpose.

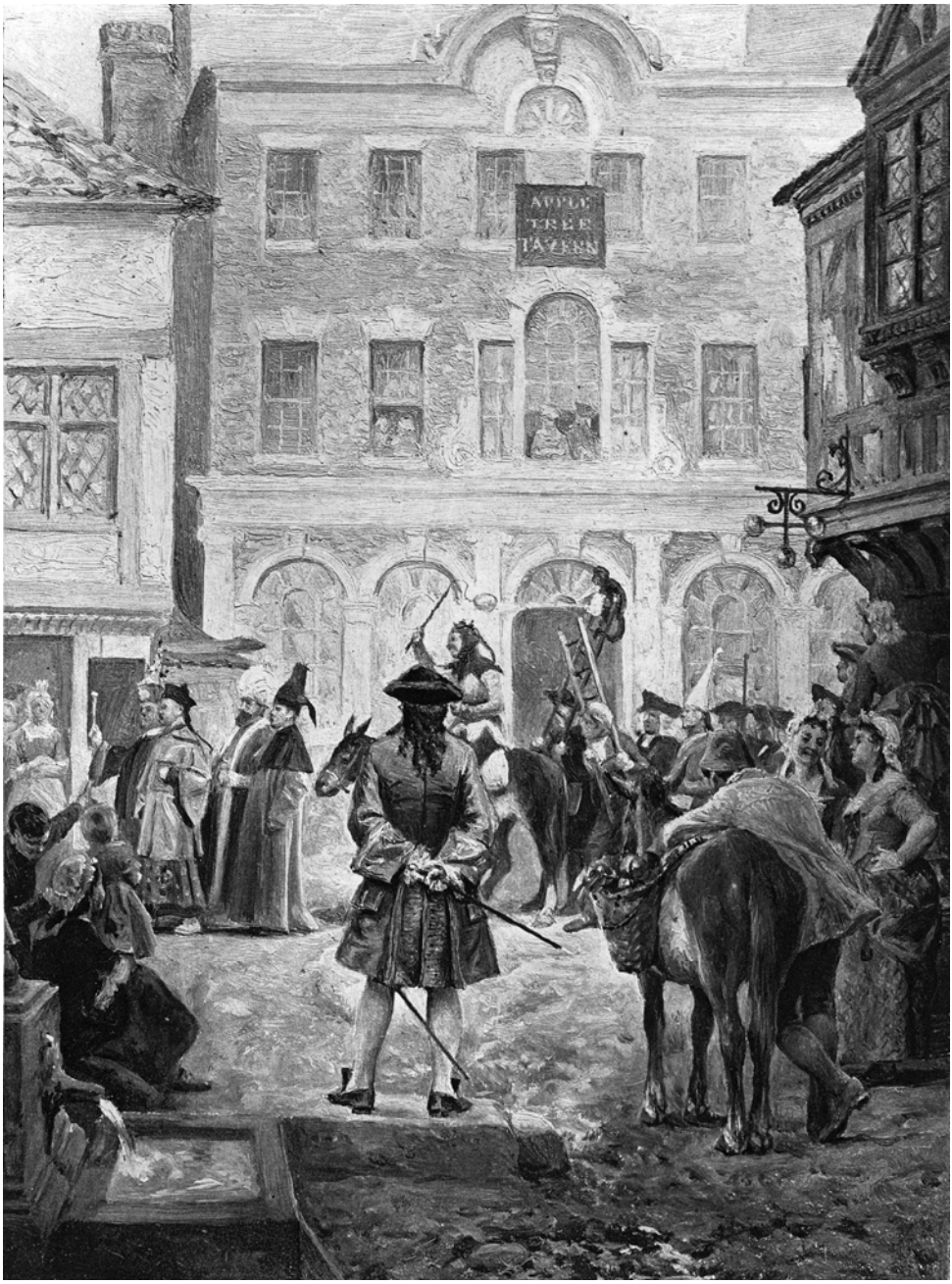
Hence this "celebrated artist," as he is fairly called, whether smith or mason, is still the representative, in the symbolism of Freemasonry, of the abstract idea of man laboring in the temple of life, and the symbolic lesson of his tried integrity and his unhappy fate is still the same.

As Freemasons, when we view the whole Legend as a myth intended to give expression to a symbolic idea, we may be content to call him an architect, the first of Masons, and the chief builder of the Temple; but as students of history we can know nothing of him and admit nothing concerning him that is not supported by authentic and undisputed authority.

We must, therefore, look upon him as the ingenious artist, who worked in metals and in precious stones, who carved in cedar and in olive-wood, and thus made the ornaments of the Temple.

He is only the Völund or Wieland of the olden legend, changed, by a mistaken but a natural process of transmuting traditions, from a worker in brass to a worker in stone.

PROCESSION OF THE SCALD MISERABLES, IN 1741


APPLE
TREE
TAVERN

CHAPTER XLIV

THE LELAND MANUSCRIPT

HE Leland Manuscript, so called because it is said to have been discovered by the celebrated antiquary John Leland, and sometimes called the Locke Manuscript in consequence of the supposititious annotations appended to it by that metaphysician, has for more than a century attracted the attention and more recently excited the controversies of Masonic scholars. After having been cited with approbation by such writers as Preston, Hutchinson, Oliver, and Krause, it has suffered a reverse under the crucial examination of later critics. It has by nearly all of these been decided to be a forgery—a decision from which very few at this day would dissent.

It is in fact one of those "pious frauds" intended to strengthen the claim of the Order to a great antiquity and to connect it with the mystical schools of the ancients. But as it proposes a theory concerning the origin of the Institution, which was long accepted as a legend of the Order, it is entitled to a place in the legendary history of Freemasonry.

The story of this manuscript and the way in which it was introduced to the notice of the Craft is a singular one.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753, the so-called manuscript was printed for the first time under the title of "Certayne Questyons with Awnserers to the same, Concernynge the Mystery of Maconrye, wrytenne by the Hande of Kynge Henrye the Sixthe of the Name, and faythfullye copyed by me Johan Leylande Antiquaries, by the Commaunde of His Highnesse." That is, King Henry the Eighth, by whom Leland was employed to search for antiquities in the libraries of cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges, and all places where any ancient records were to be found.

The article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is prefaced with these words:

"The following Treatise is said to be printed at Franckfort, Germany, 1748, under the following Title. Ein Brief Vondem Beruchmten Herr Johann Locke, betreffend die Frey-Maureren. So auf einem Schrieb-Tisch enines verstorbnen Bruders ist gefunden worden. *That is,* A Letter of the famous Mr. John Locke relating to Freemasonry; found in the Desk or Scritoir of a deceased Brother."

The claim, therefore, is that this document was first published at Frankfort in 1748, five years before it appeared in England. But this German original has never been produced, nor is there any evidence before us that there ever was such a production. The laborious learning of Krause would certainly have enabled him to discover it had it ever been in existence. But, although he accepts the so-called manuscript as authentic, he does not refer to the Frankfort copy, but admits that, so far as he knows, it first made its appearance in Germany in 1780, in J. G. L. Meyer's translation of Preston's *Illustrations*.[1]

Kloss, it is true, in his *Bibliography,* gives the title in German, with the imprint of "Frankfort, 12 pages." But he himself says that the actuality of such a document is to be wholly doubted.[2]

Besides, it is not unusual with Kloss to give the titles of books that he has never seen, and for whose existence he had no other authority than the casual remark of some other writer. Thus he gives the titles of the *Short Analysis of the Unchanged Rites and Ceremonies of Freemasons,* said to have been printed in 1676, and the *Short Charge,* ascribed to 1698, two books which have never been found. But he applies to them the epithet of "doubtful" as he does to the Frankfort edition of the *Leland Manuscript.*

But before proceeding to an examination of the external and internal evidence of the true character of this document, it will be expedient to give a sketch of its contents. It has been published in so many popular works of easy access that it is unnecessary to present it here in full.

It is introduced by a letter from Mr. Locke (the celebrated

[1] "Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerei," I., 14.

[2] "Bibliographie der Freimaurerei," No. 329.

author of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*), said to be addressed to the Earl of Pembroke, under date of May 6, 1696, in which he states that by the help of Mr. C——ns he had obtained a copy of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, which he therewith had sent to the Earl. It is accompanied by numerous notes which were made the day before by Mr. Locke for the reading of Lady Masham, who had become very fond of Masonry.

Mr. Locke says: "The *manuscript* of which this is a copy, appears to be about 160 years old. Yet (as your Lordship will observe by the title) it is itself a copy of one yet more ancient by about 100 years. For the original is said to have been the handwriting of K. H. VI. Where the Prince had it is at present an uncertainty, but it seems to me to be an examination (taken perhaps before the king) of some one of the Brotherhood of Masons; among whom he entered himself, as 'tis said, when he came out of his minority, and thenceforth put a stop to the persecution that had been raised against them."

The "examination," for such it purports to be, as Mr. Locke supposes, consists of twelve questions and answers. The style and orthography is an attempted imitation of the language of the 15th century. How far successful the attempt has been will be discussed hereafter.

Masonry is described to be the skill of Nature, the understanding of the might that is therein and its various operations, besides the skill of numbers, weights and measures, and the true manner of fashioning all things for the use of man, principally dwellings and buildings of all kinds, and all other things that may be useful to man.

Its origin is said to have been with the first men of the East, who were before the Man of the West, by which Mr. Locke,[1] in his note, says is meant Pre-Adamites, the "Man of the West" being Adam. The Phœnicians, who first came from the East into Phœnicia, are said to have brought it westwardly by the way of the Red and Mediterranean seas.

It was brought into England by Pythagoras, who is called in the document "Peter Gower," evidently from the French spelling of the name, "Pétagore," he having traveled in search of knowl-

[1] It will be seen that in this and other places I cite the name of Mr. Locke as if he were really the author of the note, a theory to which I by no means desire to commit myself. The reference in this way is merely for convenience.

edge into Egypt, Syria, and every other land where the Phoenicians had planted Masonry, Having obtained a knowledge of the art in the Lodges of Masons into which he gained admission, on his return to Europe he settled in Magna Grecia (the name given by the ancients to Southern Italy), and established a Grand Lodge at Crotona, one of its principal cities, where he made many Masons. Some of these traveled into France and made many Masons, whence in process of time the art passed over into England.

Such is the history of the origin and progress of Masonry which is given in the *Leland Manuscript.* The remainder of the document is engaged in giving the character and the objects of the Institution.

Thus it is said, in relation to secrecy, that Masons have at all times communicated to mankind such of their secrets as might generally be useful, and have kept back only those that might be harmful in evil hands—those that could be of no use unless accompanied by the teachings of the Lodge, and those which are employed to bind the brethren more strongly together.

The arts taught by Masons to mankind are enumerated as being Agriculture, Architecture, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Poetry, Chemistry, Government, and Religion.

Masons are said to be better teachers than other men, because the first of them received from God the art of finding new arts, and of teaching them, whereas the discoveries of other men have been but few, and acquired only by chance. This art of discovery the Masons conceal for their own profit. They also conceal the art of working miracles, the art of foretelling future events, the art of changes (which Mr. Locke is made in a note to interpret as signifying the transmutation of metals), the method of acquiring the faculty of Abrac, the power of becoming good and perfect without the aid of fear and hope, and the universal language.

And lastly it is admitted that Masons do not know more than other men, but only have a better opportunity of knowing, in which many fail for want of capacity and industry. And as to their virtue, while it is acknowledged that some are not so good as other men, yet it is believed that for the most part they are better than they would be if they were not Masons. And it is claimed that Masons greatly love each other, because good and true men, knowing each other to be such, always love the more the better they are.

"And here endethe the Questyonnes and Awnsweres."

There does not appear to be any great novelty or value in this document. The theory of the origin of Masonry had been advanced by others before its appearance in public, and the characteristics of Masonry had been previously defined in better language.

But no sooner is it printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the month of September, and year 1753, than it is seized as a *bonne bouche* by printers and writers, so that being first received with surprise, it was soon accepted as a genuine relic of the early age of English Masonry and incorporated into its history, a position that it has not yet lost, in the opinion of some. The forgeries of Chatterton and of Ireland met a speedier literary death.

Of the genuine publications of this document, so much as this is known.

It was first printed, as we have seen, in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* in September, 1753. Kloss records a book as published in 1754, with no place of publication, but probably it was London, with the title of *A Masonic Creed, with a curious letter by Mr. Locke.* This, we can hardly doubt, was the *Leland Manuscript* with a new title. The republications in England pursued the following succession. In 1756 it was printed in Entick's edition of the *Constitutions* and in Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon;* in 1763, in the *Free-Masons' Pocket Companion;* in 1769, in Wilkinson's *Constitutions* of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and in Calcott's *Candid Disquisition;* in 1772, in Huddesford's *Life of Leland,* and in Preston's *Lllustrations of Masonry;* in 1775, in Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry;* and in 1784, in Northouck's edition of the *Constitutions.*

In Germany it first appeared in 1776, says Krause, in J. G. L. Meyer's translation of Preston; in 1780, in a translation of Hutchinson, published at Berlin; in 1805, in the *Magazin für Freimaurer* of Professor Seehass; in 1807, in the collected Masonic works of Fessier; in 1810, by Dr. Krause in his *Three Oldest Documents;* and in 1824, by Mossdorf in his edition of Lenning's *Encyclopädie.*

In France, Thory published a translation of it, with some comments of his own, in 1815, in the *Acta Latomorum.*

In America it was, so far as I know, first published in 1783, in Smith's *Ahiman Rezon* of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; it was also published in 1817, by Cole, in his *Ahiman Rezon* of Maryland, and it has been copied into several other works.

In none of these republications, with one or two exceptions, is

there an expression of the slightest doubt of the genuineness of the document. It has on the contrary been, until recently, almost everywhere accepted as authentic, and as the detail of an actual examination of a Mason or a company of Masons, made by King Henry VI., of England, or some of his ministers, in the 15th century.

Of all who have cited this pretended manuscript, Dr. Carl Christian Friederich Krause is perhaps the most learned, and the one who from the possession of great learning, we should naturally expect would have been most capable of detecting a literary forgery, speaks of it, in his great work on *The Three Oldest Documents of the Fraternity of Freemasons,* as being a remarkable and instructive document and as among the oldest that are known to us. In England, he says, it is, so far as it is known to him, accepted as authentic by the learned as well as by the whole body of the Craft, without a dissenting voice. And he refers as evidence of this to the fact that the Grand Lodge of England has formally admitted it into its *Book of Constitutions,* while the Grand Lodge of Scotland has approved the work of Lawrie, in which its authenticity is supported by new proofs.

And Mossdorf, whose warm and intimate relations with Krause influenced perhaps to some extent his views on this as well as they did on other Masonic subjects, has expressed a like favorable opinion of the *Leland Manuscript.* In his additions to the *Encyclopädie* of Lenning, he calls it a remarkable document, which, notwithstanding a singularity about it, and its impression of the ancient time in which it originated, is instructive, and the oldest catechism which we have on the origin, the nature, and the design of Masonry.

The editor of Lawrie's *History* is equally satisfied of the genuine character of this document, to which he confidently refers as conclusive evidence that Dr. Plot was wrong in saying that Henry VI. did not patronize Masonry.

Dr. Oliver is one of the most recent and, as might be expected from his peculiar notions in respect to the early events of Masonry, one of the most ardent defenders of the authenticity of the manuscript, although he candidly admits "that there is some degree of mystery about it, and doubts have been entertained whether it be not a forgery."

But, considering its publicity at a time when Freemasonry was beginning to excite a considerable share of public attention, and that

the deception, if there was one, would have been publicly exposed by the opponents of the Order, he thinks that their silence is presumptive proof that the document is genuine.

"Being thus universally diffused," he says, "had it been a suspected document, its exposure would have been certainly attempted—if a forgery, it would have been unable to have endured the test of a critical examination. But no such attempt was made, and the presumption is that the document is authentic."

But, on the other hand, there are some writers who have as carefully investigated the subject as those whom I have referred to, but the result of whose investigations have led them irresistibly to the conclusion that the document never had any existence until the middle of the 18th century, and that the effort to place it in the time of Henry VI. is, as Mounier calls it, "a Masonic fraud."

As early as 1787, while the English Masons were receiving it as a document of approved truth, the French critics had begun to doubt its genuineness. At a meeting of the Philalethes, a Rite of Hermetic Masonry which had been instituted at Paris in 1775, the Marquis de Chefdebien read a paper entitled *Masonic Researches for the use of the Primitive Rite of Narbonne*.[1] In this paper he presented an unfavorable criticism of the *Leland Manuscript.* In 1801 M. Mounier published an essay *On the Influence attributed to the Philosophers, the Freemasons and the Illuminati in the French Revolution*,[2] in which he pronounces the document to be a forgery and a Masonic fraud.

Lessing was the first of the German critics who attacked the genuineness of the document. This he did in his *Ernst und Falk,* the first edition of which was published in 1778. Others followed, and the German unfavorable criticisms were closed by Findel, the editor of the *Bauhütte,* and author of a *History of Freemasonry,* first published in 1865, and which was translated in 1869 by Bro. Lyon. He says: "There is no reliance, whatever, to be placed on any assertions based on this spurious document; they all crumble to dust. Not even in England does any well-informed Mason of the present day, believe in the genuineness of this bungling composition."

In England it is only recently that any doubts of its authentic-

[1] "Recherches Maçonniques à l'usage des Frères du Régime Premitif de Narbonne."

[2] "De l'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, aux Franc-Maçons et aux Illuminés sur la Revolution de France," per F. F. Mounier.

ity have been expressed by Masonic critics. The first attack upon it was made in 1849, by Mr. George Sloane, in his *New Curiosities of Literature.* Sloane was not a Freemason, and his criticism, vigorous as it is, seems to have been inspired rather by a feeling of enmity to the Institution than by an honest desire to seek the truth. His conclusions, however, as to the character of the document are based on the most correct canons of criticism. Bro. A. F. A. Woodford is more cautious in the expression of his judgment, but admits that "we must give up the actual claim of the document to be a *manuscript* of the time of King Henry VI., or to have been written by him or copied by Leland." Yet he thinks "it not unlikely that we have in it the remains of a Lodge catechism conjoined with a Hermetic one." But this is a mere supposition, and hardly a plausible one.

But a recent writer, unfortunately anonymous, in the *Masonic Magazine*,[1] of London, has given an able though brief review of the arguments for and against the external evidence of authenticity, and has come to the conclusion that the former has utterly failed and that the question must fall to the ground.

Now, amid such conflicting views, an investigation must be conducted with the greatest impartiality. The influence of great names, especially among the German writers, has been enlisted on both sides, and the most careful judgment must be exercised in determining which of these sides is right and which is wrong.

In the investigation of the genuineness of any document we must have resort to two kinds of evidence, the external and the internal. The former is usually more clear and precise, as well as more easily handled, because it is superficial and readily comprehended by the most unpracticed judgment. But when there is no doubt about the interpretation, and there is a proper exercise of skill, internal evidence is freer from doubt, and therefore the most conclusive. It is, says a recent writer on the history of our language, the pure reason of the case, speaking to us directly, by which we can not be deceived, if we only rightly apprehend it. But, although we must sometimes dispense with external evidence, because it may be unattainable, while the internal evidence is always existent, yet the combination of the two will make the conclusion to

[1] Vol. vi., No. 64, October, 1878, p. 148.

which we may arrive more infallible than it could be by the application of either kind alone.

If it should be claimed that a particular document was written in a certain century, the mention of it, or citations from it, by contemporary authors would be the best external evidence of its genuineness. It is thus that the received canon of the New Testament has been strengthened in its authority, by the quotation of numerous passages of the Gospels and the Epistles which are to be found in the authentic writings of the early Fathers of the Church. This is the external evidence.

If the language of the document under consideration, the peculiar style, and the archaic words used in it should be those found in other documents known to have been written in the same century, and if the sentiments are those that we should look for in the author, are in accord with the age in which he lived, this would be internal evidence and would be entitled to great weight.

But this internal evidence is subject to one fatal defect. The style and language of the period and the sentiments of the pretended author and of the age in which he lived may be successfully imitated by a skillful forger, and then the results of internal evidence will be evaded. So the youthful Chatterton palmed upon the world the supposititious productions of the monk Rowley, and Ireland forged pretended plays of Shakespeare. Each of these made admirable imitations of the style of the authors whose lost productions they pretended to have discovered.

But when the imitation has not been successful, or when there has been no imitation attempted, the use of words which were unknown at the date claimed for the document in dispute, or the reference to events of which the writer must be ignorant, because they occurred at a subsequent period, or when the sentiments are incongruous to the age in which they are supposed to have been written, then the internal evidence that it is a forgery, or at least a production of a later date, will be almost invincible.

It is by these two classes of evidence that I shall seek to inquire into the true character of the *Leland Manuscript.*

If it can be shown that there is no evidence of the existence of the document before the year 1753, and if it can also be shown that neither the language of the document, the sentiments expressed in it, nor the character attributed to the chief actor, King Henry VI.,

are in conformity with a document of the 15th century, we shall be authorized in rejecting the theory that it belongs to such a period as wholly untenable, and the question will admit of no more discussion.

But in arriving at a fair conclusion, whatever it may be, the rule of Ulpian must be obeyed, and the testimonies must be well considered and not merely counted. It is not the number of the whole but the weight of each that must control our judgment.

Those who defend the genuineness of the *Leland Manuscript* are required to establish these points:

1. That the document was first printed at Frankfort, in Germany, whence it was copied into the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753.

2. That the original manuscript was, by command of King Henry VIII., copied by John Leland from an older document of the age of Henry VI.

3. That this original manuscript, of which Leland made a copy, was written by King Henry VI.

4. That the manuscript of Leland was deposited in the Bodleian Library.

5. That a copy of this manuscript of Leland was made by a Mr. C——ns, which is said to mean Collins, and given by him to John Locke, the celebrated metaphysician.

6. That Locke wrote notes or annotations on it in the year 1696, which were published in Frankfort in 1748, and afterward in England, in 1753.

The failure to establish by competent proof any one of these six points will seriously affect the credibility of the whole story, for each of them is a link of one continuous chain.

1. Now as to the first point, *that the document was first printed at Frankfort in the year 1748.* The Frankfort copy has never yet been seen, notwithstanding diligent search has been made for it by German writers, who were the most capable of discovering it, if it had ever existed. The negative evidence is strong that the Frankfort copy may be justly considered as a mere myth. It follows that the article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is an original document, and we have a right to suppose that it was written at the time for some purpose, to be hereafter considered, for, as the author of it has given a false reference, we may conclude that if he had copied it

at all he would have furnished us with the true one. Kloss, it is true, has admitted the title into his catalogue, but he has borrowed his description of it from the article in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* and speaks of this Frankfort copy as being doubtful. He evidently had never seen it, though he was an indefatigable searcher after Masonic books. Krause's account of it is, that it first was found worthy of Locke's notice in England; that thence it passed over into Germany — "how, he does not know" — appeared in Frankfort, and then returned back to England, where it was printed in 1753. But all this is mere hearsay, and taken by Krause from the statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* He makes no reference to the Frankfort copy in his copious notes in his *Kunsturkunden,* and, like Kloss, had no personal knowledge of any such publication. In short, there is no positive evidence at all that any such document was printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main, but abundant negative evidence that it was not. The first point must therefore be abandoned.

2. The second point that requires to be proved is *that the manuscript was, by command of King Henry VIII., copied by John Leland from an older document of the age of Henry VI.* Now, there is not the slightest evidence that a manuscript copy of the original document was taken by Leland, except what is afforded by the printed article in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* the authenticity of which is the very question in dispute, and it is a good maxim of the law that no one ought to be a witness in his own cause. But even this evidence is very insufficient. For, admitting that Locke was really the author of the annotations (an assertion which also needs proof), he does not say that he had seen the Leland copy, but only a copy of it, which had been made for him by a friend. So that even at that time the *Leland Manuscript* had not been brought to sight, and up to this has never been seen. Amid all the laborious and indefatigable researches of Bro. Hughan in the British Museum, in other libraries, and in the archives of lodges, while he has discovered many valuable old records and Masonic Constitutions which until then had lain hidden in these various receptacles, he has failed to unearth the famous *Leland Manuscript.* The hope of ever finding it is very faint, and must be entirely extinguished if other proofs can be adduced of its never having existed.

Huddesford, in his *Life of Leland,* had, it is true, made the following statement in reference to this manuscript: "It also appears

that an ancient *manuscript* of Leland's has long remained in the Bodleian Library, unnoticed in any account of our author yet published. This Tract is entitled *Certayne Questyons with Awnsweres to the same concernynge the mystery of Maconrye.* The original is said to be the handwriting of K. Henry VI., by order of his highness K. Henry VIII."[1] And he then proceeds to dilate upon the importance of this "ancient monument of literature, *if its authenticity remains unquestioned*."

But it must be remembered that Huddesford wrote in 1772, nineteen years after the appearance of the document in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* which he quotes in his Appendix, and from which it is evident that he derived all the knowledge that he had of the pseudo-manuscript. But the remarks on this subject of the anonymous writer in the *London Masonic Magazine,* already referred to, are so apposite and conclusive that they justify a quotation.

"Though Huddesford was keeper of the Ashmolean Library, in the Bodleian, he does not seek to verify even the existence of the *manuscript,* but contents himself with 'it also appears' that it is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1753. He surely ought not to have put in here such a statement, that an ancient *manuscript* of Leland has long remained in the Bodleian, without inquiry or collation. Either he knew the fact to be so, as he stated it, or he did not; but in either case his carelessness as an editor is, to my mind, utterly inexcusable. Nothing would have been easier for him than to verify an alleged *manuscript* of Leland, being an officer in the very collection in which it was said to exist. Still, if he did not do so, either the *manuscript* did exist, and he knew it, but did not think well, for some reason, to be more explicit about it, or he knew nothing at all about it, and by an inexcusable neglect of his editorial duty, took no pains to ascertain the truth, and simply copied others, by his quasi recognition of a professed *manuscript* of Leland."

But it is utterly incredible that Huddesford could have known and yet concealed his knowledge of the existence of the *manuscript.* There is no conceivable motive that could be assigned for such concealment and for the citation at the same time of other authority for the fact. It is therefore a fair inference that his only knowledge of the document was derived from the *Gentlemans Magazine.* There

[1] Huddesford's "Life of John Leland," p. 67.

is, therefore, no proof whatever that Leland ever copied any older manuscript.

Referring to certain obvious mistakes in the printed copy, such as *Peter Gower* for *Pythagoras,* it has been said that it is evident that the document was not printed from Leland's original transcript, but rather from a secondary copy of an unlearned. Huddesford adopts this view, but if he had ever seen the *manuscript* of Leland he could have better formed a judgment by a collation of it with the printed copy than by a mere inference that a man of Leland's learning could not have made such mistakes. As he did not do so, it follows that he had never seen *Leland's Manuscript.* The second point, therefore, falls to the ground.

3. The third point requiring proof is *that the original manuscript, of which Leland made a copy, was written by King Henry VI.* There is a legal rule that when a deed or writing is not produced in court, and the loss of it is not reasonably accounted for, it shall be treated as if it were not existent. This is just the case of the pretended manuscript in the handwriting of Henry VI. No one has ever seen that manuscript, no one has ever had any knowledge of it; the fact of its ever having existed depends solely on the statement made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* that it had been copied by Leland. Of a document "in the clouds" as this is, whose very existence is a mere presumption built on the very slightest foundation, it is absurd to predicate an opinion of the handwriting. Time enough when the manuscript is produced to inquire who wrote it. The third point, therefore, fails to be sustained.

4. The fourth point is *that the manuscript of Leland was deposited in the Bodleian Library.* This has already been discussed in the argument on the first and third point. It is sufficient now to say that no such manuscript has been found in that library. The writer in the *London Masonic Magazine,* whom I have before quoted, says that he had had a communication with the authorities of the Bodleian Library, and had been informed that nothing is known of it in that collection. Among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum are some that were once owned by one Essex, an architect, who lived late in the last century. Among these is a copy of the *Leland Manuscript*—evidently a copy made by Essex from the *Gentleman s Magazine,* or some one of the other works in which it had been printed. I say evidently, because in the

same collection is a copy of the *Grand Mystery,* transcribed by him as he had transcribed the *Leland Manuscript,* as a, to him perhaps, curious relic. The original *Leland Manuscript* is nowhere to be found, and there the attempt to prove the fourth point is unsuccessful.

5. The fifth point is *that a copy of Leland's MS. was made by a Mr. C——ns, and given by him to Locke.* The *Pocket Companion* printed the name as "Collins," upon what authority I know not. There were only two distinguished men of that name who were contemporaries of Locke—John Collins, the mathematician, and Anthony Collins, the celebrated skeptical writer. It could not have been the former who took the copy from the Ashmolean Library in 1696, for he died in 1683. There is, however, a strong probability that the latter was meant by the writer of the prefatory, since he was on such relations with Locke as to have been appointed one of his executors,[1] and it is an ingenious part of the forgery that he should be selected to perform such an act of courtesy for his friend as the transcription of an old manuscript. Yet there is an uncertainty about it, and it is a puzzle to be resolved why Mr. Locke should have unnecessarily used such a superabundance of caution, and given only the initial and final letters of the name of a friend who had been occupied in the harmless employment of copying for him a manuscript in a public library. This is mysterious, and mystery is always open to suspicion. For uncertainty and indefiniteness the fifth point is incapable of proof.

6. The sixth and last point is *that the notes or annotations were written by Mr. Locke in 1696, and fifty-two years afterward printed in Frankfort-on-the-Main.* We must add to this, because it is a part of the story, that the English text, with the annotations of Locke, said to have been translated into German, the question—was it translated by the unknown brother in whose desk the document was found after his death?—and then retranslated into English for the use of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

It is admitted that if we refuse to accept the document printed in the magazine in 1753 as genuine, it must follow that the notes

[1] It is strange that the idea that the Collins mentioned in the letter was Collins, the friend and executor of Locke, should not have suggested itself to any of the defenders or oppugners of the document. The writer in the "London Masonic Magazine" intimates that he was "a book-collector, or dealer in MSS."

supposed to have been written by Locke are also spurious. The two questions are not necessarily connected. Locke may have been deceived, and, believing that the manuscript presented to him by C——ns, or Collins, if that was really his name, did take the trouble, for the sake of Lady Masham, to annotate it and to explain its difficulties.

But if we have shown that there is no sufficient proof, and, in fact, no proof at all, that there ever was such a manuscript, and therefore that Collins did not transcribe it, then it will necessarily follow that the pretended notes of Locke are as complete a forgery as the text to which they are appended. Now, if the annotations of Locke were genuine, why is it that after diligent search this particular one has not been found? It is known that Locke left several manuscripts behind him, some of which were published after his death by his executors, King and Collins, and several unpublished manuscripts went into the possession of Lord King, who in 1829 published the *Life and Correspondence of Locke.* But nowhere has the notorious *Leland Manuscript* appeared. "If John Locke's letter were authentic," says the writer already repeatedly referred to, "a copy of this *manuscript* would remain among Mr. Locke's papers, or at Wilton House, and the original *manuscript* probably in the hands of this Mr. Collins, whoever he was, or in the Bodleian."

But there are other circumstances of great suspicion connected with the letter and annotations of Locke, which amount to a condemnation of their authenticity. In concluding his remarks on what he calls "this old paper," Locke is made to say: "It has so raised my curiosity as to induce me to enter myself into the fraternity; which I am determined to do (if I may be admitted) the next time I go to London, and that will be shortly."

Now, because it is known that at the date of the pseudo-letter, Mr. Locke was actually residing at Oates, the seat of Sir Francis Masham, for whose lady he says that the annotations were made, and because it is also known that in the next year he made a visit to London, Oliver says that there "he was initiated into Masonry." Now, there is not the slightest proof of this initiation, nor is it important to the question of authenticity whether he was initiated or not, because if he was not it would only prove that he had abandoned the intention he had expressed in the letter. But I cite the

unsupported remark of Dr. Oliver to show how Masonic history has hitherto been written—always assumptions, and facts left to take care of themselves.

But it is really most probable that Mr. Locke was not made a Freemason in 1697 or at any other time, for if he had been, Dr. Anderson, writing the history of Masonry only a few years afterward, would not have failed to have entered this illustrious name in the list of "learned scholars" who had patronized the Fraternity.

It appears, from what is admitted in reference to this subject, that the *Leland Manuscript,* having been obtained by Mr. Collins from the Bodleian Library, was annotated by Mr. Locke, and a letter, stating the fact, was sent with the *manuscript* and annotations to a nobleman whose rank and title are designated by stars (a needless mystery), but who has been subsequently supposed to be the Earl of Pembroke. All this was in the year 1696. It then appears to have been completely lost to sight until the year 1748, when it is suddenly found hidden away in the desk of a deceased brother in Germany. During these fifty-two years that it lay in abeyance, we hear nothing of it. Anderson, the Masonic historian, could not have heard of it, for he does not mention it in either the edition of the *Constitutions* published in 1723, or in that more copious one of 1738. If anyone could have known of it, if it was in existence, it would have been Anderson, and if he had ever seen or heard of it he would most certainly have referred to it in his history of Masonry during the reign of Henry VI.

He does say, indeed, that according to a record in the reign of Edward IV. "the *charges* and *laws* of the Freemasons have been seen and perused by our late Sovereign, King Henry VI., and by the Lords of his most honourable Council, who have allowed them and declared that they be right good and reasonable to be holden as they have been drawn out and collected from the records of ancient times," etc.[1]

But it is evident that this is no description of the *Leland Manuscript,* which does not consist of "charges and laws," but is simply a history of the origin of Masonry, and a declaration of its character and objects. And yet the fact that there is said to have been something submitted by the Masons to Henry VI. and his Council was

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," edition of 1738, p. 75.

enough to suggest to the ingenious forger the idea of giving to his pseudo-manuscript a date corresponding to the reign of that monarch. But he overleaped the bounds of caution in giving the peculiar form to his forgery. Had he fabricated a document similar to those ancient constitutions, many genuine manuscripts of which are extant, the discovery of the fraud would have been more difficult.

But to continue the narrative: The *manuscript,* having been found in the desk of this unknown deceased brother, is forthwith published at Frankfort, Germany, in a pamphlet of twelve pages and in the German language.

Here again there are sundry questions to be asked, which can not be answered. Had the tale been a true one, and the circumstances such as always accompany the discovery of a lost document, and which are always put upon record, the replies and explanations would have been ready.

Was the letter of Locke, including of course the catechism of the *Leland Manuscript*, which was found in the desk of the unknown brother, the original document, or was it only a copy? If the latter, had it been copied in English by the brother, or translated by him into German? If not translated by him, by whom was it translated? Was the pamphlet printed in Frankfort merely a German translation, or did it also contain, in parallel columns, the English original, as Krause has printed the English documents in his *Kunsturkunden,* and as, in fact, he has printed this very document? These are questions of very great importance in determining the value and authenticity of the Frankfort pamphlet. And yet not one of them can be answered, simply because that pamphlet has never been found, nor is it known that anyone has ever seen it

The pamphlet next makes its appearance five years afterward in England, and in an English translation in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753. Nobody can tell, or at least nobody has told, how it got there, who brought it over, who translated it from the German, how it happened that the archaic language of the text and the style of Locke have been preserved. These are facts absolutely necessary to be known in any investigation of the question of authenticity, and yet over them all a suspicious silence broods.

Until this silence is dissipated and these questions answered by the acquisition of new knowledge in the premises, which it can hardly now be expected will be obtained, the stain of an imposture

must remain upon the character of the document. The discoverer of a genuine manuscript would have been more explicit in his details.

As to internal evidence, there is the most insuperable difficulty in applying here the canons of criticism which would identify the age of the manuscript by its style.

Throwing aside any consideration of the Frankfort pamphlet on account of the impossibility of explaining the question of translation, and admitting, for the time, that Mr. Locke did really annotate a copy of a manuscript then in the Bodleian Library, which copy was made for him by his friend Collins, how, with this admission, will the case stand?

In Mr. Locke's letter (accepting it as such) he says: "The *manuscript,* of which this is a copy, appears to be about 160 years old." As the date of Locke's letter is 1696, this estimate would bring us to 1536, or the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry VIII. Locke could have derived his knowledge of this fact only in two ways: from the date given in the manuscript, or from its style and language as belonging, in his opinion, to that period.

But if he derived his knowledge from the date inserted at the head of the manuscript, that knowledge would be of no value, because it is the very question which is at issue. The writer of a forged document would affix to it the date necessary to carry out his imposture, which of course would be no proof of genuineness.

But if Locke judged from the style, then it must be said that, though a great metaphysician and statesman, and no mean theologian, he was not an archaeologist or antiquary, and never had any reputation as an expert in the judgment of old records. Of this we have a proof here, for the language of the *Leland Manuscript* is not that of the period in which Leland lived. The investigator may easily satisfy himself of this by a collation of Leland's genuine works, or of the Cranmer Bible, which is of the same date.

But it may be said that Locke judged of the date, not by the style, but by the date of the manuscript itself. And this is probably true, because he adds: "Yet (as your Lordship will observe by the title) it is itself a copy of one yet more ancient by about 100 years: For the original is said to have been in the handwriting of K. H. VI."

Locke then judged only by the title—a very insufficient proof, as I have already said, of authenticity. So Locke seems to have

thought, for he limits the positiveness of the assertion by the qualifying phrase "it is said." If we accept this for what it is worth, the claim will be that the original manuscript was written in the reign of Henry VI., or about the middle of the 15th century. But here again the language is not of that period. The new English, as it is called, was then beginning to take that purer form which a century and a half afterward culminated in the classical and vigorous style of Cowley. We find no such archaisms as those perpetrated in this document in the *Repressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy,* written in the same reign, about 1450, by Bishop Pecock, nor in the Earl of Warwick's petition to Duke Humphrey, written in 1432, nor in any other of the writings of that period. It is not surprising, therefore, that the glossary or list of archaic words used in the document, by which from internal evidence we could be enabled to fix its date, has, according to Mr. Woodford, "always been looked upon with much suspicion by experts."

If I may advance an hypothesis upon the subject, I should say that the style is a rather clumsy imitation of that of Sir John Mandeville, whose *Voiage and Travaile* was written in 1356, about a century before the pretended date of the *Leland Manuscript.*

An edition of this book was published at London in 1725. It was, therefore, accessible to the writer of the Leland document. He being aware of the necessity of giving an air of antiquity to his forgery, and yet not a sufficiently skillful philologist to know the rapid strides that had taken place in the progress of the language between the time of Mandeville and the middle of the reign of Henry VI., adopted, to the best of his poor ability, the phraseology of that most credulous of all travelers, supposing that it would well fit into the period that he had selected for the date of his fraudulent manuscript. His ignorance of philology has thus led to his detection. I am constrained, from all these considerations, to indorse the opinion of Mr. Halliwell Phillips, that "it is but a clumsy attempt at deception, and quite a parallel to the recently discovered one of the first *Englishe Mercurie*."

But the strangest thing in this whole affair is that so many men of learning should have permitted themselves to become the dupes of so bungling an impostor.

PART TWO

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY OUTLOOK

F the reader has bestowed any attention on the preceding part of this work, he will have been enabled to discover that what I have designated as "Prehistoric Masonry" is nothing more than a collection of legends and traditions derived from various sources and, apparently, invented at different periods during the Middle Ages, when the Fraternity of Freemasons was a thoroughly Operative association, composed of architects and builders, with a few unprofessional men of rank and wealth, who had been accepted by the Craft as patrons or honorary members.

It is, however, only in compliance with the usage of historians that I have consented to adopt the use of this term "prehistoric" in reference to the present subject, and not because I have considered it to be an absolutely correct one when applied to the history of Freemasonry.

Anthropologists have divided the chronological series of events in every nation or race into two distinct periods — the prehistoric and the historic. The former includes the time when the inhabitants of a country were in a condition of utter barbarism, from which they gradually raised themselves to a higher state of civilization.

Of the fact even of the existence of such a primitive people we have no evidence, except certain myths and legends, in which they appear to have embodied their ideas of religious belief, and, at a somewhat later period in their progress toward civilization, some

fragmentary records, to be found principally in the hieroglyphic monuments of ancient Egypt and in the cuneiform inscriptions of old Assyria.

But when a nation or race began, by the natural process of advancement, to emerge from this lower sphere of intellectual debasement to a higher one, its first labor was to preserve the evidences of its existence and the memorial of its transactions in written records.

All before this era of emergence from oral traditions to records has been called by anthropologists the "prehistoric period"—all after it, the "historic."

Now, it is very evident that no such division can, in strictness, be applied to the history of Freemasonry. Viewed as an association of builders, when there ceases to be a record of the association, it must be supposed that it did not exist. There are no legends or traditions whose existence can be traced to a period anterior to that which contains historic records of the society.

These legends and traditions, all of which have been given in the first part of this work, were not, like the primeval myths of the prehistoric nations, the outgrowth of an uneducated religious sentiment wholly unconnected with and independent of any record of real events which occurred, or were occurring, at the same time.

On the contrary, they sprang up in the Middle Ages, at the very time when Freemasonry was making its indelible record in the history of Europe. They were fabricated by Freemasons who had long before been recognized in history as an association of some importance. They were not the spontaneous growth of some primitive body of builders, known to us only by these legends which had been orally transmitted from the earliest prehistoric times. They were the inventions of a later period, most of the facts which they detailed being borrowed from historical records, principally from the Bible or from ecclesiastical historians, and they were indebted for their fabrication partly to a desire to magnify the antiquity of the Institution and partly to the influence of that legendary spirit which prevailed in the Middle Ages, and which we find still more extensively developed in the legends of the Saints which have been accepted by the Roman Catholic Church.

These Masonic legends differ also in another respect from the prehistoric myths of antiquity.

As soon as a nation began to make its history, its myths were

relegated to their proper place in the region of mythology, and the history continued to be written without any admixture with them. They were considered as things of the past. They had their inevitable influence upon the religion of the people, but they were not intruded into its political history.

But from the very time of the fabrication of the Masonic legends and traditions, they were accepted as a part of the annals of the association and were incorporated into it as a portion of its true history. As such they have been maintained almost to the present day. In this way we have two histories of Freemasonry which have always been presenting themselves to our consideration with the assumption of an equal claim to our credence.

We have, in the first place, the authentic history, gathered from the records of all the building guilds and confraternities from the time of Numa, and which, assuming various forms at different periods, finally has culminated in the Speculative Freemasonry of the present day.

And then we have a mass of legends and traditions fabricated in the Middle Ages, and some others of a later day. These have been obtruded into the authentic history, have grown up alongside of it, and have presented and sought to preserve a different and, of course, an apocryphal form of history.

Looking at the time and manner of the fabrication of these legends, and the persistent way in which for some centuries they have traveled down the stream of time *pari passu* with the authentic history, it would perhaps have been better to designate them as "extra-historic," rather than "pre-historic"—something not before history, but something outside of history.

Yet, as they have been made to assume the appearance of prehistoric legends, and have claimed, however incorrectly, to be traditions of the origin and progress of the Institution at a time when there were no written records of its existence, I have felt myself excusable, and perhaps even justifiable, in tolerating temporarily this mistaken view, under the protest of this explanation, and of adopting the usage of historians in their treatment of the histories of nations.

As a matter, therefore, of convenience I have used the term "prehistoric," although I am well convinced that there is no such thing as a "prehistoric Freemasonry."

There is, unquestionably, a prehistoric architecture. The art of building, so as to secure shelter from the inclemencies of the seasons and protection from the incursions of wild beasts, was practiced at a period long antecedent to the existence of any written records of the existence of the arts. The Troglodytes must have made alterations for their greater comfort, convenience, and security in the rude caves which they made their homes, and the lake-dwellers of prehistoric Helvetia exhibited, as we may judge from their remains, considerable skill and ingenuity in the construction of their lacustrine houses.

But architecture, when it is not united with and practiced by an organized craft, guild, or fraternity, is not Freemasonry.

Therefore prehistoric architecture and prehistoric Freemasonry are two entirely different things. Of the former we have monumental records; of the latter we have no evidence, and the term is used only as a *façon deparier,* as a matter of convenience, and as a concession to common usage in the treatment of historical subjects.

There is one very marked difference in character between the prehistoric myths of antiquity and the legends of Freemasonry, which, for the reason just assigned, I have placed in the supposititious prehistoric period of that institution.

The myths of the earliest peoples found their origin and groundwork in an enforced observance of the contending powers of nature. The nomadic races, wandering over the wide plains and lofty mountains of the East, were necessarily struck by the alternate changes of darkness and light, of night and day. They saw and they feared the dark sky with its diadems of glittering stars and its murky clouds; these they beheld dispersed by the rosy dawn, before which stars and clouds and darkness fled as the wild game flees before the hunter. Then they beheld the glorious sun, ushered in by the dawn, traverse the sky, at length to be destroyed in the far West by the recuperated forces of night, which again reigned supreme over the earth, until it was anew dispersed by the ever-renewing dawn.

This perpetually recurring elemental strife gave rise to the formation of myths, which formulated fables of the wars of these opposing forces of nature, just as, later, men in the historic period de« scribed the battles of contending armies.

These simple myths were undoubtedly the first acts of the human

mind.[1] As time passed onward and the intellect became more cultivated, the myths were developed into a definite form of religious faith. The forces of nature were impersonated as actual, living deities.

The primitive Aryans, out of the fire which descended from the clouds in the forked lightning, and the fire which they brought by friction out of the wood, both of which they deemed to be identical, made their god Agni.[2]

At a later period their Greek descendants symbolized the all-healing and purifying sun, whose rays disperse the morbific influences of malaria, as Herakles destroying the hydra of the Lerngean marshes, or as the light-diffusing Phœbos Apollo, who pictured the solar rays by his flowing locks of golden hair and his quiver filled with arrows.

Thus it was that the simple nature-myths of the primeval nations, Aryan and Semitic, were in the progress of time resolved into a system of complicated mythology that became the popular religion of the ancient nations.

But this mythology was perfectly separated from political and national history. The prehistoric mythology of Greece and Rome was always distinct from Grecian and Roman authentic history.

Though in the earliest period when history began to emerge from tradition there was, undoubtedly, some confused admixture of the two, yet, as each nation began to keep its records, the two streams were made to flow in different channels, and the mythical and the historical elements were not permitted to intermingle. The priests preserved the former in their temple services, and the poets only referred to them in their epics and in their odes; the philosophers and the historians confined their instructions to the latter.

But it has not been so with the legends, which may be called the myths, of Freemasonry. Springing into existence not at any early, prehistorical period, but receiving their form at the very time when Masonry was already an historical institution, these traditions

[1] Goldziher says that the myth is the result of a purely psychological operation, and is, together with language, the oldest act of the human mind. "Mythology Among the Hebrews," ch. i., p. 3.

[2] In the old Vedic faith, Agni is sometimes addressed as the one great god who makes all things, sometimes as the light which fills the heavens, sometimes as the blazing lightning, or as the clear flame of earthly fire. "Con. Aryan Mythology," vol. ii., p. 190.

have traveled down contemporaneously with its authentic narratives, not in two independent and separated streams, but in one commingled current.

At the period when the speculative element of Masonry withdrew itself from the alliance which it had always maintained, the traditions contained in the *Legend of the Craft,* which constitute the great body of Masonic myths, were incorporated into and made an inseparable part of the true history. Nothing was rejected; everything was accepted as authentic; and indeed other legends borrowed from or suggested by Rabbinical and Talmudical reveries were added.

Hence has arisen that inextricable and deplorable confusion of tradition and history, of false and true, of apocryphal and authentic, that we find in all the so-called histories of Freemasonry which were written in the 18th century. Nor did this false method of writing cease with the expiration of that period. It was continued into the 19th century, and its influence is still felt, not only in the opinions entertained by the masses of the Fraternity, but in the statements made in annual addresses before lodges, by men not always unlearned or unscholarly, but who do not hesitate to advance traditions and legends as a substitute for the true history of the Order.

Of this mode of writing Masonic history, let us take at random a single passage from one of the works of the most eminent of the writers of this school.

"The Druidical Memoranda," says Dr. Oliver,[1] "were made in the Greek character, for the Druids had been taught Masonry by Pythagoras himself, who had communicated its *arcana* to them, under the name he had assigned to it in his own country. This distinguished appellation (Mesouraneō), in the subsequent declension and oblivion of the science, during the dark ages of barbarity and superstition, might be corrupted into MASONRY, as its remains, being merely operative, were confined to a few hands, and these artificers and working Masons."

Here are no less than five positive assertions, of which but one rests on the slightest claim of authority, while the whole of them are absolutely unhistorical.

1. The statement that the Druids used the Greek character in

[1] "Antiquities of Freemasonry," Period I., ch. i., p. 17.

their secret writing is made on the authority of a casual remark of Cæsar; but later authorities, much better than Cæsar, on the subject of Druidism have shown that the character used by them was the old Irish Oghum alphabet.

2. The assertion that the Druids practiced or were acquainted with Masonry is altogether untenable. It is known that the dogmas and practices of their religion were antagonistic to those of Masonry.

3. The statement that they were taught Masonry by Pythagoras is met by the simple fact that that philosopher never visited Britain.

4. All that is said about the Greek word *Mesouraneō,* as the term under which Masonry was known to Pythagoras and communicated by him to the Druids, is a mere fable. It had its origin in a whimsical etymology first proposed by Hutchinson, and which has never been accepted by competent philologists.

5. The implied doctrine contained in the close of the paragraph, that the first form of Masonry was Speculative, and that the Operative branch was merely what remained after the declension and decay of the science, to be practiced by working Masons, is in direct violation of all historic truth, which makes the Speculative element an after-thought and a development out of the Operative.

When history is thus caricatured, what chance is there that the unlearned shall find the truth; and what labor must be imposed on the learned in striving to extract the pure gold of facts from the worthless ore of tradition in which it has been imbedded?

The mode of writing Masonic history which was adopted in the 18th century, and which, with some honorable exceptions, has been pursued almost to the present day, was one which was by no means calculated to elicit truth or to satisfy the inquiring mind.

A groundwork for the history of Freemasonry was found in the *Legend of the Craft.* All the statements in that old document were accepted as authentic narratives of events that had actually occurred. Hence the origin of the institution was placed at a period anterior to the flood. All the patriarchs were declared to have been Masons; Noah and his sons were said to have been the means of transmitting its tenets from the antediluvians to the post-diluvians. Its progress was traced from Noah to Moses, who was said to have practiced its mystic rites in the wilderness. From Moses it was made to pass over to Solomon, who, in some incomprehensible way, was

supposed to have organized, as its first Grand Master, an association which, however, according to the preceding history, appears to have been in existence thousands of years before. From the King of Israel it was made to pass over from Palestine to Europe, and is landed with little respect, or at least with no accounting for the lapse of time, in the kingdom of France, and in the time of Charles Martel. From him it crosses the Channel, and is reorganized in England in the reign of King Athelstan and by his brother Edwin.

Such is the history of Freemasonry that for a century and a half has claimed and received almost universal belief from the Craft. And yet, perhaps there never was a history of any kind that could present so few claims to belief.

It is fragmentary in its details. Centuries are passed over with no connecting link. From Abraham, who, it is said, "had learned well the science and the art" (that is, Geometry and Operative Masonry), to Moses, who is called the Grand Master of the Jewish Masons, a period of more than four centuries passes with the most inefficient and unsatisfactory account, if it can be called an account at all, of how this science and art were transmitted from the one to the other. From Moses to Solomon there occurs a vast chasm of fifteen centuries, with scarcely an attempt to fill it up with a consecutive series of intervening events. And so the fragmentary history goes on in intermittent leaps from Solomon to Zerubbabel, from Zerubbabel to Augustus, from Augustus to Charles Martel, and finally from him to Athelstan.

It is contradictory in its statements. Claiming for the Institution a purely Hebrew character, it intermixes with strange inconsistency the labors and the patronage of Jewish patriarchs and Pagan monarchs, and finds as much of true Masonry in the works of the idolatrous Nebuchadnezzar as in those of King Solomon.

But perhaps the most important fault of these 18th century his torians of Freemasonry is the entire absence of all citation of authority for the records which they have made. They assume a statement to suit their theory, but give no evidence or support from contemporary profane or sacred writers that it is a genuine fact and not a bare assumption. The scholar who is seeking in his historical studies for truth and truth only, finds himself thus involved in a labyrinth of doubts, from which all the canons of criticism fail, how. ever skillfully applied, to extricate him. He knows not when the

writer is acting on the results of his own or some predecessor's invention, or when he is reciting events that have really occurred.

We are not to attribute to those writers who have thus made a romance instead of a history any willful intention to falsify the facts of history. At first led astray by a misinterpretation of the *Legend of the Craft,* they had on this misinterpretation framed a theory of the antiquity of Freemasonry in a wrong direction, and then, as has occurred thousands of times before, they proceeded to fit the facts to the theory, and not, as they should have done, the theory to the facts. The doctrines of the new school of anthropology, which does not admit that the origin of the whole human family is to be found solely in the Semitic race, were, in their day, unknown. If Freemasonry was older than the era of the revival and the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England,, its antiquity was to be sought only in the line of the Jewish patriarchs. Thus it became venerable, not only by its age but by its religious character. To this line they wished, therefore, to confine the direction of its rise and progress, and they thought that they could find the proofs of this line of progress in their own interpretation of *the Legend of the Craft,* and the application to it of certain passages of Holy Writ. They succeeded in this, at least to their own satisfaction, because "the wish was father to the thought."

But as they recognized the symbolic character of Freemasonry, and as they found some of the most important and expressive of these symbols prevailing in the Pagan associations of antiquity, they thought it necessary to account for this contemporary prevalence of the same ideas in two entirely different systems of religion in such a way as not to impair the validity of the claim of Masonry to a purely Semitic origin.

This they did by supposing that while the Divine truths inculcated by Speculative Masonry were preserved in their purity by those of the descendants of Noah who had retained the instructions which they had received from their great ancestor, there was at some era, generally placed at the time of the attempted building of the Tower of Babel, a secession of a large number of the human race from the purer stock.

These seceders rapidly lost sight of the Divine truths which they had received at one time, and fell into the most grievous religious errors. Thus they corrupted the purity of the worship and the or-

thodoxy of the faith, the principles of which had been originally communicated to them.

In this way there sprung up two streams of Masonry, distinguished by Dr. Oliver as the "Pure" and the "Spurious." The former was practiced by the descendants of Noah in the Jewish line; the latter by his descendants in the Pagan line.

It is thus that these theorists account for the presence of a Masonic element though a perverted one, in the mysteries of the ancient Pagan nations.

There was afterward a union of these two lines, the Pure and the Spurious, at the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, when King Solomon invoked the assistance and the co-operation of the heathen and idolatrous workmen of the King of Tyre,

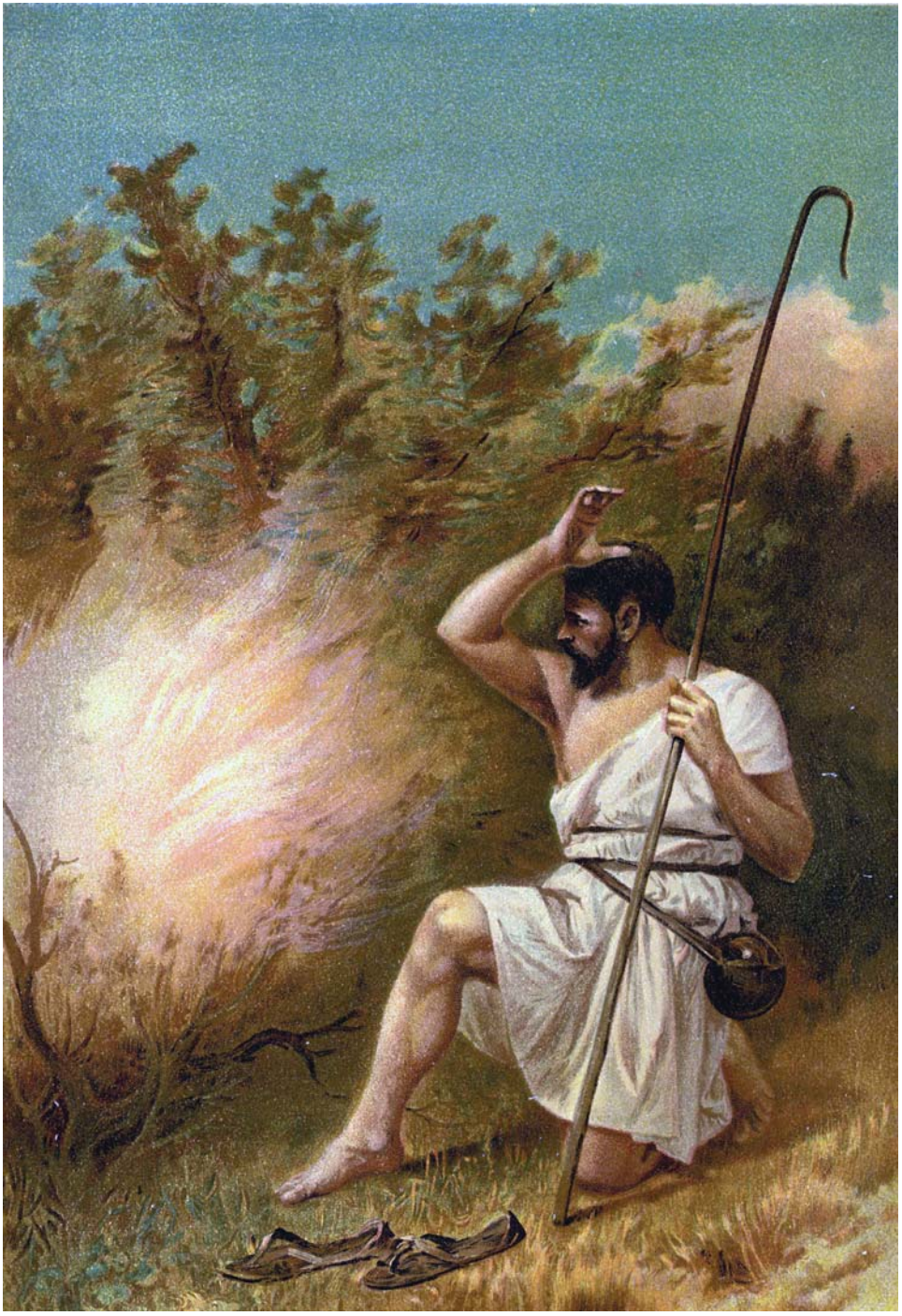
The Spurious Freemasonry did not, however, cease to exist in consequence of this union at the Temple of the Jewish and Tyrian Freemasons. It lasted, indeed, for many centuries subsequent to this period. But the Jewish and Tyrian co-operation had effected a mutual infusion of their respective doctrines and ceremonies, which eventually terminated in the abolition of the two distinctive systems and the establishment of a new one, which was the immediate forerunner of the present Institution.

This delightful romance, in which the imagination has been permitted to run riot, in which assumptions are boldly advanced for facts, and in which statements are made which there is no attempt to corroborate by reference to authority, has for years been accepted by thousands upon thousands of the Fraternity, and is still accepted by the masses as a veritable history of the rise and progress of Freemasonry.

In my younger days, when my researches were directed rather to the design and to the symbolism of the Order than to its history, which I was willing to take from older and more experienced heads, I had been attracted by the beauty and ingenuity of this romantic tale, and gave, without hesitation, my adhesion to it.

But when my studies took an historical direction, and I began to apply the canons of criticism to what I was reading on this subject, I soon found and recognized that the landscape which I had viewed with so much pleasure was, after all, only a wonderful *mirage.*

I have, therefore, been compelled to abandon this theory and to seek for one more plausible and more consistent with the facts of



history. I have come to this conclusion, I admit, with great reluctance, because I was unwilling to throw aside the picture which I had so long admired and which was the work of masters whose labors I respected and whose memory I venerated. But I am forced to say, with Aristotle, that though Plato and Socrates be my friends, yet truth is a greater friend and one that I must value above them both.

When we look at the course pursued by these Masonic historians of the early part of the 18th century, it is lamentable to think how many glorious opportunities of preserving facts in the history of the Institution have been lost by the mistaken direction of their views. We have in the *History of St. Mary's Lodge,* by Bro. J. Murray Lyon, a fair sample of what might have been done by Dr. Anderson, if he had pursued a similar plan in the composition of the two editions of the *Constitutions* compiled by him.

In 1723 he must have had access to many documents of great importance bearing on the history of Masonry in the latter part of the 17th and in the beginning of the 18th century. There were undoubtedly minutes of lodges which were accessible to him, but the lodges are now extinct and the records perhaps forever lost. In these he would have found authentic evidence of the manners and customs, the organization and the regulations, of the Operative Masons, and could have accurately defined the line through which Operative Masonry passed in its transmission and transmutation to a purely Speculative system.

But on these subjects he has maintained unbroken silence. In the first edition he has not said a single word of the actual condition of Freemasonry at the time of his writing. But he has wasted pages in an inaccurate and unauthentic history of the rise and progress of architecture, which had been already written by far better authority, because a professional architect with equal ability can write history of his own science more skillfully than can a doctor of divinity.

Even of the four lodges which in 1717 organized the Grand Lodge of England, a few lines comprise the brief account that he gives. He tells us their names and the locality in which they held their meetings, and no more. And yet these lodges must have had their history, there must have been a minute-book of some kind, however brief and imperfect might have been the records. And these minute-books, only three or four, must have been in existence

before Anderson began the compilation of his book, and from his position in the Order must have been accessible to him. And yet he has treated these invaluable records—invaluable to the future Masonic historian and which should have been invaluable to him—with a silence bordering almost on contempt.

Comparing this treatment of the early English records with the manner in which Lyon has treated those of Scotland, we can not too much deplore this neglect of the real duties of a historian. The result of this difference of treatment of the same subject by two different historians has been that while we are made by Lyon familiar with the true history of the Scottish Lodges in the 17th century—with their regulations, their usages, their modes of reception, and almost everything that appertains to their internal organization—we are, so far as we can gather anything from Anderson, absolutely as ignorant of all that relates to the English Lodges of the same period as if no such bodies had ever existed.

Such neglect of opportunities never to be recalled, such obdurate silence on topics of the deepest interest, and such waste of time and talent in the compilation of a jejune history of architecture instead of an authentic narrative of the Masonic history which was passing before his eyes, or with which he must have been familiar from existing documents, and from oral communication with many of the actors in that history, is to be not only deeply regretted, but to be contemplated almost as a crime.

Anderson's compilation has been that which gave form and feature to all subsequent histories of Freemasonry until a recent period. Smith, Calcott, Preston, and Oliver have followed in his footsteps, only pouring, as it were, from one vial into another, so that all the treatment of early Freemasonry anterior to the year 1717, as treated by English and French writers, has been almost wholly without the necessary element of authenticity. These historians have dealt in hypotheses, suggestions, assumptions, and romantic legends, so as to lead the scholar who studies their pages in search of historical light into an inextricable web of doubt and confusion.

The Germans have done better, and bringing the Teutonic instinct of laborious research to the investigation of Masonic history, they have made many approximations to the discovery of truth. And later English Masons, forming a school of iconoclasts, have begun, by the rejection of anachronisms and improbabilities, to give

to that history a shape that will stand the crucial test of critical examination.

It must be evident to the reader, from what has been said, that the history of Freemasonry, upon which this book is about to enter, will be treated in a method that seeks to approach that accuracy with which authentic history should always be written. From the causes already assigned, there must often be an embarrassment in finding proper evidence to authenticate the material offered to the inspection of the reader. But in no case will assumption be presented in the place of facts. When the supposed occurrence of events can not be proved by contemporaneous authority, such events will not be recorded as historical. It may be conjectured that such events may have occurred, and such a conjecture is entirely legitimate, but its value will be determined by its plausibility. It will be a matter of logical inference, and not of historical statement. Thus one of the great errors of Anderson will be avoided, who continually presents his conjectures as facts, without discrimination, and thus leaves his reader in doubt as to when he is writing history and when indulging in romance or in assumptions.

Pursuing this method, I am compelled to reject the universally received hypothesis that Freemasonry received its organization at the Temple of Solomon.

I reject it because there is no historical evidence of the fact. The only authorities on this subject are the books of Kings and Chronicles. That of Josephus need not be referred to, because it is simply a compilation of Jewish history made up out of the Scriptural account.

Now, the account of the events that occurred at the building of the Temple is very briefly related in those books, and it gives us no authority for saying that there was any organization of the builders, at that edifice, at all like the one described in our Masonic histories.

Similar objections may be urged against all other propositions or theories which seek to connect the rise of the Masonic Institution from bodies which were not architectural in their character.

I fall back, therefore, upon that theory which since the time of the Abbé Grandidier has been gradually gaining strength, and which connects the Speculative Masonry of our own times with the Operative Masonry of the Middle Ages.

Never abandoning, for a moment, the predominant idea that Freemasonry, in whatever aspect it may be viewed, whether as Operative or Speculative, whether as ancient or modern, has always been connected in some way with the art of building and with a guild organization, I shall proceed to trace its early history not in religious communities or in social fraternities, but solely in the associations which have been organized for the pursuit and practice of architecture.

Finding such associations among the ancient Romans, I shall endeavor to pursue the course of these associations, from their birth in the imperial city and in the time and under the fostering care of Numa, to their dissemination with the Roman legions into the conquered provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Britain; their subsequent establishment in these countries of confraternities which they called Colleges of Workmen (*Collegia Fabrorum*), out of which, after the decay of the Empire and the extinction of the armies, was developed in the gradual course of civilization the societies of Traveling Freemasons, who sprang from the school of Como in Lombardy.

Thence, by slow but certain steps, we shall advance to the time of the Operative or Stonemasons of Germany, France, and Britain, who were a development and result of the Comacine Fraternity.

And lastly this will bring us to the era when the Operative system was wholly abandoned as a practice, and when the society was delivered up to the pursuit of a Speculative Philosophy, still, however, retaining the evidence within itself of its architectural parentage, by the selection of its symbols and its peculiar language as well as by many features of its internal organization.

The connection, according to this theory, of Freemasonry with the art of building, a connection that has never, even in its Speculative form, been wholly severed, will necessarily lead to digressions in the course of this history upon the subjects of Roman, Byzantine, and Gothic architecture.

These subjects will have to be discussed, not as architectural studies, but solely in their close relationship to Freemasonry, and in respect to the reciprocal influences that were exerted upon Freemasonry and its followers by the varying systems of architecture and that produced on them by the skill and intelligence of the Freemasons.

There will be no attempt to write a history of Architecture and

to call it, as Dr. Anderson has unfortunately done, a history of Freemasonry, but the effort will be made to write a history of Freemasonry in its connection with, and its reference to, Architecture.

"Every Freemason," said the Chevalier Ramsay, in his visionary hypothesis, "is a Templar." The truer doctrine is that in the olden time every Freemason was an architect, using this word in its purest and primitive meaning, to signify a builder.

Mr. Hallam says, in his *History of the Middle Ages,* that "the curious subject of Freemasonry has unfortunately been treated of only by panegyrists or calumniators, both equally mendacious." And he thinks that it would be interesting to know more of the history of the Craft during a period in which they were literally architects.

The desire here expressed, it is the object and the design of this work to gratify. Whether the object has been successfully achieved can be determined only when the work is finished.

Let me say, in concluding this preliminary essay—and I say it lest there should be any misconception of my views—that the theory which I shall seek to establish is not that the Freemasons of the present day are in direct and uninterrupted descent from the Roman Colleges of Artificers, but that these latter associations brought, by the Roman legions from the civilization of the Empire, into the comparatively unenlightened provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Britain, those sentiments of architectural beauty, as well as those principles of architectural skill, which gave rise to the establishment of associations of builders, who in time constituted themselves into the form of guilds.

These guilds, or fraternities, at a very early period assumed an important place in the history and practice of the building art, and associated themselves together for the purpose of disseminating the principles and practice of building over certain parts of Europe.

Thence arose the association known as "Traveling Freemasons," who, starting from their school in Lombardy, perambulated the continent and erected many important edifices, mostly of a religious character, such as monasteries and cathedrals.

From these the Stonemasons of Germany, of France, and of England borrowed the system of guild-formation, that is to say, the usages and regulations of a guild in the practice of their profession.

These Operative Masons at various times admitted into the membership and privileges of their guild many persons of rank, influence, and learning, who were not professionally connected with the building art. These honorary admissions accomplished two objects: they were received as gratifying compliments by the non-professional members, and at the same time secured their good wishes and protection for the guild.

But eventually a schism took place between the Operative Masons and the honorary members. The former adhered to the Operative Craft, but the latter, eliminating altogether the Operative element, formed a new guild or fraternity of Speculative Masons whose only connection with architecture or building was that they preserved much of its technical language and implements, but consecrated them to symbolical purposes.

Having thus abandoned the professional practice of the craft of building, and assumed a merely ethical character, they became the Freemasons, or the Speculative Masons, of the present day»

Such is a brief outline of the plan which will be pursued in the future prosecution of this history of the rise and progress of the Order of Freemasonry.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN COLLEGES OF ARTIFICERS

IT will be evident, from what has been said in the preceding chapter, that the plan upon which it is intended to write the history of Freemasonry in the present work will utterly preclude any search for the origin of the Institution among the purely religious associations of antiquity, whether they be of Jewish or of Gentile character.

Hence I reject as untenable either of the hypotheses which traces the rise of the Order to the Patriarchal religion, the ancient Mysteries, the workmen at the Temple of Solomon, the Druids, the Essenes, or the Pythagoreans.

If we contemplate the Speculative Freemasonry of the present day as the outgrowth of the Operative system which prevailed in the Middle Ages, we must look for the remote origin of the former in the same place in which we shall find that of the latter.

Now, the mediaeval Operative Masons, known as the *Steinmetzen* of Germany, the *Tailleurs de pièrre* of France, and the *Freemasons* of England, were congregated and worked together under the form and regulations of a *Guild.* But as all institutions in their gradual growth and development are apt to preserve some of the most important features of their original construction, notwithstanding all the changes and influences of surrounding circumstances to which they are subject in the course of time, we may very legitimately come to the conclusion that whatever was the original body or prototype from which the Masonry of the Middle Ages derived its existence, or of which it was a continuation, that prototype must have had some of the forms of a Guild.

It is true that when the Operative Masons organized themselves into an association, at some period between the 10th and the 17th centuries, which period is not at this time and in this place to be accurately determined, they may as an original body have assumed a

form, independent of all previous influences. But we know that such is not the fact, and the Masons of that period were the successors of other bodies that had preceded them, and that they only developed and improved the principles of art that had already been long in existence.

Then the body of men — the association, the sodality — of which they were the outgrowth must have some features in its form and character that were imitated by the body of Masons who succeeded them, who pursued the same objects, and only developed and improved the same principles.

Now, what were the features that must distinguish and identify the original, the exemplar, of which the more modern Freemasonry was an outgrowth?

I answer to this question that those features, to which we must look for an identification of the original body, are at least two in number:

First, the original body must have had the form and character of a sodality, a confraternity, or what in more modern times would be called a *Guild.*

And secondly, that this sodality, confraternity, or guild must have consisted of members who were engaged in the practice of the art of building.

The absence of either of these two features will make a fatal break in the process of identification, by which alone we are enabled to trace a connection between the original and the copy.

We can easily find in the records of ancient history numerous instances of sodalities or confraternities, but as they had no reference to the art of building, it is clear that not one of them could have been the exemplar or source of mediaeval Masonry.

The members of those religious associations of antiquity, which were called the "Mysteries," and to which Speculative Masonry is thought, not altogether incorrectly, to bear a great similitude, were undoubtedly united in a sodality or confraternity. They had admitted into their association none but those who had been duly chosen, and reserved to themselves the power of rejecting those whom they did not deem worthy of a participation in their rites; they had ceremonies of initiation; they adopted secret methods of recognition; and in many other ways secured the isolation of an exclusive society. They were in every respect a confraternity, and

their organization bore a very striking resemblance to that of the modern Freemasons. And hence it is that some writers have professed to find in these religious Mysteries of the ancient pagans an origin to which they might trace the Masonic Institution. But the hypothesis is untenable, because these religious associations had no connection with architecture or the art of building. Freemasonry, which always has been either an operative art or been closely connected with it, could not, by any possible contingency, have derived its origin from what was a wholly religious association.

The Society of Dionysiac Artificers, who flourished in Asia Minor, did indeed unite with the observance of the Mysteries of Dionysus the practice of architecture. Hence the compiler of Lawrie's *History of Masonry* has pretended to trace the origin of our modern system to the connection of the Pagan Dionysiacs with the Jewish builders at the construction of King Solomon's Temple. There would be a great deal of plausibility in this theory, if it could be proved that the Dionysiacs as architects were contemporaneous with Hiram of Tyre and Solomon of Israel. But unfortunately the authentic annals of chronology prove that they were only known as builders of temples, palaces, and theaters about seven hundred years after the era of the building of the Temple at Jerusalem.

So, too, of the Essenes, we may say that the doctrine can not be sustained which attributes to them the continuation and preservation of the Masonry of the Temple builders, and which assigns to them the origin of the modern Speculative system. Leaving out of the question the fact that it is impossible to account for the lapse of time which occurred between the construction of the Temple and the first appearance of the Essenes, about the era of the Maccabees, we meet with the insurmountable objection that the Essenian sect was wholly unconnected with architecture.

So, too, of all the other schemes of tracing Masonry to the Druids, the Pythagoreans, or the Rosicrucians, we always have the invincible obstacle in our way, that all of these were associations not devoted to, nor pursuing the art of building. It is impossible to trace the origin of a fraternity of working Masons, all of whose ideas, principles, pursuits, usages, and customs prominently and exclusively connected them with the cultivation of architecture and the art of building, not theoretically but practically, to any other and

older sodality which knew nothing of architecture and whose members never were engaged in the construction of edifices.

But if we should discover in long-past time a sodality, whose members were builders and who were congregated together for the purpose of pursuing their professional labors, in a society which partook of the main features of a modern guild, we should be encouraged to make the inquiry whether such a sodality may not have given birth, and suggested form, to the mediæval associations of Operative Masons, from whom afterward sprang, in direct succession, the Speculative Masons of the 18th century.

Now just such a sodality will be found in the Roman Colleges of Artificers — the *Collegia Fabrorum* — which are said to have been instituted by Numa, the successor of Romulus, and, therefore, the second king of Rome.

That the establishment of these colleges of workmen of various crafts was one of the numerous reforms instituted by Numa, among his subjects, is a fact that has not been denied by historians. The evidence of the existence of these colleges in the later days of the empire and of their dispersion into various provinces, is attested by numerous inscriptions in votive tablets and other monuments that remain to the present day.

The important relation which it is supposed that the Roman colleges bore to mediaeval stonemasonry, makes it proper that something more than a mere glance should be given at the history of their origin and progress as well as at their character and design.

Of Numa himself, a few words may be said. He was undoubtedly one of those great reformers who, like Confucius, Moses, Buddha, and Zoroaster, have sprung up at different periods in the world's history and have changed the character and the religion of the people among whom they lived and placed them on the first steps of the march of civilization. That such was the career of Numa, is testified by the fact that he so transformed the military disorder of the heterogeneous multitude that had been left by Romulus, into the orderly arrangements of a well-regulated municipality, that, as Livy says, that which the neighboring nations had hitherto called a camp, they now began to designate as a city.

Numa, who was a native of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, was, on account of his nationality, selected, through the

influence of the Sabine population of Rome, to succeed Romulus, and was called to the throne, according to the generally received chronology, 686 years before the Christian era.

Having borne in his private life the character of a wise and just man, with no distinction as a warrior, he cultivated, when he assumed the reins of government, all the virtues of peace. He found the Romans a gross and almost barbarous people. He refined their manners, purified their religion, built temples, instituted festivals, and established a regular order of priesthood.

As Plutarch says, the most admirable of all his institutions was his distribution of the citizens according to their various arts and trades. Before his accession to the throne, the different craftsmen had been confusedly mixed up with the heterogeneous Roman and Sabine population, and had no laws or regulations to maintain their rights or to secure their skill from the rivalry of inexperienced charlatans.

But Numa divided the several trades into distinct and independent companies, which were designated as *Collegia* or colleges. Plutarch names but eight of these colleges, namely: musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters, but he adds that the other artificers were also divided into companies, so that the exact number of colleges that were instituted by Numa cannot be learned from the authority of Plutarch. If we suppose that the other artificers alluded to by him comprehended all the remaining crafts, which were united in another college, which was afterward developed into new societies, the whole number which, according to Plutarch, were originally instituted by Numa would amount to nine.

But as, besides the *Collegia,* such as those of the augurs and priests which were specially established by legal authority, there were many others formed by the voluntary association of individuals, the number of the colleges of handicraftsmen became in the later days of the republic, and especially of the Empire, greatly increased.

There were, among the Greeks, sodalities or fraternities which they called *etaireiai.* They were established by Solon, and Gaius thinks that the Roman colleges borrowed some of their regulations from them. But this could not have been the case in reference to any regulations established by Numa, since Solon lived about a century after him. The Greek *etaireiai* were, however, not confined to

craftsmen but, according to the law of Solon, cited by Gaius,[1] they comprehended brethren assembled for sacrifices, or sailors, or people who lived together and used the same sepulcher for burial, or who were companions of the same society, or who, inhabiting the same place, were united in the pursuit of any business, which last division might be supposed to refer to workmen of the same craft. All of these were permitted to make regulations for their own government, provided they were not forbidden by the laws of the state.

Among the Romans a college generally signified any association which, being permitted by the state and recognized as an independent association, devoted itself to some determined object.

Its recognition by the state gave to the college the character of a legal personage, such as is now called a corporation.

If we examine the laws which were made for the establishment and the government of the colleges, we shall be impressed with their similarity to those which have always existed among the Masonic Lodges, both Operative and Speculative. The identity of regulations are amply sufficient to warrant us in believing that the regulations of the one were derived from, or at least had been suggested by, the other.

The laws and usages by which the workmen at the Temple of King Solomon were distributed into classes and regulated, which have been given by Masonic historians, and by none more extensively than by Dr. Oliver, are all supposititious and apocryphal; but those that describe the government of the Roman colleges or guilds of craftsmen have been recorded by various historians, and especially in the different codes of the Roman law and have, therefore, all the character and value of authenticity. Whatever conclusions we may think proper to deduce in connecting these colleges with the modern Masonic guilds, must of course be judged according to their logical weight, but the facts on which these conclusions are based are patent and have an authentic record.

It was required by the Roman law that a college should not consist of less than three members. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that a Lodge can not be composed of less than three Masons. As in Freemasonry there are "regular Lodges" which have been

[1] Gaius, lib. iv., ad Legem duodecim tabularum.

established by competent authority, and "clandestine Lodges" which have been organized without such authority, and whose members are subject to the severest Masonic penalties, so there were legal colleges — *Collegia licita* — which were formed by authority of the government—and illegal colleges — *Collegia illicita* — which assembled under no color of law and which were strictly prohibited.

Illicit colleges, says Ulpian,[1] are forbidden, under the same penalties as are adjudged to men violating public places or temples; and Marcian[2] says that they must be dissolved by virtue of the decrees of the Senate, but their members when they separate are permitted to divide the common property.

According to the Justinian code, no college of any kind was permitted to assemble unless by an act of the Senate, or a decree of the emperor.[3]

Each college was permitted to make its own internal regulations, provided that they were not in contravention of the laws of the state. The regulations were proposed by the officers, and after due deliberation adopted or rejected by a vote of the members, in which a majority ruled.

The members of a college (*sociales*), says Gaius,[4] were permitted to make their own regulations if they did not contravene the public law; and he shows that the same privilege was granted by Solon to the Greek *etaireiai* or fraternities.

The colleges had also the right of electing their officers, and of receiving members by a vote of the body on their application. The applicants for admission were required to be freemen; but the Justinian code permitted slaves to be received into a college if it was done with the consent of the *Domini* or Masters; but not otherwise, under a penalty of one hundred pieces of gold to be inflicted on the *Curatores* or Wardens.[5]

As in the mediaeval Lodges of Freemasons we find that distinguished persons not belonging to the Craft were sometimes admitted, so a similar usage prevailed in the Roman colleges. To them the law had granted the privilege of selecting from the most honorable of the Roman families, persons who were not connected with the Craft, as patrons and honorary members. That they exercised this

[1] Ulpian, "De Officis Pro Consulis," lib. ii, p. 7.
[2] "De Jud. Pub.," lib. ii.
[3] "Digest," lib. xlvii., tit. xxii., § 1.
[4] "Ad Legem," xii., tab. lib. iv.
[5] "Digest," ut supra, § 2.

privilege is evident from inscriptions and some remaining lists of members.[1]

We have also the authority on this point of Pliny, who in his correspondence when he was governor of Bithynia with the Emperor Trajan, shows by implication that it was the usage of the colleges of builders to admit non-professional persons into their guild. A conflagration having destroyed a great part of the city of Nicomedia, Pliny applied to the Emperor for permission to establish a College of Workmen — COLLEGIUM FABRORUM, to consist of one hundred and fifty men; and knowing that it was the custom in these colleges to admit persons who were not of the Craft, he adds: "I will take care that no one not a workman shall be received among them, and that they shall not abuse the privileges conceded to them by their establishment."[2]

Each college had also its area, or common chest, in which the funds of the guild were kept. These funds were collected from the monthly contributions of the members, and were, of course, devoted to defraying the expenses of the college. At a later period when these societies, or sodalities, had become objects of suspicion to the government, in consequence of their sometimes engaging in political intrigues, they were forbidden to assemble. But there is a decree of the Emperor Severus, cited by Marcianus, which, while it forbids the governors of provinces to permit COLLEGIA SODALITIA or confraternities, even of soldiers, in the camps, yet allows the poorer soldiers to make a monthly contribution in a common chest, provided they did not meet more than once a month, lest under this pretext they should form an illicit college. The permission thus given to make monthly contributions (what in modern Freemasonry we should call "monthly dues") was most probably derived from the custom long before practiced by the Colleges of Workmen.

The members of the colleges were exempt by Constantine from the performance of public duties; but this exemption appears to have applied to all craftsmen as well as to those who were united in corporations. And the reason assigned was that they might have better opportunities of acquiring skill in their professions or trades

[1] Krause, "Kunsturkunden," iv., p. 136.

[2] Ego attendam ne quis nisi faber, recipiatur, neve jure concesso in aliud utatur. Pliny, "Epistolæ," lib. x., ep. 42.

and of imparting it to their children. And therefore this immunity from public employments was confined in the colleges to those members who were really craftsmen, and in the code of Theodosius[1] it was expressly declared that this immunity should not be granted promiscuously to all who had been received in the colleges, but only to the craftsmen. Patrons and honorary members were not to be included in the exemption.

The meetings of a college were held in a secluded hall called a *Curia*, which was the name originally given to the Senate-house, but afterward came to signify any building in which societies met for the transaction of business or for the performance of religious rites. Each of these corporations, says Smith, had its common hall, called *Curia*, in which the citizens met for religious and other purposes.[2] In the old inscriptions we frequently meet with this word in connection with a college, as the *Curia Saliorum,* or the Hall of the College of the Priests of Mars, and *Curia Dendrophororum,* or the Hall of the College of Woodcutters.[3] Krause says that they sometimes met in private houses. He does not give his authority for this statement, but it was probably in cases where the college was too poor to afford the expense of owning or hiring a common hall or *Curia.*

Officers were elected by the members to preside or to perform other duties in the college. There seems to have been some variety at different periods and under different circumstances in the titles of these officers.

The officer who presided was called the *Magister* or Master. It would seem that in some of the legionary colleges he was called the *Profectus* or Prefect. In the Justinian code he is styled the *Curator*.[4]

Corresponding in some sense to our Masonic Wardens were the *Decuriones,* whose number was not however confined to two. In a list of the officers and members of a college, which has been preserved and which is given by Muratori, there are seven *Decuriones.*

A *Decurio* denoted, as the word imports among the Romans,

[1] "Cod. Theodos. de excus. Artificum," lib. v., § 12.

[2] "Diet. Greek and Roman Antiq.," citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ii., 23.

[3] This was one of the original colleges of Numa. There is some dispute about their occupation; but the one given above is the most plausible.

[4] "Digest," lib. xlvii., tit. xxii., § 2.

one who commanded or ruled over ten men. Hence Dr. Krause supposes that the members of a college were divided into sections of about ten, over each of which a *Decurio* presided. It will be remembered that Sir Christopher Wren states in the *Parentalia,* while describing the regulations that prevailed among the Traveling Freemasons of the Middle Ages, that "the members lived in a camp of huts reared beside the building on which they were employed; that a surveyor or Master presided over and directed the whole; and that *every tenth man* was called a Warden and overlooked those who were under his charge." This is at least a coincidence, and it may give some color to the hypothesis of Krause, that the *Decuriones* of the Roman colleges presided over sections of ten men.

Reference has been made to a list of the officers of a college, which has been preserved by the celebrated Italian antiquary, Muratori, in his work on inscriptions. Similar lists are to be found in the works of Gruter, who has made the best collection of ancient inscriptions.

These lists, like those published at this day by the Masonic Lodges, were intended to preserve the names of the officers and members for the information of the government.

In the list published by Muratori we find the following names and titles of officers, which will give us a very good idea of the manner in which the internal government of a Roman College of Artificers was regulated.

In this list first appears the names of fifteen Patrons, who, as has already been said, were not craftsmen. The last of these is called the *Bisellarius of the college.*

There is some difficulty in coming to an exact understanding of the meaning of this word. A *bisellium* was a double seat—a seat capable of holding two—as Hesychius calls it, "a distinguished and splendid seat," remarkable for its size and grandeur. It might be compared to the "Oriental chair" appropriated to the use of the Worshipful Master in our modern Lodges. It was, in short, a chair of state, capable of holding two persons; though it is evident, from several specimens which were found at Pompeii and which were accompanied by a single footstool, that it was occupied only by one. These chairs were used in the theaters and other public places at Rome and in the provinces as seats of honor. The privilege of

occupying a *bisellium* was granted as an honor by a decree of the Senate or an edict of the emperor, and the person to whom the privilege was granted was called a *Bisellarius.*

Its form was like that of a modern ottoman, but larger and higher, and there was also a stool or *suppedaneum,* on which the feet rested.

Krause says that some of the colleges had several *Bisellarii* among their members, and he thinks the word is equivalent to honorary member. But as the Patrons were generally persons of wealth and distinction, selected by the college to defend and promote its interests, it is not likely that of the fifteen named in Muratori's list only one should have been elected an honorary member. But as the privilege of a *Bisellarius* was a dignity conferred as an honor on certain persons, it is more probable that of the fifteen the last one only had arrived at this honor, and that the record of it was made in the list, just as in the present day titles are appended to the names of persons in catalogues.

The next officers mentioned in this list are seven *Decuriones.* Then follow the names of the following officers: An *Haruspex,* a Soothsayer and Diviner, who may be considered as equivalent to our modern chaplain, and whose duty it was to attend to the sacrifices and conduct the religious services of the college; a *Medicus,* or Physician; a *Scriba Perpetuus,* or Permanent Secretary, and a *Scriba,* or Secretary. Against the names of two of the members is written the word *immunes,* or exempt, to show that for some reason, not explained, these members were relieved from the payment of the monthly contribution.

In this list no title of *Magister* or Master appears. The same occurs in an inscription on a marble plinth, which has been preserved by Gruter. It is dedicated on the front side by the College of Carpenters (*Collegium Fabrorum Tignariorum*) to the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus. On the other side are forty names, many of which have the title affixed of *Honoratus,* or Honorary. The last six names have the title of *Scriba,* or Secretary, attached to each; hence Krause thinks it probable that each *Decuria,* or section of ten men, had its Master, who was a *Decurio,* its Secretary and its Patron, and, besides, its own property, obtained from bequests or donations.

If this be true, a college would not appear to have been a single lodge, but rather an aggregation of lodges. The mediæval divis-

ion, described by Wren, where in a building the workmen were divided into tens, each having its own warden, would precisely meet this ancient condition of the *Decuriæ.*

In the time of the Empire, when the government began to be suspicious of the revolutionary tendencies of the craftsmen, care was taken to place officers over the colleges who might have a control of their arts. These officers differed at different times and in different places. Sometimes he was called a *Procurator,* or Superintendent; sometimes a *Præpositus,* or Overseer, and sometimes a *Præfectus,* or Prefect. In fact, the legionary colleges, which accompanied the legions and which were principally concerned in the fabrication of weapons, as armorers and smiths, had an officer over them who was called the *Præfectus Fabrum,* or Prefect of the Workmen.

But originally the title of *Magister,* or Master, was applied to him who was over the *Decuriones,* and who controlled all the acts, the labors, and the hours of rest of the members of the college, as well as their sacrifices and other religious ceremonies. There is abundant evidence of this in the inscriptions, and from them also we learn that the Master was chosen annually, and afterward with all the other officers quinquennially. But sometimes he was elected for life, a custom that was observed at a long subsequent period by the French Lodges, whose Venerables were chosen *ad vitam.*

Thus we meet with such inscriptions as *Magister quinquennatis Collegium Fabrorum Tignariorum* and *Magister quinquennatis Collegium Aurificum,* that is, Quinquennial Master of the College of Carpenters and Quinquennial Master of the College of Goldsmiths. Sertorius also refers to certain peculiar powers of the *Magister Collegium,* or Master of the College. There can be no doubt that this was a well-recognized title of the presiding officer of those sodalities.

But the Patrons, who were selected from the most wealthy and influential families of Rome, and who were not craftsmen, seemed to have exercised very important powers. Chosen that they might protect the interests of the society, no regulation was enacted, no contracts were made, and no work undertaken without their sanction. The kings, prelates, and nobles so often recorded as Grand Masters by Dr. Anderson in his history of early English Masonry, may very well be supposed to correspond in position and duties to these Patrons of the Roman Colleges.

Dr. Krause thus describes the internal organization of these colleges:

"It was only the Masters who could undertake any work. The members of the *Decuriæ* (or sections) who corresponded to the Fellow Crafts of the present day, worked under them; and under these and under the Masters, were the *Alumni* or Apprentices, who were still being instructed in the schools (attached to the college) and whose names, as they were not yet members of the college, are not mentioned in any of the Inscriptions."[1]

That there was a distinction of ranks among the members of a college is very evident from several of the inscriptions, and from passages in the codes. It is, besides, in the nature of things that in every trade or craft there should be some well skilled and experienced in the Mystery, who will take the highest place; others with less knowledge who must be subordinate to these; and finally scholars or apprentices who are only beginning to learn the principles of their art. As in the Lodges of Operative Masons, in the Middle Ages, there were Masters, Journeymen, and Apprentices, so must there have been in the colleges of Rome, a similar division of ranks.

The passage in the Justinian code, already referred to, provides that slaves could be received in the colleges only with the consent of their masters; if received without this consent the *Curator* or Master of the College was liable to a penalty of one hundred pieces of gold. This would indicate that in the Roman colleges, the distinction of bond and free, so much insisted on in the modern Masonic system, was not recognized among the craftsmen of Rome. But it must be remembered that among the Romans, a condition of servitude did not always imply the debasement of ignorance. Slaves were sometimes instructed in literature and the liberal arts, and many of them were employed in trade and in various handicrafts. It was these last who were to be conditionally admitted into the Colleges of Artificers.

It is evident that with the prosecution of their craft, the members of the colleges connected the observance of certain religious rites. In the list from Muratori, heretofore cited, it is seen that among the officers designated was a *Haruspex* or Sacrificer. This semi-religious character, first introduced in their establishment by

[1] Krause, "Kunsturkunden," iv., 165.

the pious Numa, continued to prevail to the latest days of the Empire. It was in the spirit of paganism, which connected the transaction of all private as well as public business with sacrificial rites.

Hence every college had its patron deity, which was called its *Genius,* under whose divine protection it was placed. The *Curia*, or hall of the college, was often built in the near vicinity of the temple of this god, and meetings of the guild were sometimes held in the body of the temple. Sacrifices were offered to him; festival days were kept in his honor, and were often celebrated by public processions. Among the paintings discovered at Pompeii is one that represents a procession of the College of Carpenters.

Krause gives ample proof that the Colleges of Artificers made use of symbols derived from the implements and the usages of their craft. We need not be surprised at this, for the symbolic idea was, as we know, largely cultivated by the ancients. Their mythology, which was their religion, was made up out of a great system of symbolism. Sabaism, their first worship, was altogether symbolic, and out of their primitive adoration of the simple forces of nature, by degrees and with the advancement of civilization was developed a multiplicity of deities, every one of which could be traced for his origin to the impersonation of a symbol. It would, indeed, be strange if, with such an education, the various craftsmen had failed to have imbued their trades with that same symbolic spirit which was infused into all their religious rites and their public and private acts.

But it is interesting to trace, as I think we may, the architectural symbolism of the mediaeval builders to influences which were exerted upon them by the old builders of Rome, and which they in turn communicated to their successors, the Speculative Masons of the 18th, and perhaps the 17th century.

This is, I think, one of the most important links in the chain that connects the Roman colleges with modern Freemasonry. Nothing of the kind can be adduced by those who would trace the latter institution to a Jewish or Patriarchal source. The Jews were not an aesthetic people. They rejected as vainly superstitious the use of painting and sculpture in their worship.

Though we find among them a few symbols of the simplest kind, symbolism was not cultivated by them as an intellectual science. Christian iconography, which succeeded the Jewish and the Pagan,

has been more indebted for its eminently symbolic character to the latter than to the former influences.

It is the same with the symbolism that has always been cultivated in Masonry, both in its Operative and in its Speculative form. It has been indebted for its warmth and beauty rather to the Roman colleges than to the Jewish Temple.

The most important of these colleges in the present inquiry were the *Collegia Fabrorum,* which has generally been translated the Colleges of Artificers.

The word *Faber,* in the Latin language, means generally one who works in any material, but the signification is limited by some adjoining word. Thus *faber tignarius* meant a carpenter, *faber ferrarius* a blacksmith, *faber aurarius* a goldsmith, and so on. But it was very generally used to designate one who was employed in building—a stone-cutter or mason.

We meet in Gruter, and elsewhere, with many inscriptions in which the word can only bear this meaning. In the passage above cited from Pliny, we see that when he asks the imperial consent to establish a society of artisans to reconstruct the burned edifices of Nicomedia, for which purpose builders only could be of use, he calls the desired society a *Collegium Fabrorum,* which may be fairly interpreted a College or Guild of Masons.

There were, of course, colleges of other trades, such as the *Collegium Pistorum,* or College of Bakers, the *Collegium Sutorum,* or College of Shoemakers, of whom a votive tablet was found at Osma in Castile,[1] and many others. But, as Dalloway says, the *Fabri* were "workmen who were employed in any kind of construction and were subject to the laws of Numa Pompilius."[2]

It is to these *Collegia Fabrorum,* or Roman guilds of Masons or Builders, that Dr. Krause, whose opinion on this subject I adopt with some modifications, has sought to trace the origin of the Mediaeval corporations of stonemasons and the more recent Lodges of Freemasons.

In concluding this survey of the character and internal organization of these Roman colleges, the prototypes of the modern Masonic guilds, it will not be inappropriate to cite the language on this

[1] Don Cean-Bermudez, "Sumario de las Antiguedas Romanas que hay in España," Madrid, 1832, p. 179.

[2] "Master and Freemason," p. 400.

subject of the latest and most classical writers on the antiquities of Greece and Rome. The following brief description is taken from Guhl and Komer's able work on *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*.[1]

"Mechanics guilds (*Collegia Opipium*) existed at an early period, their origin being traced back to King Numa. They were nine in number, viz., pipers, carpenters, goldsmiths, dyers, leather-workers, tanners, smiths, and potters, and another guild combining, at first, all the remaining handicrafts, which afterward developed into new, separate societies. Amongst these later guilds, frequently mentioned in inscriptions, we name the goldsmiths, bakers, purple-dyers, pig-dealers, sailors, ferry-men, physicians, etc. They had their separate inns (*curia, schola*), their statutes and rules of reception and expulsion of members, their collective and individual privileges, their laws of mutual protection and their widows' fund, not unlike the mediaeval guilds. There was, however, no compulsion to join a guild. In consequence, there was much competition from freedmen—foreign, particularly Greek, workmen who settled in Rome, as also from the domestic slaves who supplied the wants of the large families—reasons enough to prevent the trades from acquiring much importance.

"They had, however, their time-honored customs, consisting of sacrifices and festive gatherings at their inns, on which occasions their banners (*vexilla*) and emblems were carried about the streets in procession. A wall-painting at Pompeii is most likely intended as an illustration of a carpenters' procession. A large wooden tray (*ferculum*) surmounted by a decorated baldachin is being carried on the shoulders of young workmen. On the tray stands a carpenter's bench in miniature, with two men at their work, the figure of Dædalus being seen in the foreground."

In reading this brief description, the principal details of which have already been given in our preceding pages, the reader can hardly fail to be struck with the far closer resemblance the usages of Freemasonry bear to those Roman colleges or guilds, than they do those of the Jewish workmen at the Temple, as we learn them from the very imperfect and unsatisfactory allusions contained in the Bible or in the *Antiquities* of Josephus. One can hardly fail to see that

[1] Hueffer's Translation from third German edition, New York, 1875, p. 519.

the derivation of Masonry from the former is a far more reasonable hypothesis than a derivation from the latter.

Though but indirectly and remotely connected with this subject, one fact may be mentioned that shows how much the spirit of the guild organization, itself the spirit of Freemasonry, had imbued the common life of the Romans.

The benefit societies of the present day, which are said to be and most probably are but coarse imitations of the Masonic Lodges, were not unknown to the ancient Romans. They had their burial-clubs, called *Collegia Tenuirom,* the literal meaning of which is Guilds of the Poor. They were, as their name imports, societies formed by the poorer classes, from whose funds, derived from annual contributions, the expenses of the burial of a member were defrayed and a certain sum was paid to the surviving family.[1]

Having shown that there existed among the Romans guild-like associations of craftsmen, presenting a very close resemblance in their usages and purposes to the guilds or corporations of Stone-masons of the Middle Ages, who are admitted to have been the predecessors of the Speculative Freemasons of the 18th century and of the present day, the further connection of these two institutions can be identified only by tracing the progress of the Roman colleges from their rise in the reign of Numa, to their dissolution at the time of the decline and fall of the Empire, and their absorption into the architectural associations which sprang up in those parts of Europe which had once been Roman provinces.

The inquiry into this difficult but interesting topic must be the appropriate subject of the following chapter.

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[1] Hueffer's Translation from third German edition, New York, 1875, p. 591.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF THE ROMAN COLLEGES

IT has been shown in the preceding chapter that Numa, in his sagacious efforts to improve the civilization of the early Romans, and to reconcile the heterogeneous elements of which the population was composed had instituted colleges or guilds of mechanics.

I do not intend to complicate this question by any reference to the theory of Niebuhr and his disciples who have ignored the existence of any true history at that period, but who deem every theory connected with regal Rome as merely mythical and traditionary. I content myself with the fact that when Roman history began to present itself under the authentic form of records, the pre-existence of these guilds was fully recognized. It is sufficient for the present purpose to accept the generally received opinion, and while it is not denied that in primitive Rome such guild-formations prevailed, we may safely attribute their origin to some early reformer, who may be represented by the name of Numa as well as by any other.

In treating the subject of the rise and progress of these colleges or guilds, I shall pursue the course of Roman history as it has been generally received by scholars. As we advance to later times we shall find ourselves amply fortified by the contemporaneous authority of classical writers, and by numerous monuments and inscriptions. Except the mere question whether they were first established by Numa or by somebody else, in what Niebuhr would call prehistoric Rome—a question of but little or no importance in reference to their connection with the mediæval guilds—there is no statement concerning them that is not a part of authentic history.

It has therefore been proved that these colleges were guild-like in their organization; that they had all the legal rights of a corporation; that they elected their own members; that they were governed

by certain officers chosen by the votes of the society; that they were supported by monthly contributions; that they had a guild-chest or common fund, which was the property of the corporation; that they had a tutelary deity, in honor of whom they performed religious rites; that they had honorary members not belonging to the Craft, who, as patrons of the colleges, and being selected from the wealthiest and most influential families of the Republic or the Empire, protected their interests; and finally, that they had, like our modern corporations, laws, regulations, usages, and a jurisdiction which were all sanctioned by the authority of the state.

In tracing the progress of the Colleges of Artificers, through the reigns of the seven kings, the long period of the Republic and the rise and fall of the Empire, we need not dwell upon the age of Romulus. Though the narrative of his reign was accepted as authentic by Dionysius and Plutarch, by Livy and Cicero, the incredulity of modern scholars, stimulated by their researches, has led to the very general opinion that the first of the Roman kings was a mythical personage, and that his history was founded, as Niebuhr says, on a heroic lay. Yet even he admits that portions of the narrative are to be accepted as matters of fact. Made up as it has been of traditions, which were believed from the earliest periods, the reign and the character of Romulus may be considered as an exposition of that of the time in which he is supposed to have lived.

From these traditions we learn that he was, as the founder of an empire might well be supposed to be, a warlike king, who was engaged in constant contests with the inhabitants of neighboring and rival cities. Though claimed to have been a legislator of the highest order, who exercised his skill in the organization of a new state, the necessity of defending his territory from aggression and of increasing its limits, gave him but little opportunity or inclination to cultivate the arts of peace.

He is said to have created those religious institutions of the Romans, which were afterward developed into greater maturity by Numa and some of his successors. But he discouraged the cultivation of the arts, and interdicted the citizens from the practice of all mechanical and sedentary trades, which were left to foreigners and slaves, while the free Romans were confined to agricultural labors and warlike pursuits.

His successor, Numa, was, on the contrary, distinguished for his

pacific character. During his long reign of forty-three years, the state over which he ruled enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of peace. There were no domestic dissensions and no foreign wars. He was not only a king but a philosopher, and by an anachronism which Niebuhr attempts, but vainly, to explain, he was considered as a disciple of the sage Pythagoras. He established the religious institutes and pontifical regulations, whose cruder form had been attributed to Romulus; he built several temples, especially that of Janus; he reformed the calendar; instituted public markets and festivals; encouraged the pursuit of agriculture and the mechanic arts; and created the brotherhoods or corporations of the trades and handicraftsmen, which continued to exist through the whole history of the Roman state under the name which he had originally given them of Colleges of Artificers.

Tullus Hostilius was the successor and the contrast of Numa. He was a warlike monarch, and his reign was marked by a series of military successes. He was not, like his predecessor, of a religious turn of mind, and it was only in moments of trepidation, says Livy,[1] that he made vows to build temples or had recourse to expiatory sacrificial rites. Heineccius[2] thinks it probable that he abolished the craft associations which had been instituted by Numa, because they were calculated to divert the citizens from military pursuits and to deprive him of the services of active soldiers.

Ancus Martius, the fourth king, was the grandson of Numa. He revived the institutions of his grandfather and brought the Romans back from the warlike habits of the previous reign to a cultivation of the arts of peace. With this view he caused the sacred institutes of Numa to be written out by the Pontifex Maximus upon tablets and to be exhibited to the inspection of the public.[3] Under his reign, the colleges must have revived from the oppression they had experienced under his predecessor.

The history of the next king, Tarquinius Priscus, if we are to judge from the legends upon which it is founded, afford no reason for believing that his reign was unfavorable to the craft associations. He is said to have been a patron of architecture and of a construc-

[1] "In re trepida," lib., i., 27.

[2] "De Collegiis et corporibus opificum."

[3] Sir George Cornwall Lewis, "An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History," ii., 465.

tive character. He is said to have adorned the Forum, to have formed the Circus Maximus, to have constructed the *Cloacæ* or sewers, to have laid the foundations of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and to have built a stone wall around the city. All these labors would have required the aid of architects and builders, and we suppose that the corporations or colleges of these craftsmen were encouraged by a monarch so well disposed to the cultivation of the arts of construction.

Servius Tullius, the sixth king, has had the reputation of a reformer. He was the first to make a census of the people, and to distribute them into classes.

Florus says that he made the division in curiae and colleges, and that things were so ordered that all distinctions of property, station, age, occupation, and office must have been well marked. In this reign the colleges and craftsmen took a recognized position among the classes of the community.

Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the race of Roman kings, whose name has been stained by the record of his tyranny, was the enemy of the people. His life was that of a despot. He surrounded himself with a body-guard to protect his person; he prohibited all assemblies of the people either in the country or in the city, so that no opportunity might be afforded them of consulting on the affairs of the state; he occupied them in forced labors for the construction of the sewers and the completion of the Circus; he repealed all the popular laws of his predecessor; abolished the equitable distribution into classes which had been made by the census; and suppressed the colleges and craft sodalities. As the natural and expected result of this oppressive course, the people rose to the assertion of their liberties. Tarquin and his family were perpetually banished, the monarchy ceased to exist, and the republic rose on its ruins.

For a time after the expulsion of the King the Patricians ruled over the Plebeians with a hand not always light. Dissensions sprang up between the oppressors and the oppressed, and the Colleges of Artificers became a subject of suspicion and dislike to the former class, because as these associations were wholly made up out of the latter, they were supposed to be the fomenters of discontent and bodies in which seditious factions would be nourished.

Nevertheless, one of the first acts of the Consular government was to re-establish the mild and beneficent laws of Servius Tullius,

and to permit the free assemblage of the people, whence resulted the restoration of the colleges.

The severity of a famine which occurred in the Year of the City 276, is attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the fact that the number of women, children, slaves, and handicraftsmen who were unproductive classes, was three times greater than that of the citizens who were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Though history, such as it was at that time, is silent on the subject, yet it must be evident that the continual discords for many of the early years of the Republic, between the Patricians and the Plebeians, must have seriously affected the interests of the Colleges of Artificers and secured to them only intermittent periods of spasmodic activity.

But when the people had extorted from the Senate the Tribuneship by which they became a part of the governing power, and the right of holding offices of honor and of entering the priesthood, the colleges of handicraftsmen appear to have been more firmly established. The laws of the Twelve Tables, which were adopted in the Year of the City 302, confirmed their privileges, a decree which Gaius in his Commentary on these laws thinks was suggested by and copied from the decree of Solon in reference to similar associations among the Greeks.

In the Year of the City 687, the Senate had suppressed the colleges, but eight years afterward they were restored by the Tribune Publius Clodius.

From that time the Roman citizens began to pay much attention to the arts and to mechanics. But though the craftsmen were united in the Tribes and had the right of voting, they were not highly respected and were not permitted to serve in the army except on extraordinary occasions, such as domestic seditions.[1]

Yet a great many new colleges were created, some by legal enactment and some by voluntary association. Such, for example, were the colleges of Ship Carpenters, of Smiths, and especially the *Collegia Structoram,* or Colleges of Builders, who were the same as the *Fabrii Cæmentarii,* or as it must be literally translated, the Stonemasons.

But these guilds or Colleges of Artificers were not confined to

[1] "Sigonio de ant. jur. civil. Rom."

the city of Rome. They spread into the provinces and the municipal cities, or those which had been invested with the right of Roman citizenship.

For a long time these corporations of workmen pursued a quiet and exemplary course, engaged in the lawful pursuit of the various trades and handicrafts.

But the number in time greatly increased; Clodius, the Tribune, in abrogating the decree of the Senate which had suppressed them, unfortunately had extended the privilege to slaves and foreigners of creating new colleges or of uniting with the old ones. Hence many of these sodalities gradually degenerated into factions and political clubs, and thus became dangerous to the state.

In addition to this fault, the classical writers speak in terms of denunciation of the sumptuous feasts in which many of the colleges indulged. They carried this species of dissipation to such an extent, that Varro complains that the extravagant banquets of the colleges had greatly enhanced the price of food at Rome.

These follies were of gradual growth. The colleges continued to exercise their functions during the existence of the Republic, and were found in a flourishing condition at the advent of the Empire.

It is not to be supposed that in a change of government from the simplicity of a democracy to the corruptions of a monarchy, based on a revolution, the faults of political intrigue and extravagant conduct would not increase rather than abate.

Hence we find the emperors generally opposed to the increase of these sodalities, and there are frequent decrees suspending or suppressing them. But it must be remarked that this opposition appears to have been directed rather against the creation of new corporations than to the suppression of the old ones.

To properly appreciate the true condition of the Roman Colleges of Workmen, we must advert to the fact that while there were a certain number of them which had existed from the earliest period, being the continuation of the primitive system which had been established by Numa, and which had, except at intermittent periods of suspicion, been tolerated and even patronized by the government, there were many others which had sprung up in later times, and which were formed by the voluntary association of individuals.

These bodies were for the most part the creation of political factions, whose revolutionary designs were sought to be concealed in

the exclusiveness of secret consultations, or sometimes of less worthy craftsmen who, not having been admitted into the fellowship of the old colleges, were willing to set up a rivalry in business.

Hence had arisen a distinction well recognized in the decrees of the Senate, or of the emperors, and constantly referred to in the various codes of Roman law.

This distinction was into lawful and unlawful colleges, or, to use the legal terms, into *Collegia licita* and *Collegia illicita.* The voluntary associations, to which allusion has just been made, were of the latter class. They were illicit or illegal colleges, and held a somewhat similar position to the old and lawful colleges that, in modern times, an unincorporated society does in its privileges and franchises to a corporation. The analogy goes so far at least as this, that the illicit colleges, like the unincorporated societies of the present day, had no recognition in law—in other words, possessed no rights which the law recognized. But, in another respect, the analogy fails. The illicit colleges were not only not recognized, but were actually discountenanced by the state, an interference to which our unincorporated associations are not subjected. If the law does not protect them, it does not persecute them. They are allowed, if guilty of no violation of the laws, to continue without let or hindrance.

But this was not the happy lot of the illegal colleges. They were repeatedly denounced and suppressed by the state, which looked upon them always as associations of a dangerous character.

It has been supposed that it was the policy of the Empire to destroy the corporations of craftsmen which had been originally instituted by Numa, and decrees and laws have been quoted to prove the statement. If such had been the case, we should meet with an insurmountable difficulty in tracing back the corporations of builders of the Middle Ages, to the Roman colleges. The total and permanent suppression at any time of these, would naturally destroy the links of that chain of continuity which is absolutely necessary to identify the one with the other in the progress of history.

But we can not find any evidence that the primitive colleges, and especially those of the builders, ever were suppressed. The decrees of the Senate and of the emperors were directed against the new, and not against the old, associations of craftsmen.

Thus Suetonius tells us that Julius Cæsar abolished "all colleges

except those which had been anciently constituted; "the same author informs us that Augustus "dissolved all colleges except the old and legitimate."[1]

The same reservation is made in all references through the Digest of Justinian, to any decrees or enactments which affected these corporations. It is only *Collegia illicita* against which the penalties of law are to be enforced. "It is permitted to assemble for religious purposes," says the Digest, "provided that by this the decree of the senate prohibiting illicit colleges is not contravened." Ulpian says that "illicit colleges are forbidden under the same penalties as are adjudged to armed men who take possession of temples or public places."

There was a very wholesome dread, both in the times of the republic and under the emperors, of those illegal associations, voluntarily assembled, too often for the promotion of factions or the encouragement of political opinions which were dangerous to the state.

When the greater part of the city of Nicomedia had been destroyed by fire, Pliny,[2] who was then the governor of Bithynia, applied to Trajan for permission to organize for the purpose of rebuilding a College of Masons (*Collegium Fabrorum*), which should not consist of more than one hundred and fifty artisans, and in which he would take care, by the exclusion of every person who was not a Mason, that the purposes of the new college should not be diverted into an improper direction.

There is a good deal of suggestive history in this passage of Pliny's letter to the Emperor.

It indicates, in the first place, that it was not unusual to create new Colleges of Masons[3] for special purposes, which purposes being accomplished, the colleges were dissolved. Pliny would hardly have asked permission to perform an act of such importance, if it had not been sanctioned by previous custom.

But this brings us very near to the similar custom of the Stone-

[1] "Cuncta Collegia prætor antiquitus constituta distraexit" and "Collegia prætor antiqua et legitima dissolvit" are the expressions of the Roman biographer.

[2] See the 42d and 43d Epistles for the correspondence on this subject between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan.

[3] I cannot hesitate to translate the words "Collegium Fabrorum" into the English "College of Masons." The whole tenor of the classical writings and especially the inscriptions show that it was not usual to add to the generic word *faber* the distinctive one *marmoriarius* to show that he was a worker in stone or in marble.

masons in the Middle Ages, who, we know, were accustomed to create their temporary or especial Lodges of workmen, when any building was to be undertaken. We see in this, if not a proof of the direct continuation of the mediaeval Masons from the Roman colleges (which Mr. Findel is unwilling to admit), at least a very exact imitation in an interesting point, by the former of the customs of the latter.

And in the next place, we learn from this epistle of Pliny that it was not unusual to admit into these colleges of workmen members who were not of the Craft, and that this was often done for an evil purpose.

On this fact, indeed, was based the objection of the state to illicit colleges. Voluntary associations were often formed which, assuming the name and pretending to practice the professions of the regular colleges, consisted really, in great part, of non-operatives who met together in secret to concoct political and insurrectionary schemes.

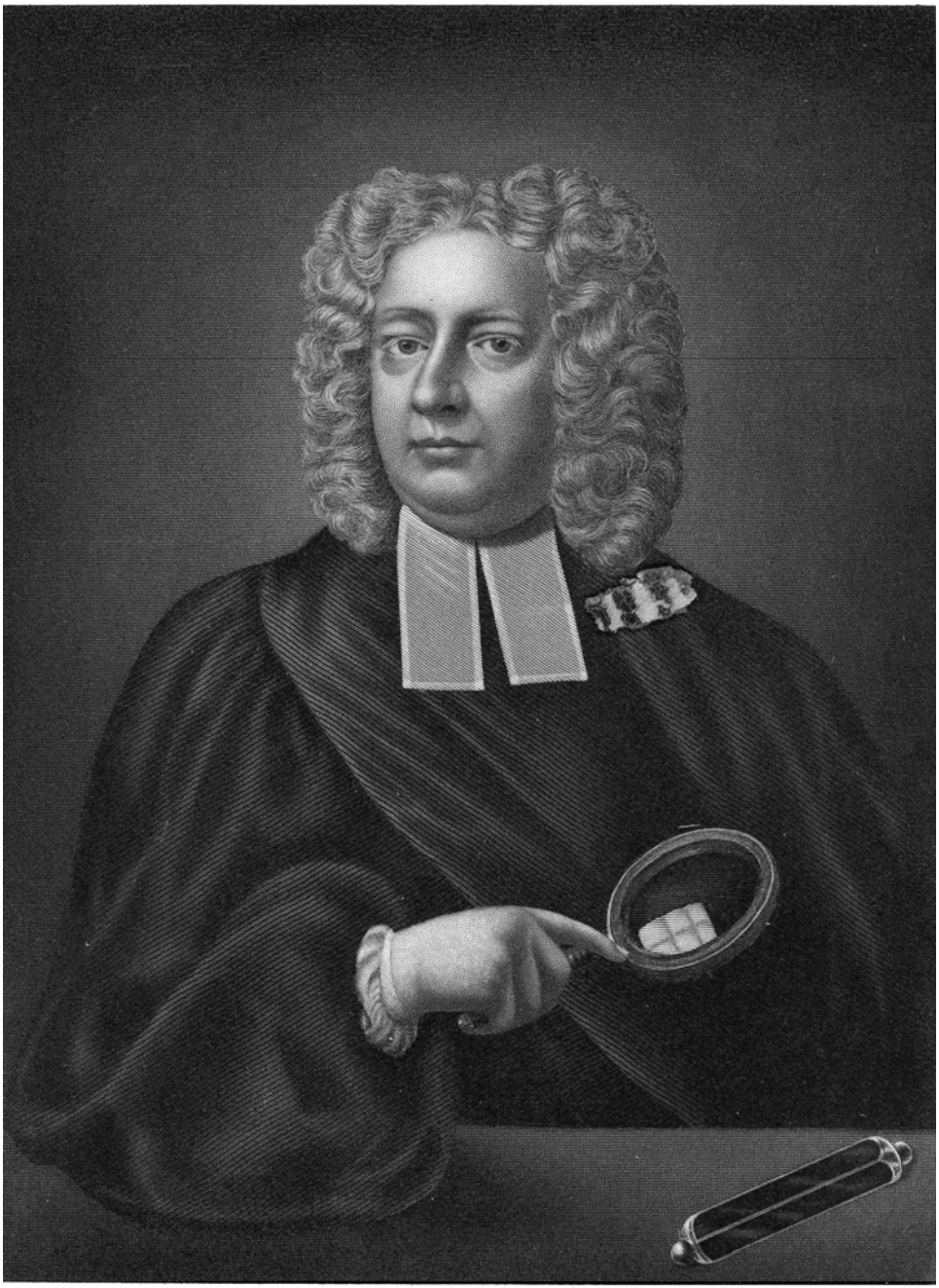
If the illicit colleges had confined themselves to a rivalry in work with the regular bodies, it is not likely that the state would have meddled with the contests between regular and irregular workmen, or, as in after times they were called, Freemasons and Cowans. Government does not at this day, in any country, interfere between constitutional and clandestine Lodges of Masons. It leaves, as it is probable that it would have done in Rome, the settlement of the controversy to the Masonic law.

But it was the admission of these non-operative members into the illicit colleges, who converted them from bodies of honest workmen into political clubs, that made all the evil and awoke the suspicions and the interference of the state.

Trajan consequently declines to permit the creation of a new and temporary college at Nicomedia, and he assigns the reason for his refusal in these words.

He says, in reply to Pliny: "You have suggested the establishment of a College of Masons (*Collegium Fabrorum*) at Nicomedia, after the example of many other cities. But we should not forget that this province, and especially its cities, have been greatly troubled by this kind of factions. Whatever name we may give to them for any cause, bodies of men, however small in number, who are drawn together by the same design, will become political clubs."

JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS



I. T. Desaguliers Legum Doctor, Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Socius, Honoratissimo Duci de Chandos à Sacris. Philosophiæ Naturalis Experimentorum ope Illustrator.

H. Hysing pinx. P. Pelham sc. 1725 Sold by John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill.

The last two words are in the original *hetæriæ.* This from the Greek, among which people *hetæriæ* or *hetairiai* were associations originally instituted for convivial purposes or for mutual relief, like our benefit societies. They became, in later times, very common in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire, but, as Mr. Kennedy says, "were looked on with suspicion by the emperors as leading to political combinations."[1]

I think, therefore, that we may safely arrive at the conclusion that the primitive colleges of artisans, who derived their origin from the time of Numa, and to which we may trace the idea of the mediaeval guilds of Masons, were generally undisturbed by the government, whether regal, republican, or imperial, and continued their existence and their activity to a very late period in the history of the empire. The persecutions, suppressions, and dissolutions of colleges of which we read, refer only to those illegal and irregular ones, which, not confining their operations within the legitimate limits of their craft, were voluntary associations made up, for the most part, of non-operative members, who were engaged in factious schemes against the powers of the state.

This point being settled, we may next direct our attention to the condition of these colleges, and especially the Colleges of Masons, or *Collegia Fabrorum* (for with them only are we concerned), in the empire and in., the provinces until the final overthrow of the Roman power.

The Romans, in the earlier portion of their history, were without any taste or refinement. The people were entirely military in their character, and they cultivated the rude arts of war rather than the polished ones of peace. Architecture, therefore, was in a debased condition. The principles of building extended only to the construction of a shelter from the weather Their houses were of the rudest form, and, as their name imported, were merely coverings from the sun and rain. "These sheds of theirs," says Spence, "were more like the caves of wild beasts than the habitations of men; and rather flung together, as chance led them, than formed into regular streets and openings. Their walls were half mud; and their roofs pieces of boards stuck together."[2]

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[1] Smith, "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," article *Eranoi.*

[2] Spence, "Polymatis," Dialogue V., p. 36.

The builders of the college established by Numa could at that time have been occupied only in the most inglorious part of their profession. They were engaged in works of utility and absolute necessity, and could have had no knowledge of or inclination for ornament. The most bungling carpenter or bricklayer of the present time must have greatly surpassed them in skill.

During that period the colleges furnished no architects to the army. The only workmen that we find there were the smiths and the carpenters; they were soldiers who exercised with but little need of skill the mysteries of these trades, being employed in the renovation of weapons and in needful repairs about the camp. It was not until centuries afterward that workmen were supplied by the colleges and authorized by the state to accompany the legions in their campaigns and in their occupation of conquered provinces.[1]

It was not until about the era of Augustus—that monarch who boasted that he had found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble—that the Romans began to exhibit a fondness for the fine arts, and especially for architecture. Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, had, two centuries before, implanted the seeds of a refined taste in his countrymen, and invited the invectives of the ascetic Cato, by the works of Grecian art which he brought to Rome from the spoliation of the city which he had conquered. To him, therefore, has been attributed the introduction of the arts into Rome.

But it is to Augustus that architecture was indebted for the high position as an art that it assumed among the Romans, and from the period of his reign must we date the rise of the Colleges of Builders, as associations of architects, whose cultivated and encouraged genius produced its influence upon the conquered provinces into which they migrated with the Roman legions.

Pittacus says, in his *Lexicon of Roman Antiquities?* that those workmen who at first confined their labors to the city of Rome, afterward spread over the whole of Italy and then into the various provinces of the empire, furnishing everything that was needed by the army.

The government seems to have taken especial care of these

[1] Pittacus, "Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum," article *Fabri.*

[2] "Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum," article *Collegium.*

colleges, for besides the officers elected by the members themselves, the state placed over them other officers, whose duty it was to give them a general superintendence. In the provinces this duty was entrusted to the proconsul or government. Thus we have seen that Pliny, as governor of the province of Bithynia, proposed to create a College of Builders, over which he was to exercise a control such as would regulate it in the admission of its members. In the municipal cities this officer was called sometimes a Procurator, and sometimes a *Propositus.* In every legion the artisans were under the government of a Prefect, who was styled the *Præfectus Fabrum,* or Prefect of the Artisans. I am not willing to confound this officer with the Prefect of the Camp, who was, like our modern quartermaster, of a purely military character. There is an inscription copied by Reinesius, in which occur the words *Faber et Præf. Fabr. Leg., XX.,* i.e., Artificer and Prefect of the Artificers. This would seem to imply that the Prefect himself was sometimes, if not always, an artificer and "one of the Craft."

Under the officer appointed by the state, as the general superintendent of the artificers of the college, was a subordinate one, appointed also by the state or perhaps by himself, whose duty it was to inspect and to direct the labors of the workmen, and to see that everything was done in an artistic and workmanlike manner. He was, in fact, what in later times the Freemasons called the *Magister Operis,* or Master of the Work.

When, therefore, we meet in Gaul, in Britain, or in any other province which had been penetrated by the legions, with a monument of the labors of these Roman Masons, which some well-preserved inscription attests to have been the work of a *Collegium Fabrorum,* or College of Masons, we may suppose that it was accomplished in the following manner.

In the first place, the men, the materials, the site, the character of the building, and all other matters relating to the general design, were determined by the Proconsul, Procurator, Commander of the Legion, or whomsoever had been appointed by the state or the emperor as superintendent of the artificers and the colleges.

The workmen being then assembled, commenced their labors by congregating themselves, or being congregated, into a college, if such a college did not already exist, and they were placed under the immediate control and direction of a subordinate officer, who was

an artificer or an architect, and who regulated their labors, made designs or plans, and corrected the errors of the workmen.

In all this we see a great analogy to the method pursued by the operative Stonemasons of the Middle Ages.

First, there was a prelate, nobleman, or man of wealth and dignity, who had formed the design of building a cathedral, an abbey, or a castle. In the old English Constitutions this great personage is always referred to as "the Lord," and the work or building was called "the Lord's work."

Having congregated in huts or temporary dwellings around the site of the edifice they were about to erect, they formed a Lodge, which was under the control of a Master. And then there was the architect or Master of the Works, who was responsible for the faithful performance of the task.

The convenience of military operations, such as the establishment or removal of camps, and the passage of armies from one place to another, required that the legions should carry with them in their marches architects and competent workmen to accomplish these objects. Bergerius, who wrote a treatise *On the Public and Military Roads of the Roman Empire*,[1] estimates, with perhaps some extravagance, that the number of architects and workmen engaged in the Roman states in the repairs of roads, the construction of bridges and other works of a similar kind, exceeded those employed in the building of the Pyramids of Egypt and the Temple of Solomon.

Of these a great number were distributed among the legions; accompanied them in their marches; remained with them wherever they were stationed; created their colleges and proceeded to the erection of works, sometimes of a temporary and sometimes of a more permanent character.

Dr. Krause says, citing as his authority the *Corpus Juris* and the inscriptions, that in every legion there were corporations or colleges of workmen who were employed for building and other purposes needed in military operations.

Hence, in tracing the advance of the Roman legions into different colonies, we are also tracing the advance of the Roman architects and builders who accompanied them. And when the legion

[1] De publicis et militaribus Imperii Romani Viis," contained in vol. x. of the "Thesaurus Antiq. Rom." of Grævius.

stopped in its progress and made any colony its temporary home, it exercised all the influence of a conquering army of civilized soldiers over a country of barbarians. Of all these influences of civilization the one that has been the most patent was that of the architects who substituted for the rude constructions which they found in the countries which had been invaded, the more refined principles of building. The monuments of the edifices erected in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain have, for the most part, disappeared under the destructive agencies of time; but their memorials remain to us in ruins, in inscriptions, and in the history of the improved condition of architecture, among these barbarous and uncultivated peoples. It was, it is true, developed in subsequent times, and greatly modified by the instructions of Byzantine artists, but the first growth and outspring of the architecture practiced by the mediaeval guilds of Freemasons must be traced to the introduction of the art into the Roman provinces by the Colleges of Builders which accompanied the Roman legions in the stream of conquest which these victorious armies followed.

Having thus presented the details of the history of these Roman Colleges of Builders from their organization by Numa, through the successive eras of regal, of republican, and of imperial Rome; having shown their continued existence and eventually their spread into the municipal or free cities and into the conquered provinces, impressing everywhere the evidences of an influence on the art of building, it is proper that we should now pause to examine the memorials of their labors in the different provinces and colonies.

It is thus that we shall be enabled to establish the first link in that chain which connects the Freemasonry of the mediaeval and more recent periods of Europe with the building corporations of Rome.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST LINK: SETTLEMENT OF ROMAN COLLEGES OF ARTIFICERS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE

HE first link of the chain which connects the Roman Colleges of Artificers with the building corporations of the Middle Ages, is found in the dispersion and settlement of the former in the conquered colonies of Rome.

It has been satisfactorily shown that the Masons at Rome were incorporated into colleges, where the principles of their art were diligently studied and taught to younger members who stood for that purpose in the place occupied by the Apprentices in the Stonemasons' lodges at a long subsequent period. We have seen that an immunity from all public services was granted by the Emperor Constantine to workmen, and among others to architects for the express reason that they might have the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of their professions and of imparting it to their disciples.

Now these architects, one of whom was always appointed to a legion with workmen from the colleges under him, carried the skill which they had been enabled to acquire at home, with them into the colonies or provinces which they visited, and there, if they remained long enough, which was usually the case, as the legions were for the most part stationed for long periods, they erected, besides the military defences constructed for the safety of the army, and the roads which they opened for its convenience, more permanent edifices, such as temples. Of this we have abundant evidence in the ruins which still remain of some of these structures, ruins so dilapidated as to supply us with only meagre and yet sufficient evidence of their former existence and even splendor, but more especially in the numerous inscriptions on stone or marble tablets, hundreds of which, in every province, have been collected by Gruter, Muratori, Reine-

sius and other writers who have devoted themselves to the study of Roman antiquities.

Thus we shall find in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain abundant evidences, of the kind referred to, of these labors of the Roman architects, while these provinces were under Roman domination. It can not be denied that this must have exercised a certain influence on the original inhabitants and have introduced a more refined taste and a superior skill in the art of building. Nor was the influence thus exerted of an altogether ephemeral nature. When the Roman domination ceased, and the legions were withdrawn to sustain the feeble powers of a decaying empire, threatened by the barbarian hordes of the north with extinction, not all the Romans who had come with the legions, or since their advent immigrated into the country, left with them. A very long series of years had passed, and many of these architects and builders had been naturalized, as it were, and were unwilling to depart from the homes which they had made. They remained, and continued to perpetuate among the people with whom they were domiciliated the skill and the usages which they had originally brought from Rome.

M. Viollet-le-Duc says, in his *Dictionary of Architecture*,[1] that in the Middle Ages the workmen of the southern cities of Europe preserved the Roman traditions, and that in them the corporations or colleges did not cease to exist, but that these bodies were not established in the northern cities until the time of the affranchisement of the communes.

Even if this were the fact, it would only be lengthening the chain of connection, for it is fair to suppose that the corporations of the north, at whatever later period they were established, must have adopted the system of confraternities from the southern cities where they had long existed as a part of the Roman tradition. So that even in this view the chain is uninterrupted which binds the corporations of builders of the Middle Ages with those of Rome.

But I think that it will hereafter be shown to be historically true that the traditions and the usages of the Roman colleges were well preserved in the early period of English architecture, and that out of these traditions sprang, in part, the regulations of the Saxon

[1] "Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture de XIme au XVIme siècle," tome vi., p. 346

guilds. But this is a question for future consideration when we come to the investigation of the post-Roman architecture of Gaul and England.

The evidences of the influence of the Roman colleges on the province of Spain are very abundant, arising from the peculiar relations of that province to the Empire.

Upon the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain, which occurred 206 B.C., it was erected into a Roman province, at least so much as had been conquered by the Romans under the Scipios, which did not include more than half of the peninsular. Thenceforward it was governed sometimes by one prætor and sometimes by two, and two legions were always kept stationary in the province.

The influence of this political arrangement was of the most important character. The soldiers intermarried with the native women, and thus became so estranged from Italy that when the legions were disbanded, many of them refused to return home, and continued their residence in Spain.[1]

A little more than a century after its conquest, such a system of internal communication had been established by the opening of roads, and especially the military one of Pompey over the Pyrenees, that the country was laid open to travelers, many of whom settled there. In the time of Strabo, a portion of the province had been so Romanized in manners as to have become almost Roman. The great privilege of citizenship had been granted to many of the inhabitants, and they had even forgotten their native language.

Spain, thus becoming more intimately connected with the Empire than any of the other provinces, furnished, as it is well known, some distinguished names to Latin literature, such as Lucanus, the poet, the older and the younger Seneca, Columelle, Quintilian, and the epigrammatist, Martial.

In the reign of Augustus many considerable colonies were founded, represented by the modern cities of Zaragossa, Merida, Badajoz, and many others. In these cities the art of building flourished, and they were adorned with some of the finest productions of Roman architecture, of many of which the magnificent ruins still remain, while temples, theaters, baths, circuses, and other public edifices, which had been erected by the Roman masons, have perished through the

[1] Niebuhr, "Lectures on Roman History," ii., p. 208.

waste of time and the destructive influences of invasions and intestine wars.

It is well known that while Spain was, from the earliest times, an object of the grasping ambition of foreign peoples, and that it was in turns invaded and conquered by the Phœnicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, and the Arabs, all of whom were attracted by the delights of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the richness of the mines, the Romans, from the longer duration of their domination and from the more solid character of the edifices which they constructed, have left a greater number of architectural monuments, and these in a greater state of preservation, than the other nations who preceded or followed them.[1]

But the invasion of the Goths, after the departure of the Romans, and the subsequent more permanent occupation of the peninsular by the Saracenic Arabs or Moors, so completely withdrew the architects of Spain from all communication with those of the rest of Europe, and so completely obliterated all effects of the earlier Roman influence, that it is impossible to trace a continued and uninterrupted connection between the Roman Colleges of Masons, who left behind such wonderful evidences of their skill, and the mediaeval guilds or corporations of the Middle Ages, who in other countries were their successors.

It is a curious historical fact that while of all the Roman provinces Spain was the one in which the Roman domination was most firmly established, it was also the one in which, after the decay of the Empire, all the results of that domination were the most thoroughly obliterated.

Spain has, therefore, been alluded to on the present occasion not with any intention of making it a part of that train of succession which, beginning with the colleges of Numa, ended in the mediaeval guilds of Stonemasons, but because it furnishes a very complete instance of how these Roman Colleges of Artificers extended their labors and introduced their art into foreign countries.

In the three other provinces of the western empire, the two Gauls and Britain, the connection of the Roman colleges with the guilds or corporations which subsequently sprang up may be more readily traced.

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[1] Don Caen-Bermudez, "Sumario de las Antigüedades Romanas que hay in España," Madrid, 1852, p. 2.

Cisalpine or Citerior Gaul was the name given by the classical writers to that part of Gallia which was south of the alpine mountains, and which constituted what is more familiarly known as northern Italy. Deriving its first settlement, if we may trust to the authority of Livy, which, however, Niebuhr rejects, by an immigration of the Gauls beyond the mountains, in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, these people were for centuries engaged in struggles with the Romans, whose attempts to subdue them were always unsuccessful. When Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, invaded Italy and sought the destruction of Rome and the Roman power, many of them willingly became his allies But about two hundred years before the Christian era, the two most important tribes, the Insubrians and the Boians, were subdued by the Roman legions under the Consuls C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minucius Rufus, and from that time to the reign of Augustus, Cisalpine Gaul came slowly but surely under the Roman domination. When it was established as a Roman province, it was rapidly filled with a Roman population, and became one of the most valuable of the Roman possessions. Most of the towns received that political status known as the Jus Latii, or the Latinitas, by which they were placed in a middle position between strangers and the Roman citizens, and the pure right of citizenship was bestowed on their magistrates, which was, in the time of Cæsar, extended to all the inhabitants, the larger towns being made municipalities.

Fifty years before Christ all Cisalpine Gaul had been invested with the right of citizenship, and consisted of Roman communities organized after the Roman fashion. This would necessarily indicate the introduction among the people of Roman civilization and refinement. Among the arts that were encouraged, that of architecture was not the least, and we have ample evidence in still remaining monuments and in inscriptions that the Roman architects or members of the colleges were industriously employed m the labors of their Craft.

The proofs of this are to be found in the modern cities of northern Italy, which are the successors of the Cisalpine colonies, and which have preserved in their museums or in private collections the memorials and relics of their ancient prosperity and refinement.

Thus Mutina, now the modern Modena, was one of the most

flourishing of the Lombard towns. Cicero did not hesitate to call it "the strongest and most splendid colony of the Roman people." It was so wealthy as to have been able to support for a long time the large army of Brutus. It fell at length into decay, but was never abandoned, and again rose to prosperity in the Middle Ages under the name of Modena, by which it is still known. Although the magnificent architectural remains of the ancient city were employed in the construction of the cathedral and other public buildings of the modern one, or were buried under the depositions of alluvial soil, yet the Museum of Modena contains a valuable collection of sarcophagi and of inscriptions which have been excavated at various times and which furnish the evidence of the existence and the labors of the Roman architects and builders under the empire.

There was another town of Cisalpine Gaul, called Aquileia, which was built by the Romans to defend the fertile plains of Italy on the northeast from the incursions of barbarians. Two centuries before Christ it was settled by several thousand colonists from Rome and became a place of great commercial prosperity. In the 5th century it was plundered and burnt by Attila, King of the Huns; but though it never again became a place of importance, it was always inhabited, and in the 6th century was the See of a bishop, and, to borrow the language of Mr. Bunbury,[1] "It maintained a sickly existence throughout the Middle Ages." At the present day it is an obscure village, with only a cathedral. Although it contains no vestiges of Roman edifices, the site, says the same writer, "abounds with remains of antiquity, coins, engraved stones, and other minor objects as well as shafts and capitals of columns, fragments of frieze, etc., the splendour and beauty of which sufficiently attest the magnificence of the ancient city." Among the inscriptions found there are some which relate to the temple and the worship of Belenus, a local sun-god whom the Romans identified with Apollo. All the works of which we have these memorials must have been effected by the Roman architects, who, with their colleges, were surely among the six or seven thousand who emigrated from Rome and built up the city.

Bononia, or the modern Bologna, was built, it is supposed, by the Tuscans, and was raised to the rank of a Roman colony about

[1] Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography."

two centuries before Christ. It continued to be an important and flourishing city under the empire. Though it suffered decay, it was able, in the 5th century, to withstand successfully the attacks of Alaric. It never lost the continuity of its existence, but after the fall of the empire regained, in a great measure, its prosperity, and at length assumed, in the Middle Ages, a pre-eminence among the cities of northern Italy which it still retains. It is not probable that it had soon lost its traditions of those arts which it practiced when a Roman colony, and which are attested by fragments of sculpture and traditions which have been preserved.

The modern city of Ivrea, which is an important place, was the ancient Eporedia, a Roman colony founded about one hundred years before Christ. The strength of its position, as commanding two important passes of the Alps, gave it great military value, and it does not, therefore, appear to have been subjected to any great process of decay. As late as the close of the 4th century it was a considerable town and occupied, as a military station, by a portion of a legion. The modern city still contains a fine Roman sarcophagus and some other remains of its ancient splendor.

But the most interesting of all the cities of Cisalpine Gaul, in a reference to the connection of the Roman colleges, which labored in them, with the sodalities of the Middle Ages which succeeded them, is Comum, an important city at the foot of the Alps and on the borders of the Lake of Como. The present name of the city is Como. It is supposed to have been the birthplace of both the elder and the younger Pliny, the latter of whom made it his favorite residence, and established in it a school of learning. It was under the empire a flourishing municipality, and its prosperity was secured by the beauty and convenience of its position at the extremity of the lake, for it became the point of embarkation for travelers who were proceeding to cross the Rhætian Alps. It retained its prosperity to the close of the Roman Empire. In the 4th century a fleet was stationed there for the protection of the lake. Cassiodorus speaks of it in the 6th century as one of the military bulwarks of Italy, and extols the richness of the palaces with which the shores of the lake in its vicinity were adorned. It continued to retain its importance in the Middle Ages, and it is from there that the "Masters of Como," the Traveling Freemasons, proceeded to traverse Europe in the 10th century, and to erect cathedrals, monasteries, and palaces in

the various countries which they visited. But this body, whose acts form the most valuable portion of the historical testimony of the connection between the Roman Colleges of Artificers and the corporations of Freemasons in the Middle Ages, will be hereafter discussed and described in a more extended manner. For the present, this simple allusion to them must suffice.

We next come to the consideration of the architectural condition of Transalpine Gaul, or Gaul proper, under the Roman domination. This subject may be briefly discussed, as the early condition of Roman architecture in Gaul will be more diffusely treated in a subsequent chapter.

The name of Transalpine Gaul was given by the Romans to that country which extended from the Pyrenean mountains to the river Rhine, within which limits modern France is embraced. It was first conquered by the Roman arms under Julius Cæsar, and remained a province of the empire until its final decline. The Gauls are represented to have been a ferocious and sanguinary people, though at the time of the conquest Cæsar found an improvement in the manners of some of the tribes. But their progress toward civilization and refinement was rapid after they came under the dominion of the Romans. Cæsar had formed a legion of Gaulish soldiers whom he armed and drilled after the Roman fashion, and subsequently when he had arrived at the Dictatorship he made them Roman citizens, and sent Roman colonies to several of the cities.

Under the Emperor Augustus, Gaul became rapidly Romanized. Schools were established in the large towns, and the Latin language and the Roman law were adopted. In religion there was a compromise and there was a mixture of Gallic and Roman worship, though wherever the Romans made a permanent settlement, temples were erected to the Roman deities.

Architectural works were pursued with great energy but with little prudence. Temples and other public buildings, together with bridges, roads, and aqueducts, were erected over all the country. These must have cost immense sums, and as the expenditure was wholly defrayed by the inhabitants without aid from the mother-government, great distress began to prevail among the people, which led to several mutinies.

But though the embellishments of the Roman architects had impoverished the colonists, the influences of refinement in art con-

tinued long after these troubles to prevail, and in Gaul we find an almost uninterrupted connection between the architecture of the Roman colleges and that of the mediaeval Freemasons.

That part of Gaul which lay along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and which the Romans emphatically called the Province (Provincia), had been civilized and Romanized long before the conquest of the other parts of the country. It was in the towns of this province that the most extensive operations in architecture were exhibited. It must be remarked, however, that all over Gaul outside of the Provincia, as well as within it, there are ample evidences of the splendid style of architecture that was cultivated by the architects who accompanied the legions, or the colonists who went from Rome to settle in Gaulish towns.

Bæterræ, now Beziers, received a colony of soldiers of the seventh legion, who constructed a causeway, of which some traces still exist. There are also the vestiges of an amphitheater and the remains of an aqueduct.

Arelate, now known as Aries, was a city of the Provincia. The Roman remains are very numerous there; among them an obelisk of Egyptian granite which was excavated some centuries ago, and in 1675 was set up in one of the public squares. The amphitheater was estimated as capable of holding twenty thousand persons. There is also an old cemetery which contains many ancient tombs, both Pagan and Christian.

Nemausus, the modern Nîmes, which was also a city of the Provincia, contains many remains of the skill of the old Roman architects and the splendor of their works. The amphitheater, not quite as large as that of Aries, is in a good state of preservation. There is also a temple still existing which, as Arthur Young says, in his *Travels in France,* is beyond comparison the most light, elegant, and pleasing building that he ever beheld. Under the modern name of "Maison Carrée" it is now used as a museum of painting and antiquities.

But the noblest monument that the Romans have left in Gaul is the aqueduct now called the *Pont du Gard,* which is between three and four leagues from Nîmes. The bridge on which the aqueduct Is laid is still solid and strong, and is, says Mr. George Long, "a magnificent monument of the grandeur of Roman conceptions, and of the boldness of their execution."

It is useless to extend these descriptions farther. All over Gaul were cities colonized by the Romans, who imparted to the native inhabitants a portion of their skill, their taste, and their refinement. Temples, amphitheaters, theaters, aqueducts, and public and private buildings of every kind are to be found in all the large and many of the small cities of modern France, which, sometimes well preserved and sometimes in ruins, always indicate that the spirit of architectural enterprise was imparted to the people under the Roman government and by Roman architects and builders. How well that spirit was preserved and how it became afterward developed in the Freemasonry of the Middle Ages will remain to be elucidated in our further historical researches.

Britain was twice invaded by Cæsar, but on neither occasion did he stay long enough in the island to effect any influence on the inhabitants. Augustus afterward planned an expedition to Britain, but the plan was never consummated. It was not until the time of Claudius that any serious attempt at conquest was made. Under his orders an army was led by Aulus Plautus into the southeastern part of the island. The city of Camalodunum, now Maiden, was taken. Claudius, who had visited Britain to partake of the triumphs of the victory, returned to Rome and assumed the surname of Britannicus in attestation of his success, leaving his general, Plautus, to complete the conquest, which, however, he did not accomplish.

Vespasian soon after subdued the Isle of Wight and took twenty of the *oppida* or British towns. His son Titus also distinguished himself in many battles with the native tribes.

But though the island was at this time penetrated to some extent by the Roman legions, and the southern coasts were occupied by them, the island was not yet conquered. The struggle between the independent spirit of the natives and the ambitious designs of their Roman invaders lasted for nearly half a century, and the subjection of the whole island was not achieved until the reign of Domitian. Thereafter Britain took the form and felt all the influences of a Roman province, but unlike Spain and Gaul, a discontented one.

It is hardly germane to the objects of the present work to trace, with any particularity of detail, the progress of the Roman power under the various emperors who governed the island from the date

of its conquest to the final withdrawal of the Roman armies in the beginning of the 5th century.

It is sufficient to say that during the period of time intervening between these two epochs, Britain had become completely Romanized. Colonies were founded, cities possessing the right of Roman citizenship were established, legions were distributed in various places, veteran soldiers and immigrants from the imperial city had made permanent settlements, so that, as Gildas says, it was to be viewed not as a British but as a Roman island.

"Britain," says Sharon Turner, "was not now in the state in which the Romans had found it. Its towns were no longer barricadoed forests, nor its houses wood cabins covered with straw, nor its inhabitants naked savages with painted bodies or clothed with skins. It had been, for above three centuries, the seat of Roman civilization and luxury. Roman emperors had been born and others had reigned in it. The natives had been ambitious to obtain and hence had not only built houses, temples, courts, and market-places in their towns, but had adorned them with porticoes, galleries, baths, and saloons, and with mosaic pavements, and emulated every Roman improvement. They had distinguished themselves as legal advocates and orators and for their study of the Roman poets. Their cities had been made images of Rome itself, and the natives had become Romans."[1]

It can not be doubted that the skill and experience of the Roman architects who accompanied the legions or who came from Rome to Britain after its conquest had been imparted to the native Britons, and that the chain of connection between the Roman colleges and the local Colleges of Artificers in the island was well established. Of this, numerous inscriptions and the remains of Roman buildings, found everywhere in modern England, furnish ample evidence.

In Dorchester, which was the Roman Durnovaria, besides the remains of the old Roman ruins and several camps, those of what was probably an amphitheater attest its former importance and the labors of the Roman builders.

In Dover, the ancient Dubris, there is now an octagon tower attached to a church, and which is almost built of Roman bricks. It is supposed to have been a light-house in the time of the Romans.

[1] "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i., p. 136.

London, or Londinium, was a very old city, and was the capital of ancient Britain as it now is of modern England. Though not invested by the Romans with the rights of a municipality, it was always, as Tacitus says, from the abundance of its trade, a place of great importance. The remains of Roman monuments which have been found in London show that it contained many splendid buildings. When the foundations of an old wall which bordered the river were laid open, several years ago, it was found to be composed of materials that had been previously used in the construction of ancient buildings.

"The stones of which this wall was constructed," says Mr. Charles Roach Smith,[1] "were portions of columns, friezes, cornices, and also foundation-stones. From their magnitude, character, and number, they gave an important and interesting insight into the obscure history of Roman London, in showing the architectural changes that had taken place in it." Architectural fragments, and the remains of tesselated pavements in great number have been discovered, which attest the magnificence of the Roman city, and traces of temples have also been found.

It has been said that London was the station of a cohort of native Britons, which was contrary to the usage of the Roman Emperors, who never stationed auxiliaries in their native countries, but we know that a colony of veterans had been established at Camalodunum or Maiden not far off, and there are inscriptions which attest the presence, at various times, of the soldiers of the second, sixth, and twentieth legions in the city. It is easy, therefore, to trace, as we must, the construction of these magnificent works to Roman architects, supplied by the legions or the colonies.

Eboracum, or York, is familiar to the Masonic scholar from the important part that it plays in the traditional history of English Freemasonry. It was a town of much importance in the times of the Romans, and seems to have been a favorite place of residence. It was the permanent station of the sixth or victorious legion. The Emperors Severus and Constantius died there, and it is said to have been the birthplace of Constantine the Great. Among the memorials of the Roman domination which have been found at York are numerous remains of temples, baths, altars, votive tablets, and even

[1] Dr. William Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography."

private residences. Of the many inscriptions that have been preserved, one dedicated to the Egyptian god Serapis, and a tablet or slab containing the carved figure of a man with a cap and chlamys, or short mantle, who is stabbing a bull, indicate the introduction by the Romans of the worship of a foreign god as well as the cultivation of the mystical rites of Mithras.

In the beginning of the 5th century, the Roman Empire being imminently threatened with downfall, the legions and the Roman authority, which had ruled and protected Britain for so long a period, were withdrawn. The people were left to defend themselves from the incursions of the Danes and other barbarous invaders from the opposite shores of the Continent. Many changes took place in the laws, the language, and the habits of the island. In time, after many wars, Britain became Anglo-Saxon England.

But, as on the retirement of the Romans, many voluntarily remained, because they had become habituated to the country and, in numerous cases, had been connected by intermarriages with the natives, Britain did not altogether lose the influence of the seed that had been sown. Especially in the art of building, although there was a deterioration, all the effects of the Roman civilization were not lost. And it will not, I think, be difficult to trace the development of the system of trade guilds which afterward existed among the Anglo-Saxons and the English to the suggestions of the similar guilds of the Roman colleges. But the consideration of this question must be postponed to a future chapter.

What has been here attempted has been to show that the Roman colleges, sending their architects to the colonies and cities established in the conquered provinces of the Roman Empire, had secured, in an uninterrupted succession, not only the principles of architecture but the co-operative and well-regulated system of work which, beginning at the earliest period of Roman history in the Colleges of Artificers, was to be carried throughout its acquired dominions by its legions and its colonists, and finally to be developed in a modern form in the corporations of operative Masons of the Middle Ages, and finally in the lodges of Speculative Masons of the present day.

So far the first and second links of this chain of connection have been shown; we here close the history with the fall of the Roman dominion over the provinces at the beginning of the 5th century.

As we proceed in our investigations our inquiries must bring us successively to the condition of architecture and its gradual growth into new systems and various styles in all the countries which were once under the Roman dominion.

We shall, I believe, find the principles of architecture changing from the influences of different causes exerted at different times. Architecture will be constantly changing its features. The Roman, the Byzantine, the Gothic, and other styles will succeed and displace each other, but the system of co-operative or guild labor, which is the true connecting chain between the ancient and the modern methods of building, will always prevail and show, in every successive age, the unweakened influence of the old Roman guild or college.

CHAPTER V

EARLY MASONRY IN FRANCE

ITH the condition of Masonry in Gaul, which afterward became France, immediately subsequent to the decadence of the Roman Empire, and afterward up to the Middle Ages, we are by no means as familiar as we are with its condition during the same period in Germany and in Britain. French Masonic writers have been too speculative in their views, and have given too loose a rein to their imaginations, to permit us to attach any value to the authenticity of what they present as historical statements.

This is a fault, which it is but fair to say has been shared by the English writers of what has been called Masonic history. Clavel and Thory are hardly to be considered more reliable as historians than Anderson and Oliver. In the works of each of these distinguished writers we find many statements which are hardly plausible, and which, although offered as historical facts, are wholly unsupported by any authentic authority.

But recently in England a new school of Masonic history has sprung up, which is rapidly clearing away the cobwebs of absurdity and inconsistency, of doubt and error which had been woven around the pure form of history by the older writers of the last and the beginning of the present century.

In France, no such school has been established. In that country there have been no Hughans, Woodfords, or Lyons to exhume from their sepulcher, on the shelves of national or private libraries, the old charters and capitularies which might throw some light on the real condition of the Masonic sodalities which were left behind in Gaul on the retreat of the Roman legions, and which were afterward developed, by a gradual but uninterrupted growth, into the building corporations of the Middle Ages.

If the scholars of France supply us with no valuable assistance

in our inquiries on this subject, we shall look in vain for aid from English or German writers.

These have, in general, thought it a task sufficiently arduous to seek the elucidation of the Masonic history of their own countries, and have not, therefore, found either time or inclination to labor, to any great extent, in other fields.

Even Findal, who is somewhat exhaustive in his account of the early and mediæval Masonry of Britain, and more especially of Germany, passes over that of France without notice. Indeed, he begins his chapter on French Masonry with the year 1725 as his starting-point, and thus entirely ignores all the events that preceded the organization of the modern lodges in Paris after the revival, as it is called, which took place in London in the year 1717.

Hence his history is not really that of Masonry in France, but only that of the French Grand Lodge.

From Kloss, another German writer of eminence, we derive no better information. He wrote in two volumes a *History of Freemasonry in France, Drawn from Authentic Documents,* but his theory is that the Institution was introduced into France from England, and he goes, like Findal, no farther back than to the organization of a French lodge in 1725, under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of England.

It will be seen, when we come to the consideration of the origin of the Grand Lodge of Speculative Masons in France, that there is great question of the correctness of this date, for the researches of Bro. Hughan have led to the doubt whether there was a legal lodge in France, deriving its authority from the English Grand Lodge before the year 1732. This, however, is not germane to the present inquiry.

It is altogether in vain that we look in the pages of French Masonic writers, such as Thory and Clavel, for any documentary history of French Freemasonry anterior to the beginning of the 18th century.

Thory, in his *Acta Latomorum,* commences his annals, so far as they relate to France, with the year 1725, and the establishment of a lodge in Paris by the titular Earl of Derwentwater. Not a single word does he say of the condition of the association, either as Operative or Speculative, previous to that date.

Clavel, in his *Histoire Picturesque,* gives a very loose and indefi-

nite account of the origin of Freemasonry in France. He traces it, and in so far he is correct, to the Roman Colleges of Artificers through the architects of Lombardy, and passes very rapidly on to the connection of the French operative Masons with the building corporations of Germany and the Grand Lodge of Strasburg. But he does not attempt to show how that connection was effected. There is no objection to the theory which he propounds. His principal fault, as an historian, lies in his extreme generalization and in the meagerness of his details. Taking as his point of departure the Roman colleges, he leaps almost at a bound from them to the mediaeval corporations. He devotes no attention to the period which immediately succeeded the fall of the empire, nor to the influences exerted on, or the methods pursued by, the Roman and Gallic Masons who were left in Gaul on the departure of the legions, and which led to the gradual development of the guilds, sodalities, or lodges which sprang up in time as the successors of the Roman colleges.

But another failing of Clavel as an historian, and one which produces the most unsatisfactory results upon the minds of his readers. is that he produces no documents, does not even refer to any, and cites no authority to corroborate any of the statements that he makes.

Even in a writer of acknowledged care and attention to the credibility and genuineness of the facts that he records, such a method of treating an historical narrative would be objectionable. But what little claim Clavel's unsupported assertions have to our respect, and how far they are from necessarily demanding our belief, may be learned from the fact that he cites as an undoubted instance of the existence of a Masonic lodge in the year 1512, what is now known to have been merely a convivial society of literary men who met at Florence in that year under the title of the "Society of the Trowel."[1]

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[1] It counted some of the most distinguished inhabitants of Florence among its members. Its symbols were the trowel, the square, the hammer, and the level, and its patron saint was St. Andrew. Vasari describes it as a festive association of Florentine artists, who met annually to dine together. He describes the origin of its existence and its title to the merely accidental circumstance that certain painters and sculptors, dining together in a garden, observed in the vicinity of their table a mass of mortar in which a trowel was sticking. Some rough practical jokes passed thereupon, such as casting portions of the mortar on each other and the calling for the trowel to scrape it off. They then re-

The allusion to an implement of operative masonry in the title of the society, led Clavel, as it has done Reghellini, Lenning, and some others, to believe that it was a Masonic organization. But a reference to the authority of Vasari, in his *Lives of the Painters,* would have shown that the apparently professional title was actually selected by a mere accident and in reference to a jocular proceeding which suggested the name.

There is hardly any necessity to refer to the writings of the Chevalier Ramsay, as throwing any light on the early history of Masonry in France. His theory is that Freemasonry originated among the Crusaders and was introduced into France by the Templars, who brought it with them on their return from Palestine. This hypothesis is now generally, perhaps I should say universally, admitted to be untenable. It comprises a history, or the figment of a history, not founded on facts nor supported by any documentary evidence, but one that was simply invented to sustain a preconceived theory. The theory was first invented and then the history was written. Hence it has been rejected by all scholars and has fallen into utter extinction together with the system of Strict Observance that was founded in it. In this work, which seeks to trace Freemasonry back to the Colleges of Artificers of Rome, it can of course have no place.

Rebold is a pleasing exception to the rest of his countrymen who have treated or attempted to treat this subject, though it is to be regretted that he has not thought proper to corroborate his statements by a reference to authorities, or by what would have been most valuable, the citation of any old records or constitutions. On the whole, however, he is more satisfactory than any other writer of early French Masonic history, and gives a fuller account of the institution as it existed when Gaul emerged from the dominion of Rome.

His history,[1] briefly analyzed, is to the following effect. He says that Masonry was introduced into Gaul by the Roman confraternities of builders, one of which was attached to each legion of the army. He describes the vicissitudes to which these architects were

solved to dine together annually, and as a memorial of the ludicrous event that had led to their organization as a dinner-club they called themselves the *Società della Cuechiara,* or the *Society of the Trowel.*

[1] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges de Franc-maçons en France," Paris, 1864.

subjected during the repeated conflicts of the Romans with the hordes of barbarians, whose alternate defeats and successes were followed by the destruction or the renewal of the labors of the Masons. At length, in the year 426, the victorious arms of Clovis, King of the Franks, put an end to the Roman domination, and the armies of the empire left, forever, the soil of Gaul.

But the confraternities of builders, which had come into the country with the Roman legions, remained there after their departure. They, however, underwent material alterations in their organization, and developed a new system, which Rebold thinks became the basis of that Freemasonry which existed for a long time afterward in France.

Moller, in his *Memorials of German Gothic Architecture,*[1] when referring to the fact that the Roman architecture of the 5th and 6th centuries prevailed at a much later period in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, explains the circumstance as follows:

"The conquerors did not exterminate the old inhabitants, but left to them exclusively, at least in the first periods of their invasion, the practice of those arts of peace, upon which the rude warrior looked with contempt. And even at a later time, the intimate connection with Rome, which the clergy, then the only civilized part of the nation, entertained, and the unceasing and generally continued use of the Latin language in the divine service, gave considerable influence to Roman arts and sciences. This must have been so much more the case, from the constant obligation of all freemen to devote themselves to war; whereby the practice of the arts was left almost exclusively to the clergy."

The corporations of builders which had been attached, some to the legions and some to the governors of the provinces, under whose orders they had constructed many great edifices, then began to admit into their bosom a large number of native Gauls who had been converted to Christianity.

The most important modification, however, to which they were compelled to submit, was this, that being originally a general association of artisans, whose central sect and school of instruction was at Rome, they were obliged to abandon this relation on the retreat of the Roman armies from Gaul, and the severance of all

[1] Translation by W. H. Leeds, London, 1836, p. 17.

political connection between the province and the imperial government.

The builders, as well as the other craftsmen, then divided themselves into a variety of sodalities, each being occupied with the cultivation of a different art or trade.

It is here that Rebold should have cited some authority for his statement of a fact that is contrary to what has always been supposed to be the true character of the Roman colleges. The division into different trades, which he supposes to have been a forced necessity in Gaul, was in existence if history be correct, from the first organization of the colleges by Numa, when they were ten in number, which was subsequently increased to a large extent under the empire.

These sodalities of different trades, he says, subsequently gave rise to the corporations or guilds of the Middle Ages.

Of these sodalities, that of the builders, or Masons, being the most important, and the one most needed in the countries where they were left after the departure of the Romans, especially in Gaul and Britain, were alone enabled to retain the ancient organization and the ancient privileges which they had possessed under the domination of the Romans.

But amid the continued invasions of barbarians, and the wars and political disturbances that followed, the confraternities of builders were at last everywhere without occupation. The arts and architecture among them, paralyzed by international contests, found a refuge only in the monasteries, where they were successfully cultivated by the ecclesiastics who had been admitted into the fraternity of Masons.

Among the most celebrated architects of France who were the products of those monastic schools of architecture, Rebold mentions St. Eloi, Bishop of Noyon; St. Fereol, of Limoges; Dalmac, of Rodez; and Agniola, of Chalons, all of whom flourished in the 7th century. But he says that there were among the laity, also, architects not less distinguished, under whose direction numerous edifices were built in Gaul and in Britain at a later period.

The most distinguished of those whom Rebold has described as architects and as the disciples of the monastic schools of architecture was St. Eloi, or Eligius. But St. Eloi was not an architect, but a goldsmith, having regularly served an apprenticeship

to that trade, even after his appointment by Clothaire II. to the position of treasurer, or master of the mint. Subsequently, when fifty-two years of age, he was elevated to the bishopric of Noyon, for which he was obliged to prepare himself by two years of study and admission to ecclesiastical orders.

As a prelate he patronized, as many others had done, the architects by the erection of churches and monasteries. But his connection with Operative Masonry is rather through the guild organizations than through any close connection with the craft of building. He organized the monks of his abbey, according to St. Croix,[1] into a guild or school of smiths, for whom he drew up a code of regulations.

According to the same authority the statutes for the government of the craftsmen of Paris, prepared in the 14th century by Stephen Boileau, were but a transcript of those of St. Eloi.

Whittington says that St. Eloi belonged, properly, to the class of professional artists who were magnificently patronized and held in high estimation by him.[2]

The writer of his life in the *Spicilegium* describes him as "a very skillful goldsmith and most learned in all constructive arts."[3]

It is very evident that Rebold has so far given us the early history of architecture in France rather than that of Freemasonry. In this respect, his work follows, in its spirit, that of Dr. Anderson in the first and especially in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, To the student of Masonic history such annals are of value only because of the traditional relations that exist between the Operative and the Speculative systems.

Well-authenticated history leaves us no room to doubt that the Romans introduced architecture into France, or, to speak more correctly, into Gaul at a very early period, and many magnificent ruins are still remaining in the older cities as Aries, Avignon, Nîmes, and other ancient places, which are the vestiges of the labors of builders and architects under the Roman domination. In fact, when the barbarians began their irruptions into Gaul, the soil was covered with the monuments of Roman art. Many of these were destroyed,

[1] "Les Arts au Moyen Age et la Renaissance."

[2] "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France," p. 27.

[3] Aurifex partissimus atque in omni arte fabricaudi doctissimus. "Spicilegium," t. v., in Vita S. Eligii.

but there still remained, in the 6th century, a great number of public and private edifices which had been spared. In fact, there is at Nîmes a temple and an aqueduct still remaining in a state of excellent preservation. The former is now used as a museum of antiquities, and the latter, known as the *pont du gard,* is solid and strong, and is admitted by antiquaries to be the noblest Roman monument in France.

The people, during a long period of subjection to the Roman rule, had been traditionally educated in the architectural taste and spirit of Rome, and hence with the revival of the art of construction in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, the Christian churches became but the reflection of the Pagan basilica, and the palaces of kings and the castles of nobles were but copies of the Romano-Gallic villas.

Hence French Masonic writers have, with a great claim to plausibility, assumed that the Masons of France were a continuation in regular and uninterrupted descent of the Roman Colleges of Artificers. This view has been strengthened by another historical fact, that admits of no doubt, that Charlemagne, whose name and that of his grandfather Charles Martel are frequently referred to as patrons of Masonry in the old English records, was distinguished for his zeal in the erection of churches and palaces and brought many architects from Byzantium into France, founding there, or rather transplanting there, the Byzantine Order of Architecture which, however, afterward gave place to the Gothic, or that Order of which the mediaeval Freemasons were, it is generally conceded, the inventors.

Rebold,[1] who, as an historian, occupies a middle term between the incredulous iconoclasm of the modern school and the facile credulity of the early Masonic annalists, says that after the final evacuation of Gaul by the Romans, about the end of the 5th century, though many of the Colleges of Artificers which had been established under the Roman domination remained in Gaul, yet their organization underwent important modifications. In the first place the general association of the different artisans who were necessary to the pursuit of architecture, religious, naval, and hydraulic, or the building of temples, of ships, and of bridges and aqueducts, being no longer able to maintain itself in a country which had been abandoned by the Romans, and having lost its center of action and its principal school at

[1] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 24.

Rome, no longer practiced architecture as a profession in common and under one head, but was divided into various associations, each of which occupied itself thereafter with only the study and practice of a single art or trade.

It is in this way that he accounts for the rise of the corporations which flourished subsequently in the Middle Ages, and which were in the transition period between the ancient colleges and the modern lodges.

Of these different sodalities, which sprang out of the general association of artisans existing under the Roman Empire, the corporation of builders or masons, as being the most important fraction, preserved, says Rebold, their ancient organization and their ancient privileges, because the countries in which they resided after the departure of the Romans, being greatly in need of their services as builders, freely accorded to them the privileges which they had possessed under the Romans.

The Teutonic invaders of Gaul who drove out the Romans, though barbarians, were wise enough not to destroy the old monuments of Roman art and civilization, but to make use of and profit by them.

But in the same century the cathedral erected by Naumatius, Bishop of Auvergne, surpassed that of Perpeticus. Gregory of Tours, who was a native of Auvergne, describes the edifice with much eloquence of phrase in his *Historia Francorum*, and states the fact, interesting as showing the connection of high ecclesiastics with operative Masonry, that he built it according to his own designs — *ecclesiam suo studio fabricavit.*

The invasion of the Franks into Gaul in the 6th century caused at first, amid the tumult of war, while the arts of peace were silent, the destruction of religious edifices. But the conversion and baptism of Clovis placed Christianity on a firm foundation and caused the preservation of the remaining monuments of the ancient civilization.

The Franks, who were a bold, enterprising and warlike offshoot from the great Teutonic race, and who were the real founders of the kingdom which afterward became modern France, were notwithstanding their intestine broils and their conflicts with neighboring people, inclined to cultivate the arts of peace. They occupied, says Mr. Church, a land of great natural wealth and great geographical

advantages, which had been prepared for them by Latin culture; they inherited great cities which they had not built, and fields and vineyards which they had not planted; and they had the wisdom not to destroy but to use their conquest.[1]

The Franks were indeed friendly to Roman culture; preserved many of the Roman laws and customs, and accepted for their vernacular a modified form of the Latin language.

Hence architecture, which had languished during the stormy period when the Romans were unsuccessfully striving to defend their acquired provinces and the very existence of the empire itself from the barbarous hordes of northern invaders, began, in the 5th and 6th centuries, to revive. The confraternities of builders and the art of architecture to some extent, says Rebold,[2] resumed activity.

The fact, already adverted to elsewhere, that the art of building, especially of religious edifices, had passed into the hands of the monks, is found to prevail also in the history of the art in France at this early period. The remarks of Mr. Whittington on this subject in his *Historical Survey* are well worthy of quotation.

"The ancient writers often mention instances of an abbot giving a plan which his convent assisted in carrying into execution. The edifices of religion owed their first existence to the zeal of the clergy. The more enlightened prelates invented or procured the plans and carried them into execution. But although from record as well as from probability we may conclude that the arts in this age were principally cultivated by the clergy, it is no less certain that there were persons who practiced them as a profession. What that powerful Order found necessary to promote by their own exertions, they did not fail to patronize in others, and to the common masons and carpenters who might be found in the different cities of France persons of superior skill and intelligence were added who were invited from distant quarters by the enterprising liberality of the bishops. The superstition of the times and the authority of the Church secured them employment and protection; they gradually increased in numbers and improved in science, till at length they produced the most able artificers from among themselves. France, in fact, at this

[1] "The Beginning of the Middle Ages," by R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's, p. 85.
[2] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 25.

time was not without professional artists, but they seem to have been neither numerous nor eminent, and the clergy were frequently left to their own exertions and resources. Gregory of Tours (who flourished in the 6th century) speaks of several of his predecessors as if they had superintended the building of their churches, particularly Ommatius, who rebuilt the Church of Sts. Gervase and Protasius and began that of St. Mary; and he expressly affirms that Leo, Bishop of Tours, was an artist of great skill, particularly in works of carpentry, and that he built towers which he covered with gilt bronze, some of which had lasted till his time. One general spirit indeed seems to have prevailed among the French Bishops of the 6th century to establish new churches and to improve the towns of their dioceses."[1]

The progress of architecture in the 7th century under St. Eloi, or Eligius, and during the reign of Clothaire II., has already been referred to. In the 7th and 8th centuries the mode of building and the artistic taste of the builders remained about the same as in the 6th, but the features were somewhat enlarged and enriched, and towers and belfries became common.

In the 9th century, architecture and operative Masonry received a new impetus under the fostering care of Charlemagne. The buildings erected in his reign exceeded in taste and extent the works of preceding monarchs. There was an increased intercourse with the East and with Byzantine artists. Italian architects were brought from Lombardy, and the monuments of ancient Rome were imitated.[2]

The anonymous Monk of the Monastery of St. Gall, who wrote the *Gestes de Charlemagne,* in describing the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was erected by Charlemagne, says that it surpassed in splendor the works of the ancient Romans, and that for its construction he called together masters and workmen from all parts of the continent.[3]

Rebold thinks that the fact that Charlemagne had sought for builders in other countries is an evidence of their diminution in

[1] "Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France," p. 22.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] "Basilica, antiquis Romanorum operibus præstantiore, brevi ab eo fabricata, ex omnibus cismarinis regionibus, magistris et opificibus advocatis." Legend, lib. i., cap. xxxii.

France. This is scarcely a legitimate conclusion. The monarch might very properly avail himself of the skill and experience of foreign artists, without necessarily indicating by their importation that there were none in his own country. The wrecks of the ancient Roman colleges were still remaining in Lombardy, and it has already been shown that there was a flourishing school of architecture at Como.

Indeed it cannot be doubted that the intercourse established by Charlemagne, between France and other countries of Europe, was very favorable to the progress and improvement of the arts. The number of artists was greatly increased, and they were supplied with better models for imitation.

"Charlemagne," says Sismondi, "was one of the greatest characters of the Middle Ages. Contrasted with his contemporaries, he possessed all the advantages of a man who was a stranger to his age. As we have seen before his time, extraordinary men who have subjugated a civilized people by the energy of a character half savage, so in him we see a man who, being in advance of the civilization of his times, has subdued barbarians by the force of his intellect and by his knowledge. He combined the qualities of a legislator with those of a warrior, and united the genius which creates with the vigilant prudence which preserves and maintains an empire. He drew together in one chain barbarians and Romans, the conquerors and the conquered, and united them in a new empire. He laid the foundations of a new order for Europe, an order which essentially reposed on the virtues of a hero, and on the respect and admiration which he inspired."[1]

Such has been at all times the concurrent opinion of all historians with the exception of Voltaire, and perhaps a few others. And even they, while charging him with unproved faults and even crimes, admit the magnificence of his enterprises and the splendor of his reign. It is therefore singular that in the traditions of the early Masons his name has not been permitted to occupy a place.

In the *Legend of the Craft,* found in the Old Records of the English Masons, the introduction of Masonry into France is attributed to a certain Greek artist who had been at the building of the Temple of Solomon, and came into France in the time of Charles

[1] Sismondi, "Histoire des Republique Italiennes," tome i., chap, i., p. 19.

Martel, who patronized the Craft, made Masons, and gave them charges.[1]

The gross anachronism of making a workman at Solomon's temple a visitor at the court of Charles Martel at once, exposes the great ignorance and the liability to error of the original composer of the Legend. It is not, therefore, at all improbable that he confounded Charles Martel with his grandson Charlemagne.

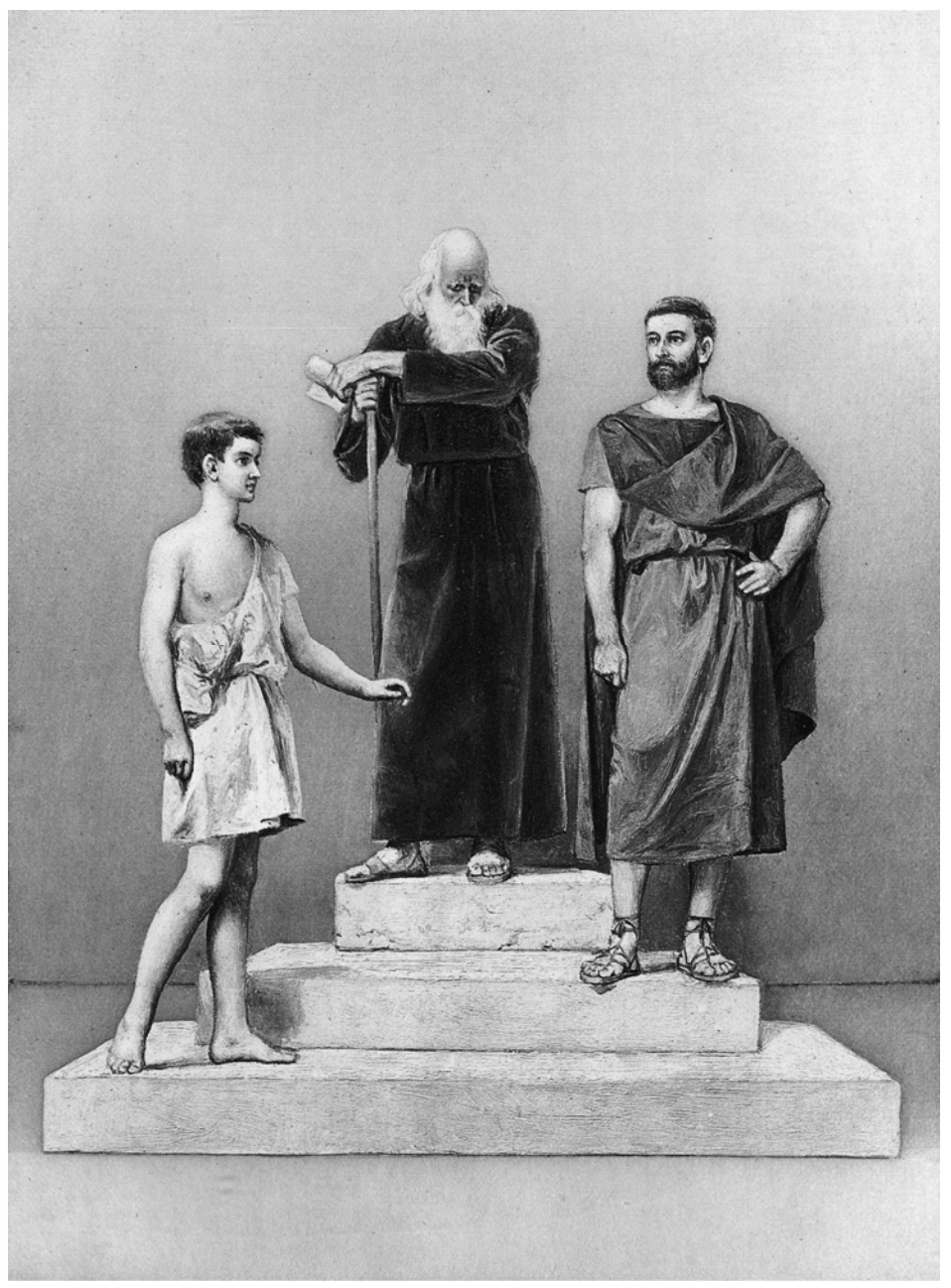
It is very evident that the spirit of the Legend does not apply to Martel, who, during his administration under two feeble kings, was fully occupied in wars with rebellious subjects, with the Saxons on the north and the Saracens from Spain in the south, and who had neither time nor inclination to devote to the arts of peace. The monks, who were then the principal builders, were not his favorites, and St. Boniface has not hesitated to call him "the destroyer of monasteries." It is hardly to be doubted that he destroyed more than he built.

Charlemagne, on the contrary, was, as we have seen, the patron of the arts of civilization, and might, with but a little stretch of imagination, be called the founder of operative Masonry in France. His intercourse with Byzantium and the East gives color also to the legend that he was visited by a Greek architect, which is simply a symbolic expression of the idea that Byzantine architecture and Greek art and culture were beginning to be introduced into France and the West during the period in which Charlemagne reigned.

We may, therefore, I think very safely correct the English

[1] It may be well to note here an error as to the signification of the name of this celebrated Mayor of the Palace, who, without assuming the title, exercised all the functions of a king. It has been the universal custom to derive the word *Martel* from the French *Marteau,* which signifies a *hammer,* and it has been supposed that he obtained the cognomen from the fact that he crushed the barbarians with whom he fought, as with a hammer as potent as that of Thor. And so it has been very usual with English writers to Anglicize his name as Charles the "Hammer." But M. de Feller (*Biographie Universelle*), a very competent authority on French etymology, has shown that *Martel* is only a synonym of *Martin;* that Martin was a familiar name in the family of Pepin, of which Charles Martel was a member, and that it was adopted in the spirit of devotion to St. Martin, who was then the favorite saint of the Franks. This note is not exactly germane to the history we are pursuing, but the subject is interesting enough to claim a passing notice. It must, however, in fairness be admitted that M. Michelet (*Histoire de France,* lib. ii., p. 112), an authority as good, at least, as M. de Feller, recognizes the current derivation from *Marteau,* which he thinks referred to the hammer of the Scandinavian god Thor, and he thence concludes that Charles was not a Christian.

YOUTH, MANHOOD AND OLD AGE



Legend of the Craft by substituting the name of Charlemagne for that of Charles Martel.

Louis the Feeble, the son and successor of Charlemagne, though, as the sobriquet which was bestowed upon him imports, a prince of no force of character, yet patronized architecture, and in his reign many religious structures were built, under the superintendence of his architect. The name of this artist was Rumalde. We know scarcely more of him than the fact that he was the architect of Louis. Whittington thinks it probable that he was not an ecclesiastic, since it is clear that he practiced his art as a profession, and professional architects were at that time becoming common.

The universal belief that prevailed in the 10th century, in the approaching destruction of the world and the advent of the millennium, had naturally the effect of paralyzing all industrial arts, and architecture made little or no progress.

But in the nth century there was a revival, and the records of that period contain the names of many distinguished architects, who were not monks but professional architects, for Masonry had for some time been passing away out of the hands of the ecclesiastics in those of the laity and the guilds.

The guilds, or trade corporations, in France began about this time to take an active existence and to exert a powerful interest on the progress of the arts. The consideration of their history is well worthy of a distinct chapter. But our attention must now be turned to the early history of Masonry in other countries.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY MASONRY IN BRITAIN

FROM the time of the conquest of Britain by Claudius to the final evacuation of the island by the Romans in the beginning of the 5th century, a period of about three hundred and fifty years had elapsed. During this long occupation the Romans had held, if not undisputed, at least dominant sway over the greater part of the island. Roman legions had been permanently stationed in different towns; Roman colonies had been established; Roman citizens had immigrated and settled in greater numbers; Roman arts and civilization had been introduced; and, as we have already shown in a preceding chapter, the native inhabitants had become almost Romanized in their manners and customs.

It is not to be supposed that the domination for so long a continuity of years of a powerful empire, distinguished for its cultivation of the arts, should not have been productive of the effects that must always result from the protracted mixture of a refined with an uncivilized people.

Among the arts introduced by the Romans, there is none that could have so much attracted the attention of the natives as that of architecture. Of all the methods of human industry that are intended to supply the wants or promote the comforts of life, the art of building is placed in the most prominent position. All the arts, says Cicero, which relate to humanity have a certain bond of union and a kind of kinship to each other. But it must be acknowledged that the art which proposes to secure to man a protection from the elements and a shelter from the inclemencies of the seasons must hold the highest place in the family scale. It is the first art that man cultivates in his progress from utter barbarism to civilization. It is the most salient mark of that progress. No sooner did the primitive Troglodytes emerge from their cave dwellings than they began to erect, however rudely, huts for their habitation.

And so when a nation or a tribe begins to make an advancement in civilization, its first step is to improve its mode of dwelling. When conquest brings a superior race to an ignorant and uncultured people, the industrial arts of the former are speedily diffused among the latter, and architecture, as the most striking and the most useful, more speedily attracts the attention and is more readily imitated than any other.

When the Romans first invaded Britain they found the country inhabited by various tribes deriving their origin from different nomadic stocks, and therefore somewhat heterogeneous in their condition and their habits. The Belgians, for instance, who had passed over from Gaul and occupied, by the right of conquest, the coast bordering on the British Channel, were an agricultural people, and are described by Caesar as being more advanced in the arts of civilized life than the tribes in the interior who were pastoral, who lived on milk and flesh and were clothed in skins.

Mela Pomponius, the Roman geographer, who wrote about the same time, describes the Britons as being in general uncivilized and much behind the continental nations in their social culture. Fields and cattle constituted their only wealth.

Mr. Wright, in an *Essay of the Ethnology of South Britain at the Extinction of the Roman Government*, says that "we may form a notion best and most correctly of the mode of life and of the degree of civilization of the ancient Britons, by comparing them with what we know of those of the wild Irish and of the Celtic highlanders of Scotland in the Middle Ages. Living in septs or clans, each collected round a petty chieftain, who had his residence or place of refuge in the least accessible part of his little territory, they had no towns, properly so-called, and no tie of union except the temporary one of war or a nominal dependence on some powerful chieftain who had induced, by some means, a certain number of the smaller clans to acknowledge his sovereignty."[1]

Their houses, says Turner, were chiefly formed of reeds or wood, and were usually seated in the midst of woods, a space being cleared on which they built their huts and folded their cattle.[2]

The improved condition of Britain, in consequence of their in-

[1] Thomas Wright, "Essays on Archæological Subjects," vol. i., p. 68.
[2] "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i., p. 64.

tercourse with their more civilized conquerors, is thus described by Mr. Wright:[1]

"Under the Romans, on the contrary, Britain consisted politically of a number of cities or towns, each possessing its own independent municipal government, republican in form and principle within themselves, but united under the empire through the fiscal government of the province to which they were tributary. Each of these cities inhabited by foreigners to the island, was expected to defend itself if attacked, while three legions and numerous bodies of auxiliaries protected the province from hostilities from without and held it internally in obedience to the imperial government. The country was unimportant and the towns were everything."

The numerous inscriptions found in England in recent times prove another fact, namely, that the legionary troops which were sent from Rome to Britain did not pay merely ephemeral or transitory visits, from which no important influence could have been derived, but that they remained in the same locality during the whole occupation of the country by the Romans, and actually constituted military colonies, making homes in the towns in which they lived, and insensibly imparting the use of the Latin language and the adoption of Roman manners to the people. So much, in fact, did they become identified with the native inhabitants, that they often made common cause with them in tumults or insurrections against the imperial government.

The result of this constant intercommunication must have been just that which might anywhere, under such circumstances, have been expected. The architects who accompanied the legions in their visits to Britain and who remained with them during its occupation did not confine their labors to the construction of military works, such as the erection of defensive walls and fortresses. They engaged during the period of tranquillity which had been secured by the presence of strong bodies of troops in the peaceful avocations of their art. They organized their Colleges of Artificers, which, considering the works in which they were engaged, might correctly be designated as Colleges of Masons; they began the building of temples and other public edifices; they took to their assistance the more intelligent natives, and introduced their Roman architecture by methods which imitated those of the Colleges at home.

[1] "Essays on Archæological Subjects," vol. i., p. 69.

The rude huts of the native Britons were replaced by more comfortable houses, and the art of building, under the guidance of the Roman Masons, assumed a new form and was prosecuted by new methods, which thus introduced the character and customs of the Roman Colleges into the island, and thus by the example of associated workmen continued the chain of connection which was to be more fully extended in Anglo-Saxon times by the establishment of building guilds.

Tacitus has shown us, in his *Life of Agricola*, how and at what an early period this system of Romanizing Britain began. In the last quarter of the 1st Christian century, Agricola arrived in Britain, having been appointed governor of the province. The island, which had hardly yet recovered from the recent insurrection of Queen Boadicea, was still in an insurgent condition. The first efforts of Agricola were of course directed to the restoration of peace and order, and to the correction of civil and political abuses. His next business was to introduce a system of regulations whose tendency should be to civilize the natives. He encouraged them, therefore, says Tacitus,[1] by his exhortations and aided them by public assistance to build temples, courts of justice, and commodious dwellings. He praised those who were cheerful in their obedience; he reproached those who were slow and uncomplying, and thus excited a spirit of emulation. He established a plan of education and caused the sons of the chiefs to be instructed in learning and to cultivate the Latin language. The Roman dress was adopted by many, and the Britons, allured by the luxurious example of their conquerors, began to erect baths and porticoes and to indulge in sumptuous banquets.

To do all this was not within the narrow scope of native skill. In the erection of these improved edifices the Britons, being only partly reclaimed from their pristine barbarity, must have invoked and received the advice and assistance of the Roman architects.

The co-operative and guild-like methods of building practiced by these, as well as their skill in architecture, was thus imparted to the Britons. What had been wisely begun by Agricola was as wisely imitated by his successors in the provincial government, and the Roman Collegiate system was completely established in the island long before the extinction of the Roman domination and the fall of the Roman empire.

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[1] "Vita Agricolæ," cap. xxi,

That the builders or Masons introduced into Rome, or educated there by their Roman Masters, had increased to a very great number is evident from a remark of the panegyrist Eumenius in his *Panegyric of the Emperor Maximian.* He describes the ancient Gallic city of Bibracte, afterward Augustodunum, but now the modern Autun, which abounds in the remains of Roman architecture, many of them in a good state of preservation. The re-edification of private houses and the construction of temples and other buildings with which Maximian had embellished the city, he attributes to the concourse of architects whom the emperor had brought from Britain, which province, he says, abounded with them. The number of these Roman architects in Britain was so great and their skill so pre-eminent, that, as we shall hereafter see, they were exported into many of the continental cities to construct buildings in the Roman method.

The remains of Roman buildings found at different times in England and a multitude of ancient inscriptions testify to the fact that the conquerors had brought their architectural art with them into Britain. But the mere existence of pieces of architecture would not alone serve to establish the connection of these Roman architects and their British disciples with the mediaeval guilds. In this way we might, as Anderson has done, write a history of architecture, but would hardly be authorized to call it a history of Freemasonry. It is necessary to show that the Roman architects not only brought with them their skill in the art of building but also introduced the associated methods of organization which had been practiced by the ancient Roman Colleges. Of this we have ample evidence.

The Reverend James Dallaway, in his *Collections for an Historical Account of Masters and Free Masons,* appended to his *Discourses upon Architecture in England,* says that the first notice that occurs of an associated body of Roman artificers who had established themselves in Britain is a votive inscription in which the College of Masons dedicate a temple to Neptune and Minerva, and to the safety of the family of Claudius Cæsar. It was discovered at Chichester in the year 1725. It is a slab of gray Sussex marble and was found by the workmen who were digging a cellar and who ignorantly or carelessly fractured it. Having been pieced together the slab is now preserved at Goodwood, the seat of the Duke of Richmond, near Chichester.

In his *History of West Sussex*, Mr. Dallaway gives a fac-simile of the slab and the inscription, which is in the following words:

EPTVMO ET MINERVAE
TEMPLVM
B. SALVTE. DO. DIVINAE
AVCTORITA. CLAVD.
GIDVBNI, R. IC. . . . . CAI. BRIT.
. . GIVM. FABROR. E. QVI. IN. FO.
C.D.S.D. DONANTE. AREAM.
. . . ENTE. PVDENTINI. FIL.

The original is here given, to furnish to the unlearned reader an idea of the character of the inscriptions, which are the palpable monuments of the labors of these Colleges of Artificers, which have been found in all countries into which the Romans extended their power. The literal, but in some places conjectural, translation of this inscription is as follows:

"*The College of Artificers and they who there preside over the sacred rites by authority of King Cogidubnus, the Legate of Tiberius Claudius Augustus in Britain, dedicated this Temple to Neptune and Minerva, for the welfare of the imperial family. Pudens, the son of Pudentinus, having given the site*."

In an article on the *Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture*, by Governor Pownall, inserted in the 9th volume of the *Archceologia* of the London Society of Antiquaries, this subject of the influence of the Roman artists on the native Britons is exhibited in an interesting point of view.

"When the Romans conquered and held possession of our isle," says Governor Pownall, "they erected every sort of building and edifice of stone or of a mixture of stone and brick, and universally built with the circular arch. The British learned their arts from these Masters."

But the Continent being more subject to the ravages of invading barbarians than the isolated province of Britain, many of the Gaulish cities and the fortresses on the Rhine were destroyed. And when Constantius Chlorus resolved, at the close of the 3d century, to rebuild them, he sent to Britain for architects to execute the work of re-edification.

By this withdrawal of the builders from the island of Britain and by transferring them to the Continent, Britain itself soon lost the knowledge which it had formerly acquired of the Roman architecture.

But after the establishment of the Christian religion in the empire, missionaries being sent to the provinces to convert the inhabitants, they brought with them from Rome not only the new religion but a revived knowledge of the arts, and especially of architecture, which was necessary for the building of churches.

As to the influence produced upon the Britons by their conversion to Christianity, Camden tells us that no sooner was the name of Christ preached in the English nation, than with a most fervent zeal they consecrated themselves to it and laid out their utmost endeavors to promote it by discharging all the duties of Christian piety, by erecting churches and endowing them; so that no part of the Christian world could show either more or richer monasteries.[1]

Thus the skill, which for a time had been suspended if not lost, was again revived by the architects and builders who were again brought from Rome to Britain by the Christian missionaries, who, says Pownall, "were the restorers of the Roman architecture in stone."

The huge buildings of stone erected by the monks in England, ought perhaps to be attributed to a later period when the Saxons had gained possession of the island. But as Christianity had been introduced into England before that period and under the Roman domination, we may accede to the hypothesis that some of that kind of work was done at that early period.

We may, therefore, grant a large amount of plausibility to that part of the *Legend of the Craft* which reports the tradition that under the usurped reign of Carausius, St. Alban had organized the fraternity of Masons and bestowed upon them his patronage.

Whether the Legend is correct or not in attributing this important work to the protomartyr, it may at least be accepted as traditionally preserving the historical fact that Freemasonry was reorganized after the Roman method by the Christian missionaries.

There is abundant evidence in the old chronicles that the method of building in stone and with circular arches was always designated as *opus Romanum* or the Roman work, and an edifice so constructed was said to be built *more Romanum,* or according to the Roman method.

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[1] Camden, "Britannia," p. cxxxii.

The error of the legendists, however, is that they attributed personally to Carausius, the usurper of the imperial power, the patronage of Masonry and the appointment of St. Alban as his chief architect or Master Mason; an error in which they have been followed by Anderson and all other Masonic writers.

Of this statement there is no competent historical evidence. Bede, Matthew of Westminster, and all the other old chroniclers, describe Carausius as a man of very mean extraction, treacherous to the government which employed him, unfaithful to the people whom he was sent to protect, sacrificing their interests to his own greed for spoil, and distinguished only for his ability as a soldier.

Of the piety and Christian constancy of Alban the same writers are lavish in their praises, but they make no reference to his skill as an architect or to his labors under Carausius as a builder. Even of his martyrdom there are said to be great chronological difficulties. Matthew of Westminster places its date eleven years after the death of Carausius. This would not militate against his previous employment by Carausius as "the steward of his household," to use the words of Anderson, and the Master of his works, if there were any historical evidence of the fact.

If we appeal to the testimony of Camden, whose laborious researches have left no authority uncollected and no statement unexamined which refer to the early history of Britain under the Romans, we shall find no support for the traditions of the legendists or for their expansion by Anderson and the writers who have servilely followed him.

Of Carausius we only learn from Camden that after his reconciliation with Maximian, he governed Britain in perfect peace, and that he repaired the wall at the mouth of the Clud and fortified it with seven castles.[1] The only reference made by Camden to St. Alban is in a passage where he says that toward the end of Diocletian's and Maximian's reign a long and bloody persecution broke out in the Western Church and many Christians suffered martyrdom, among the chief of whom he names Albanus Verolamiensis or St. Alban. But he makes no allusion to him as an architect, nor does he mention the name of the apocryphal Amphibalus. Further on he attributes to the town of Verulam the honor of having

[1] Camden, "Britannia," p. lxxiv.

given birth to St. Alban, whom he calls "a man justly eminent for his piety and steadiness in the Christian faith; who with an invincible constancy of mind suffered martyrdom the first man in Britain.[1] He relates the legends which were extant in connection with his passion, but while he dwells on his piety and his constancy to the faith which gave him all his fame, he says nothing of his labors as an architect nor does he in any way connect him with Carausius.

We must, therefore, reject the whole story of Carausius and St. Alban as apocryphal; so far as it implies that the Emperor was a great patron of Masonry and the Saint his Master Workman, we find no historical foundation for it; but we may accept it as a mythical statement, the true interpretation of which is that there was a revival of Masonry in England toward the time of the extinction of the Roman domination, through the influence of the Christian missionaries, a fact for the truth of which we have, as has already been seen, sufficient authority.

Anderson says that "the true old Masonry departed from Britain with the Roman legions; for though many Roman families had settled in the south and were blended with the Britons, who had been well educated in the science and the art, yet the subsequent wars, confusions, and revolutions in this island, ruined ancient learning, till all the fine artists were dead without exception."[2]

Mr. Fergusson, a more learned and more accurate writer than Anderson, has arrived at almost the same conclusion. He says:

"When Rome withdrew her protecting care, France, Spain, and Britain relapsed into, and for centuries remained sunk in, a state of anarchy and barbarism as bad, if not worse than that in which Rome had found them three or four centuries before. It was in vain to expect that the hapless natives could maintain either the arts or the institutions with which Rome had endowed them."[3]

But Fergusson subsequently makes a very important admission which greatly modifies the opinion he had just expressed when, in continuing the paragraph, he says:

"But it is natural to suppose that they would remember the evidences of her greatness and her power, and would hardly go back for their sepulchers to the unchambered mole-hill barrows of their fore-

[1] Camden, "Britannia," p. 296. [2] "Constitutions," second edition, p. 59.

[3] Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 394.

fathers, but attempt something in stone, though only in such rude fashion as the state of the arts among them enabled them to execute."[1]

This is all that the theory advanced in this work contends for. The assertion of Anderson is altogether too sweeping and general. That of Fergusson admits that the influences of Roman domination had not been entirely obliterated by the departure of the legions. Rome, which had administered the government for centuries, "could hardly fail," to use his own language, "to leave some impress of her magnificence in lands which she had so long occupied."

The concurrent testimony of all historians will not permit us to deny or to doubt that after the extinction of the Roman dominion in Britain, there was a decadence of architecture as well as of the other arts. But this did not amount to a total destruction, but only to a suspension. Nations who have emerged from barbarism to civilization, and who for centuries have enjoyed the refinements of culture, do not at once relapse into their primitive savage state. There was certainly not sufficient time for the exhibition of this ethnological curiosity in the period embraced between the departure of the Romans and the firm establishment of the Anglo-Saxons. Nor was there that isolation which was necessary to hasten this fall from national light to national darkness. The southern parts of Britain, at least, were in too close a propinquity to more civilized and more Romanized Gaul to lose at once all traces of Roman refinement. And above all, the presence and the influence of the Christian missionaries who, coming from Rome, were uninterruptedly engaged in the task of converting the natives to the new faith, must have been a powerful stay to any downward progress to utter barbarism.

The links of the chain that united the builders of Britain with those of Rome had only rusted; they were not rudely snapped asunder. The influence of the methods of building pursued by the Roman Colleges of Artificers, who had done so much work and left so many memorials in Britain, were still to be felt and to be renewed when these links were strengthened and brightened by the Anglo-Saxons.

But this is anew and an important subject that demands consideration in another chapter, for it brings us to an interesting phase in the history of Freemasonry.

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[1] Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 394.

CHAPTER VII

MASONRY AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS

FTER the departure of the Roman legions and the withdrawal of the Roman protection, Britain, left to its own resources, was soon harassed by the invasions of Scots and Picts, by predatory excursions of barbarians from the opposite shores of the North Sea, and by civil distractions which were the natural result of the division of power among many rival petty principalities.

Among the Britons there was one leader, Gwotheyrn, or, as he is more generally called, Vothgern, who seems to have assumed, if he did not legally possess it, a predominating position over the other British princes. Feeling, after various unsuccessful attempts, that he could not, by his unaided forces, repulse the invaders, he sought the assistance of the Saxons.

The Saxons were a tribe of warlike sea-kings who occupied the western shore of what has since been known as the Duchy of Holstein, with the neighboring islands on the coast. Brought across the sea by the invitation of the Britons, they soon expelled the Picts and Scots. But, attracted by the delights of the climate and the fertility of the soil, so superior to the morasses of their own restricted and half-submerged territory, they remained to contest the possession of the island with its native inhabitants.

Hence there followed a series of conflicts which led at last to the expulsion of the native Britons, who were forced to retire to the southwestern parts of the island, and the establishment of the Saxon domination in England.

During the period of intestine wars which led to this change, not only of a government, but of a whole people, it is not to be supposed that much attention could have been paid to the cultivation of architecture or Masonry. Amid the clash of arms the laws are silent, and learning and the arts lie prostrate.

Yet we are not to believe that all the influences of the preceding four or five centuries were wholly paralyzed. Gildas, it is true, complains in querulous language and an involved style,[1] in the *Epistle* which is annexed to his *History*, of the wickedness both of the clergy and the laity, but the greatest licentiousness is not altogether incompatible with the preservation of some remains of the architectural skill and taste which had been originally imparted by the Roman artificers.

The Saxons themselves were not a thoroughly barbarous people. The attempts to subdue the tribes of Germany as they had those of Spain, of Gaul, and of Britain were not very successful. The ferocious bravery of the Germans under the leadership of the great Hermann, romanized into Herminius by Tacitus, was able to stem the progress of the Roman legions in the interior of the country and to confine them eventually to the possession of a few fortresses on the Rhine.

The German tribes, among whom we are, of course, to count the Saxons, were thus enabled to retain their own manners, customs, and language, while their communication with the legions, both in war and in peace, must have imbued them with some portion of Roman civilization.

"Many new ideas, feelings, reasoning and habits," says Mr. Turner, "must have resulted from this mixture, and the peculiar minds and views of the Germans must have been both excited and enlarged. The result of this union of German and Roman improvement was the gradual formation of that new species of the human character and society which has descended, with increasing melioration, to all the modern states of Europe."[2]

Dr. Anderson, when describing the Saxon invasion of Britain, says that "the Anglo-Saxons came over all rough, ignorant heathens, despising everything but war; nay, in hatred to the Britons and Romans, they demolished all accurate structures and all the remains of ancient learning, affecting only their own barbarous manner of life, till they became Christians."[3]

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[1] Of all the post-classical writers in Latin none is so difficult to comprehend or to translate as Gildas. Besides, the fact that there are in existence only two codices of the original manuscript, and that subsequent editions have indulged in many, various, and sometimes contradictory readings, add to the difficulty of a correct interpretation of his writings.

[2] "History of the Anglo-Saxons," i., p. 96.

[3] "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 60.

Entick and Northouck, in their subsequent editions of the *Book of Constitutions,* have repeated this slander, which, even if it were a truth, could not have forever obliterated the connection which we are seeking to trace between the Masonry of the Roman Colleges and that of mediaeval England; because, although it might have been suspended by Saxon barbarism, it is easy to prove that it could have been renewed by subsequent intercourse with the architects of France.

But against this careless misrepresentation of Anderson and his subsequent editors, let us place the more accurate and better digested views of the historian of the Anglo-Saxons.

Mr. Turner, when writing of the arrival of Hengist with his Saxon followers in England, says:

"The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain must therefore not be contemplated as a barbarization of the country. Our Saxon ancestors brought with them a superior domestic and moral character, and the rudiments of new political, juridical, and intellectual blessings. An interval of slaughter and desolation unavoidably occurred before they established themselves and their new systems in the island. But when they had completed their conquest, they laid the foundations of that national constitution, of that internal polity, of those peculiar customs, of that female modesty, and of that vigor and direction of mind, to which Great Britain owes the social progress which it has so eminently acquired."[1]

The fact is that, though the Saxons introduced a style of their own, to which writers on architecture have given their name, they borrowed in their practice of the art the suggestions left by the Romans in their buildings, and used the materials of which they were composed. Thus a writer[2] on this subject says that the Saxons appear to have formed for themselves a tolerably regular and rude style, something midway between the indigenous and the Roman in its details, and he attributes this to the buildings left by the Romans in the country, which, though rare, must have been sufficiently abundant long after their departure from the island.

Abundant evidence will be shown in the course of the present chapter that there was not a total disruption of Saxon architecture

[1] "History of the Anglo-Saxons," i., p. 179.
[2] Paley, "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 14.

and Masonic methods of associated labor from that which was first introduced into Britain by the architects of the Roman Colleges. There were, of course, some modifications to be attributed partly to a want of experienced skill, partly to the suggestions of new ideas, and partly to the influence of novel religious relations. The temple, for instance, of the Romans had to be converted into the church of the Christians, but the Roman *basilica* was the model of the Saxon church, and the Roman architect was closely imitated, as well as could be, by his Saxon successor. The spirit and the influence and the custom of the Roman College was not lost or abandoned.

Scarcely more than a century elapsed between the arrival of the Saxons and the entire subjugation of the country, and that space of time is to be divided among the briefer periods required for the continued successes of different chieftains. Thus it took Hengist only eight years after his first coming to firmly establish himself in the kingdom of Kent.

Only forty years after the establishment of the Saxon octarchy, Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine from Rome with missionaries to convert the Saxons to the faith of Christianity.

During all this interval many Roman buildings had existed in England, which, from their size and magnificence of construction, must have become models familiar to the Saxons. The temples of the Saxon idols had been constructed of wood, and as Gregory permitted them to be converted into Christian places of worship, the Saxon churches at first were almost all of that material. There was a deficiency of better materials. But we find an effort to use them whenever they could be obtained, so that a kind of construction called "stone carpentry" prevailed, in which we find a wood design contending with stone materials.[1] But in not much later times, and long before the Norman Conquest or the introduction of Gothic architecture, the Saxons built their churches, monasteries, and other public edifices entirely of stone.

Although it may be admitted that the pagan Saxons on their first arrival did indeed destroy many of the churches which had been erected by the British Christians and expelled the priests, yet it must be remembered that by the subsequent advent of Augustine from

[1] Paley, "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 12.

Rome a new life was restored to architecture and the arts, and that as Mr. Paley says, "the frequent missions and pilgrimages to Rome, together with the importation of Italian churchmen, which took place as early as the end of the 7th century, must have exercised great influence upon ecclesiastical architecture in England."[1]

It will be seen hereafter that the Saxons repeatedly resorted to the aid of foreign workmen from Rome or from Gaul in the construction of their churches, so that the influences of the Roman system which was derived in former times from the Roman Colleges continued at frequent intervals to be renewed, and the link of connection was thus kept unbroken.

The principal difference between the works of the Roman and the Saxon architects has been supposed to be that the former built in stone and the latter in wood. And if this were true, it is evident that all inquiry into the nature of Saxon architecture must be at an end; for as the wooden edifices must have long since perished, all the remains of stone structures which have been excavated in England will have to be attributed to the age of the Roman domination before the invasion of the Saxons, or to that which succeeded the conquest by the Normans. The perishable fabrics of timber erected by the Saxons would have left no traces behind.

The erroneous opinion that the Saxons built all their churches of timber was first advanced by Stow, in his *Survey of London,* and afterward by Mr. Somner, in his *Antiquities of Canterbury,* who says that "before the Norman advent most of our monasteries and church buildings were of wood," and he asserts that upon the Norman Conquest these fabrics of timber grew out of use and gave place to stone buildings raised upon arches.

But the Rev. J. Bentham, in his *History of the Cathedral Church of Ely,* has refuted the correctness of this view with unanswerable arguments. He has shown that although there were some instances of wooden edifices, yet that the Saxon churches were generally built of stone, with pillars, arches, and sometimes vaultings of the same material. And he adds the following remarks, which are important in the present connection as showing that the Roman influence continued to be felt in the Saxon times, and thus that the chain which we are tracing remained unbroken.

[1] Paley, "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 13.

"There is great probability that at the time the Saxons were converted the art of constructing arches and vaultings and supporting stone edifices by columns was well known among them; they had many instances of such kind of buildings before them in the churches and other public edifices erected in the times of the Romans. For notwithstanding the havoc that had been made of the Christian churches by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons themselves, some of them were then in being. Bede mentions two in the city of Canterbury. . . . Besides these two ancient Roman churches it is likely there were others of the same age in different parts of the kingdom, which were then repaired and restored to their former use."[1]

Of the two Roman churches for whose existence Bentham refers to the authority of Bede, that venerable historian says, "There was on the east side of the city a church dedicated to the honor of St. Martin, built while the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen, who, as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray,"[2] and of the other that "Augustine recovered in the royal city a church which he was informed had been built by the ancient Roman Christians, and consecrated it to our Saviour."[3]

In an article on Anglo-Saxon architecture, published in the *Archæological Journal* for March, 1844, Mr. Thomas Wright (no mean authority on antiquarian science) has, like Mr. Bentham, successfully combated the doctrine that all the Saxon churches were wooden. "I think," he says, "the notion Anglo-Saxon churches were all built of wood will now hardly find supporters." He admits, which none will deny, that there were structures of this kind. A few wooden churches are mentioned in Domesday Book, and we learn from other authorities that there were some others. But he contends that "a careful perusal of the early chroniclers would afford abundant proof that churches were not only abundant among the Anglo-Saxons, but that they were far from being always mean structures."

Speaking of the Saxon churches, which Odericus Vitalis tells us were repaired by the Normans immediately after the conquest, he remarks that "if they had been mean structures and in need of repairs,

[1] "History of the Cathedral Church of Ely," sec. v., p. 17.

[2] Bede, "Histoire Ecclesiasticle," lib. i., cap. 26.

[3] Ibid., lib. i., cap. 33.

it is more probable that the Normans would have built new ones." The conclusions which are to be drawn from Mr. Wright's article are that while there were undoubtedly some wooden structures, just as there are in this day, the Anglo-Saxons built many churches, and built them sumptuously of stone, and in the Roman manner.

The Rev. Richard Hart is therefore right when he says, on the authority of the architect Mr. Rukman, that "in the construction of their churches, the Anglo-Saxons imitated Roman models; as might naturally be expected, considering that Rome was the source from which their Christianity had been derived, the birthplace of many of their prelates and clergy, and at that period the very focus of learning and civilization."[1]

It has been conceded that during the comparatively brief period that was occupied by the Saxons after their arrival in Britain until they obtained complete possession of the country, the intestine wars between them and the natives must have had the effect of suspending the pursuit of architecture. But it has been shown that this suspension did not altogether obliterate the influence of the Roman builders, who had established their methods of building when the island was a province of the empire. And it has also been seen that the destruction by the Saxons of the Christian churches which had been built by Roman architects was not so thorough or so universal as has been supposed by some writers, and that they did not, as Northouck, amplifying the language of Anderson, says, "root out all the seeds of learning and the arts that the Romans had planted in Britain."[2]

On the contrary, we have the evidence of the Venerable Bede and the repeated testimony of modern excavations that there were at the time of the Saxon conversion to Christianity at least two Roman churches standing which might serve as models for the Saxon Masons, and numerous remains of Roman buildings which afford materials for new structures.

And now, after the conversion, we find the chain connecting Roman Masonry with that pursued by the Saxons renewed and strengthened not only by these models, but by the direct influence of the prelates who were sent from Rome, and who brought with

[1] "Ecclesiastical Records," ch. v., note 2, p. 217.

[2] Northouck, "Constitutions," Part II., ch. ii., p. 90.

them or sent for workmen to Rome and Gaul, who might carry out *More Romano* (in the Roman manner) their designs in the building of churches and monasteries.

Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, a work, however, in which we must not place implicit confidence, says that on the permanent settlement of Augustine in Britain, at the close of the 6th century, when Ethelbert, the King, had been converted, and the people generally were accepting the new religion, the princes and nobles were very zealous in building and endowing churches and religious houses, and many of them travelled to Rome and other foreign parts to improve themselves in the sacred sciences.[1]

That there was at that time a constant and uninterrupted communication between Rome and Britain is evident from the frequent epistles from Gregory, the Pontiff, to Augustine and to the King, Ethelbert. Missionaries were also sent to Britain to assist Augustine in his pious work, and it is not at all improbable that Masons came with them from Rome, or from Gaul, to be employed in the construction of churches and monasteries, with which the land was being rapidly filled.

But we have more to rely on than mere supposition. There are abundant records showing that workmen were imported from abroad for the purpose of building, and that thus the Roman method was renewed in the island.

Anderson is not, therefore, strictly correct when he says that the Anglo-Saxons, "affecting to build churches and monasteries, palaces and fine mansions, too late lamented the ignorant and destructive conduct of their fathers, but knew not how to repair the public loss of old architecture."[2] It has been shown that there were some models of Roman buildings still remaining, and there was no ignorance of the need of obtaining workmen from Rome or Gaul, and no want of opportunity to obtain them.

He is, therefore, more historically right when he adds, though it contradicts his former assertion, that these works "required many Masons, who soon formed themselves into societies or lodges by direction of foreigners who came over to help them."[3]

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[1] "Lives of the Saints," vol. v., pp. 418, 419.

[2] "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 61.

[3] Ibid. He is altogether wrong in saying that the Saxons adopted the Gothic style in building. That style of architecture was not invented until long afterward.

In the year 627, Edwin, King of Northumbria, who had been converted by Paulinus, one of the missionaries of Augustine, was baptized in the city of York, the capital of his kingdom. While receiving the necessary religious instructions he built a temporary church of timber, in which the sacrament of baptism might be administered. But immediately afterward, under the direction of Bishop Paulinus, he caused the foundation to be laid of a larger and nobler church, of stone, which, although immediately begun, was not finished until after his death, by his successor, Oswald.[1]

Although Bede, in narrating the event, says nothing of any foreign aid that had been asked or received in its construction, yet it is evident from the facts that the church was built of stone and in a square form, like a Roman *basilica*,[2] and would imply the necessity of Roman Masons, or other foreigners imbued with the Roman method, to superintend the work.

In the assembling of foreign Masons at York to erect St. Peter's Church, under the auspices of King Edwin, is supposed by modern Masonic writers to be the assembly incorrectly referred to in the *Legend of the Craft* as an assembly held at York, under the patronage of Prince Edwin, the son of Athelstan, three hundred years afterward. But this subject has been so thoroughly discussed in the preceding part of this work, under the head of the *York Legend*, that it is unnecessary to renew the controversy.

Besides St. Peter's, at York, Paulinus built many other churches. Some of them we know were of stone, and the others might have been of the same material, as Bentham says, "for aught that appears to the contrary." He was certainly a great patron of ecclesiastical architecture, but Anderson makes no mention of him, although, according to his fashion, he should have styled him, as he does Charles Martel, a "Right Worshipful Grand Master."

Another distinguished architect, of a not much later period, was Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Weremouth, whom the Roman Church has canonized. In the year 675 he built a church at Weremouth, and two monasteries, one at Weremouth and one six miles distant

[1] Bede, "History," lib. ii., cap. 14.

[2] This is the very word used by Bede. "Majorem et augustiorem de lapida fabricare curavit *basilicam*." The Roman *basilica*, or Hall of Justice, was the model of all the early churches built by Roman architects, and the old *basilicæ* were often converted with but little change into churches by the Christian emperors.

from Jarrow. Of these Bede has given a particular account in his history of them. He tells us that the abbot went over into France to engage workmen to build his church after the Roman manner, and brought many back for that purpose. The work was prosecuted with such vigor that within a year the church was completed and divine service performed in it.

But a very important fact stated by Bede is that when the church was nearly finished Benedict sent over to France for artificers skilled in the mystery of making glass (an art hitherto unknown in Britain), who glazed the windows and taught the art to the Saxons. We learn from this statement that it was customary with the Saxons to seek assistance from the skill of the continental artists and handicraftsmen. This will explain the true meaning of the passage in the *Legend of the Craft,* which refers to the introduction of French and other Masons into England in the 7th century, in the time of Charles Martel, and afterward at the supposed Assembly at York, in the 10th century. And it affords a confirmation of what has been frequently said in the previous part of this work, that the *Legend of the Craft,* though often chronologically absurd and incorrect in many of its details, yet has throughout in its most important particulars a really historical foundation.

The historians of that period supply us with many proofs that churches and monasteries were erected by the Saxons of stone after the Roman manner, or that they sent abroad for architects to superintend the construction of their buildings.

Eddius Stephanus, who flourished at the beginning of the 8th century, and whose name has been transmitted to posterity by his *Life of Saint Wilfrid,* informs us that that saint, who was also Bishop of York about the middle of the 7th century, erected many sumptuous buildings in his diocese and thoroughly repaired the church of St. Peter at York, which had been much injured in the war between the Mercians and the Northumbrians. But Eddius especially refers to two churches built by Wilfrid, the one at Ripon in Yorkshire and the other at Hexham in Northumberland.

Of the former he says that Wilfrid built a church at Ripon from the foundations to the top of polished stone,[1] and supported it with

[1] *Polito lapide* is the language used by Eddius. "Vita S. Wilfridi," cap. xvii., p. 59. He uses the same words in describing the materials of the church at Hexham.

various columns and porticos. This polished stone as a material and these columns and porticos, where arches would probably be required, indicate the presence and the instruction of Roman architects, whether they came from Rome or Gaul.

But of all his works, the church of St. Andrew at Hexham seems to have been the most magnificent. Hexham was a part of the crown-lands of the Kings of Northumbria, and, having been settled in dower on Queen Ethelreda by King Egfrid, a grant of it was made to Wilfrid for the purpose of erecting it into an episcopal see.

Wilfrid began to lay the foundations of the cathedral church in the year 674. Eddius speaks of it in terms of great admiration, and says that there was no other building like it on this side of the Alps. He describes its deep foundations and the subterranean rooms, all of wonderfully polished stones, and of the building consisting of many parts above ground, supported by various columns and many porticos, ornamented with a surprising length and height of walls, and surrounded by mouldings, and having turnings of passages sometimes ascending or descending by winding stairs, so that he asserts that he had not words to explain what this priest, taught by the spirit of God, had contemplated doing.

Five centuries after, in 1180, the remains of this famous church were still standing, though in a condition of decay. Richard, Prior of Hexham, who lived at that time, describes the church with still more minuteness. He says that the foundations were laid deep in the earth for crypts and subterranean oratories, and the passages underground which led to them were contrived with great exactness. The walls were of great length and height, and divided into three separate stories, which were supported by square and other kinds of well-polished columns. The walls, the capitals of the columns which supported them, and the arch of the sanctuary were decorated with historical representations, images, and various figures in relief, carved in stone and painted in an agreeable variety. The body of the church was encompassed with penthouses and porticos which, above and below, were divided with wonderful art by partition walls and winding stairs. Within the staircases and upon them were flights of stone steps and passages leading from them, both ascending and descending, which were disposed with so much art that multitudes of people might be there and go all around the church without being perceived by any one who was in the nave. Many beautiful

private oratories were erected with great care and workmanship in the several divisions of the porticos, in which were altars in honor of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Michael, Archangel, of St. John the Baptist, and of the holy Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, with the proper furniture for each. Some of these, Prior Richard says, were remaining at his day, and appeared like so many turrets and fortified places.[1]

Of a church of such grand proportions, such massive strength, and such artistic construction, it cannot, for a single moment, be supposed that it was built by the uncultivated skill of Saxon Masons. The stone material, the supporting arches, the intricate passage, the winding stairs, all proclaim the presence of foreign architects and a continuation or a resumption in England of the methods of Roman Masonry.

Nor is this at all improbable. Wilfrid, although a Saxon, had from an early age received his ecclesiastical education in Rome, and after his return to Northumberland had not only maintained a constant correspondence with, but had made several visits to, the imperial city, and was personally well acquainted with France. When, therefore, he commenced the construction of important religious houses of such magnitude, he had every facility for the importation of foreign workmen, and there can be no reason for denying that he availed himself of the opportunities which were afforded to him. Indeed the Venerable Bede confirms this when he says that the most reverend Wilfrid was the first of the English bishops who taught the churches of the English nation the Catholic, that is the Roman, mode of life.[2]

During the long period of forty-five years, in which he occupied the Episcopal See of York, Bishop Wilfrid caused a very great number of churches and monasteries to be built, and must in that way have greatly enlarged and improved the architectural skill of his people by the introduction of foreign artists.

Singularly enough, neither Anderson nor his successors, Entick and Northouck, in the various editions of the *Book of Constitutions* have thought him to be worthy of the slightest mention, though undoubtedly we have historical evidence that he was far better entitled than that less important and less useful man, St.

[1] "Richardi, Prior Hagustal," lib. i., chap. iii.

[2] Bede, "History," lib. iv., cap. ii.

Alban, to have it said of him that "he loved Masons well and cherished them much."

Indeed all that is said in the *Legend of the Craft* of the protomartyr might with more plausibility be ascribed to Wilfrid, Bishop of York.

Bentham, in his *History of the Cathedral Church of Ely*,[1] has said of Wilfrid, relying on the almost contemporaneous authority of Bede, of Eddius Stephanus, and of Richard, the Prior of Hexham, that in consequence of the favor and the liberal gifts bestowed upon him by the kings and the nobility of Northumberland, he rose to a degree of opulence so as to vie with princes in state and magnificence, and was thus enabled to found several rich monasteries and to build many stately edifices. In the prosecution of these great undertakings he gave due encouragement to the most skillful builders and artificers of every kind who were eminent in their several trades. He kept them in his service by proper rewards, or, as the *Legend of the Craft* says of St. Alban, "he made their pay right good."

Some of these he obtained at Canterbury, whither they had been introduced by Augustine to aid him in the construction of the churches in Kent. Eddius is distinct on this point, for he says, in his *Life of Wilfrid*, that when he returned home from his visit to Canterbury, he brought back not only skillful singers, who might instruct his choirs in the Roman method of singing, but also Masons and artists of almost every kind.[2]

Richard, Prior of Hexham, says that he secured from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries where he could find them, Masons and skillful artificers of other kinds, whom he brought to England for the purpose of carrying on his works.[3]

William of Malmesbury also says that to construct the buildings that Wilfrid had designed Masons had been attracted from Rome

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[1] "History of the Cathedral Church of Ely," p. 23.

[2] Eddius, "Vita S. Wilfridi," cap. xiv. *Cæmentariis* is the word employed by Eddius. Now, *cæmentarius* was the word used in mediæval Latin to designate an Operative Mason. Ducange cites *Magister cæmentariorum*, the "Master of the Masons," as used by mediæval writers to denote one who presided over the building, him whom he calls the Master of the Works.

[3] De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicumque invenire poterat, *cæmentarios* et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat. "Richardi, Prior Hagustal," lib. i., cap. v.

by the hope of liberal rewards,[1] and both Eddius, his biographer, and William of Malmesbury concur in declaring that he was eminent for his knowledge and skill in the science of architecture.

The spirit of improvement and the skill in architecture which had been introduced into Northumberland by its Bishop were not confined to his own country, but through his influence were extended to the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy. They made their way even into the more northern parts of the island, for Bede informs us[2] that in the beginning of the 8th century, Naitan, King of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of the Monastery of Weremouth, praying to have architects sent him to build a church in his nation after the Roman manner.

"Hence," says Bentham, "it should seem that the style of architecture generally used in that age in England was called the Roman manner, and was the same that was then used at Rome in Italy and in other parts of the empire."[3]

Mr. John M. Kemble, when commenting on circumstances like these in the learned Introduction to his *Diplomatic Codex of the Saxon Æra*, has very justly said that "the great advance in civilization made especially in Northumberland before the close of the 7th century proves that even the rough denizens of that inhospitable portion of our land were apt and earnest scholars."[4]

The next eminent Saxon patron of Masonry of whom we have any record is Albert, who in 767 became the successor of Egbert as Archbishop of York. The church which had been built by Paulinus in the 7th century, having been much dilapidated by a conflagration and not having been sufficiently repaired, was wholly taken down by

[1] "Cæmentarios, quos ex Roma spes munificentiæ attraxerat. Gulilm. Malsmb. de Gestis Pontif." Angl., p. 272. The "spes munificentiæ" was the expectation of higher wages, just what the "Legend of the Craft" says that St. Alban established. It is curious to remark how everything that that Legend ascribes to St. Alban may with equal propriety be attributed on historic authority to St. Wilfrid. It is strange that the later Masonic writers as well as the legendists should have completely ignored St. Wilfrid, who was the real reformer, if not actual founder, of the English Masonry in connection with the Roman.

[2] In Book V., chapter xxi. of his "Ecclesiastical History."

[3] "History of the Cathedral Church of Ely," p. 25.

[4] "Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici." This learned and laborious work, edited by Mr. Kemble and published in 1839, in six large octavo volumes, by the English Historical Society, contains copies either in Saxon or in Latin of nearly all the royal and other charters issued during the Saxon domination which have been preserved in various collections.

Albert, who determined to rebuild it. This he did with the assistance of two eminent architects, his disciples, Eanbald, who succeeded him in the see of York, and the celebrated Alcuin, who afterward introduced learning into the court of Charlemagne, of whom he became the preceptor. Alcuin, in a poem *On the Pontiffs and Saints of the Church of York*,[1] has given a full description of the rebuilding of the church, from which we may learn the degree of perfection to which architecture had then arrived. We find in that description the account of a complete and exquisitely finished piece of architecture, "the new construction of a wonderful church," as Alcuin expresses it, consisting of a tall building supported by solid columns, with arches, vaulted roofs, splendid doors and windows, porticos, galleries, and thirty altars variously ornamented. This templum, says the poem of Alcuin,[2] was built under the orders of the Master Albert by his two disciples, Eanbald and Alcuin, working harmoniously and devotedly.

The predatory aggressions of the Danish pirates, and their more permanent invasion in the latter part of the 9th century, though marked by all the atrocities of a barbarous enemy, and with the destruction of innumerable churches and monasteries and the burning of many towns and villages, must of course have suspended for a time all progress in architecture. But it could have been only a temporary suspension. Their occupancy lasted but twelve years, and the knowledge of the Roman method which had been acquired by the Saxons could not have been lost in that brief period, nor were all the monuments of their skill destroyed. Enough remained for models, and many of the old Masons must have been still living when civilization was renewed in England by the restoration of Alfred to the throne.

Asser, the contemporary and the biographer of Alfred or whoever assumed his name,[3] admits that during the Danish domination

[1] "Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis." It was published in 1691 by Dr. Thomas Gale in his "Historiæ Britanicæ," Saxoniæ et Anglo-Danicæ Scriptores quindecim, usually cited as "Gale's XV Scriptores."

[2] "Hoc duo discipali templum doctore jubente,
Ædificarunt Eanbaldus et Alcuinus, ambo
Concordes operi devota mente studentes."
Alcuin De Pontifet Sanct. Eccl. Ebor.

[3] Doubt has been entertained by Mr. Wright, and plausible reasons assigned for the doubt, of the authenticity of Asser's "Life of Alfred," which work he is disposed to be-

the arts and sciences had begun to be neglected, but the wise and vigorous measures pursued by Alfred on his accession soon restored them to more than their former condition of prosperity.

Matthew of Westminster, a Benedictine monk who lived in the 14th century and whose narrative of events is valuable because it is that of a careful observer, tells us that with a genius of his own, not hitherto displayed by others, Alfred occupied himself in building edifices which were venerable and noble beyond anything that had been attempted by his predecessors, and that many Frenchmen and natives of other countries came to England, being attracted by his amiable and affable character and by the protection and gifts which he bestowed on all strangers of worth, whether noble or low-born. Among these foreigners we must naturally suppose that there were many architects and builders from France and Italy, who came to find employment in the various works on which the king was engaged.[1] Matthew also tells us that Alfred bestowed one-sixth of his revenues on the numerous artisans whom he employed and who were skillful in every kind of work on land.[2]

Florence of Worcester, a monk who wrote in the 12th century, says that among the other accomplishments of Alfred he was skilled in architecture and excelled his predecessors in building and adorning his palaces, in constructing large ships for the security of his coasts, and in erecting castles in convenient parts of the country.[3]

Indeed all the chroniclers of his own and following ages concur in attributing to the great Alfred, the best and wisest monarch who ever sat on the English throne, the resuscitation of Saxon architecture and the introduction anew into the kingdom of foreign architects from Italy and France, so that the connection between the Roman and the Saxon was continued without material interruption.

In the last year of the 9th century, Alfred was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, a prince who has been described as inferior to his father in learning and the love of literature, but who by his martial prowess greatly extended the boundaries of his dominions.

lieve was written as late as the latter part of the 12th century ("Essays on Archæology," i., 183). But even if this were correct, it would not affect the truth of the statement in the text.

[1] "Matthew of Westminster," c. xvi., ad annum 871.

[2] Ibid., ad annum 888.

[3] Flor. Wegorn, ad annum 871, 887. He calls him "in arte architectonica sumo» nus" (pre-eminent in the art of architecture).

Though not so great a patron of architecture as his predecessor, the science was not deteriorated during his reign. He founded or repaired some churches and monasteries, and built several cities and towns, which he encompassed with massive walls as a protection against the sudden incursions of the Danes.

In 924 Edward was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Athelstan. Although the records of the old chroniclers of England speak only of a few monasteries that were founded by Athelstan, the legendary history of the Craft assigns to him an important character as having granted a charter for the calling of an Assembly of Masons at the city of York. And to this Assembly the legendist as well as all modern writers up to a very recent period have sought to trace the origin of Freemasonry in England.

This subject has already been very fully discussed in the chapter on the *York Legend*, in the first part of the present work, and it will be unnecessary to renew the discussion here. I will only add that since writing that chapter I have diligently examined all the charters granted by King Athelstan, copies of the originals of which are contained in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, published by the English Historical Society, and have failed to find in them any one in which there is the slightest allusion to the calling of an Assembly of Masons at York. If such a charter ever existed (of which I have no idea), it has been irretrievably lost. The non-appearance of the charter certainly does not prove that it never was granted, but its absence deprives the advocates of the York theory of what would be the best and most unanswerable evidence of the truth of the Legend.

In fact Edgar, his nephew, who ascended the throne in 959, after the brief reigns of his father, Edmund, his uncle, Edred, and his brother, Edwy, was a greater encourager of architecture, or, as the old historians of Masonry would have called him, "a better patron of the Craft," than Athelstan. During his reign the land was so seldom embroiled in strife that the early chroniclers have styled him "Edgar the Pacific." Thus was he enabled to devote himself to the improvement of his kingdom and the condition of his subjects. He founded more than forty monasteries, and among them the magnificent abbey of Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire. From a description of this abbey, given in its history, which has been preserved by Gale, we are led to believe that in the reign of Edgar the

old style of building churches in the square form of a basilica or Roman Hall of Justice was beginning to be abandoned for the cruciform shape, as more symbolically suited to a Christian temple. He built also the old abbey church of Westminster, which Sir Christopher Wren says, in the *Parentalia*, "was probably a good, strong building after the manner of the age, not much altered from the Roman way."

This way, Wren says, was with piers or round pillars (stronger than Tuscan or Doric), round-headed arches and windows. And he refers, as instances of this method borrowed from the Roman, to various buildings erected before the Conquest.

Whatever may be said of the private and personal character of Edgar, and he can not be acquitted of the charge of licentiousness, as a monarch he certainly sought to improve the condition of his kingdom, to secure the comfort of his subjects, and to encourage the cultivation of the arts and sciences, among which architecture was not the least prominent.

It is hardly necessary to pursue the details of the condition of the art of building in the few remaining years of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. Such a plan would be appropriate to a professional history of English architecture. But enough has been said to maintain the hypothesis of the origin and rise of Masonry, which is the special object of the present work.

It has already been shown that the system of associated workmen in the craft of building arose in the Roman Colleges of Artificers, of Builders, or of Masons, call them by either name; that this system, with the skill that accompanied it, was introduced from Rome into Britain at the time of the real conquest of that island by Claudius, by the artisans who followed the legions and became colonists of the province; that on the accession of the Saxons to the government of the country, though the Britains were driven to the remoter parts of the island in the West, monuments of the Roman workmen remained to perpetuate the method; that the Saxons themselves were not a wholly barbarous people, and that by their rapid conversion to Christianity the communication with Rome was renewed through the missionaries who came to them from that city; that when the monks began the construction of religious houses they sent to Italy or to Gaul for workmen who were educated in the Roman method; and that thus, by the architectural

works which were accomplished under ecclesiastical auspices, the continuous chain which connected the Masons of the Roman Colleges with the Saxon builders remained unbroken.

From the death of Edgar to the final extinction of the Saxon dynasty and the establishment of the Norman race upon the throne of England, though history records few great architectural achievements, nothing was absolutely lost of the skill and the methods of Masonry which had been acquired in the lapse of centuries and from continual communications with foreign artists. Even the interpolation of the reigns of three Danish kings, of which two were very brief, produced no disastrous effects. So when Harold, the last Saxon monarch, was slain at the battle of Hastings, in the year 1066, and the crown passed into the possession of the Norman William, many specimens of Saxon architecture were still remaining.

There is one episode in the history of the Anglo-Saxons which is of too much importance to be passed over without an extended notice. I allude to the establishment of Guilds. These were confraternities which, as will hereafter be shown, gave "form and feature" to the organization of the modern Masonic Lodges.

But this is a subject of so much interest in the present inquiry that it can not be dismissed at the close of the investigation of a different though cognate topic. Its consideration must therefore be deferred to the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANGLO-SAXON GUILDS

GUILD signified among the Saxons a fraternity or sodality united together for the accomplishment by the co-operative exertions of the members of some predetermined purpose.

The word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb *gildan,* "to pay," and refers to the fact that every member of the Guild was required to contribute something to its support. Hence Cowel defines Guilds to be "fraternities originally contributing sums towards a common stock."

Assuming that the characteristic of a Guild organization is that it is a society of men united together for mutual assistance in the accomplishment of an object, or for the cultivation of friendship, or for the observance of religious duties, we may say that the Guild has under some of these aspects existed in all civilized countries from the earliest ages.

The priesthood of Egypt was a fraternity containing in its organization much that resembles the more modern Guild, the priests possessing peculiar privileges and constituting a body isolated from the rest of the nation, by the right of making their own laws and electing their own members, who were received into what may be appropriately called the sacerdotal Guild, by certain ceremonies of initiation. The trades and handicrafts were divided into their various professions. Thus the artificers and the boatmen of the Nile were each a separate class,[1] and as the practice of a trade was made hereditary and was restricted to certain families, we may well suppose that each of these classes constituted a Guild. And it may be remarked, in passing, that while the handicraftsmen and traders were generally held by the higher orders among the Egyptians in low re-

[1] Kenreck, "Ancient Egypt," vol. ii., p. 36.

pute, the art of building seems to have occupied a higher place in the national estimation, for while we find no record on the funeral monuments of any of the other working-classes, the names of architects alone appear in the inscriptions with those of priests, warriors, judges, and chiefs of provinces, the only ranks to which the honor of a funeral record was permitted.[1]

The *Eranos* among the Greeks was in every minute respect the analogue of the Guild. Donnegal defines it to be "a society under certain rules and regulations, having a fund, contributed by the members, formed for various purposes, such as succoring indigent members."[2]

Clubs or societies of this kind established for charitable or convivial purposes, and sometimes for both, were very common at Athens, and were also found in other cities of Greece. These Grecian Guilds were founded on the principle of mutual relief. If a member was reduced to poverty, or was in temporary distress for money, he applied to the *Eranos*, or Guild, and the relief required was contributed by the members. Sometimes it was considered as a loan, to be repaid when the borrower was in better circumstances. The *Eranos* met at stated periods, generally once a month, had its peculiar regulations, was presided over by an officer styled the *Eranarckes*, and the *Eranistai*, or members, paid each a monthly contribution. There does not really appear to have been any material difference between the organization of these sodalities and the Saxon and mediaeval social Guilds.

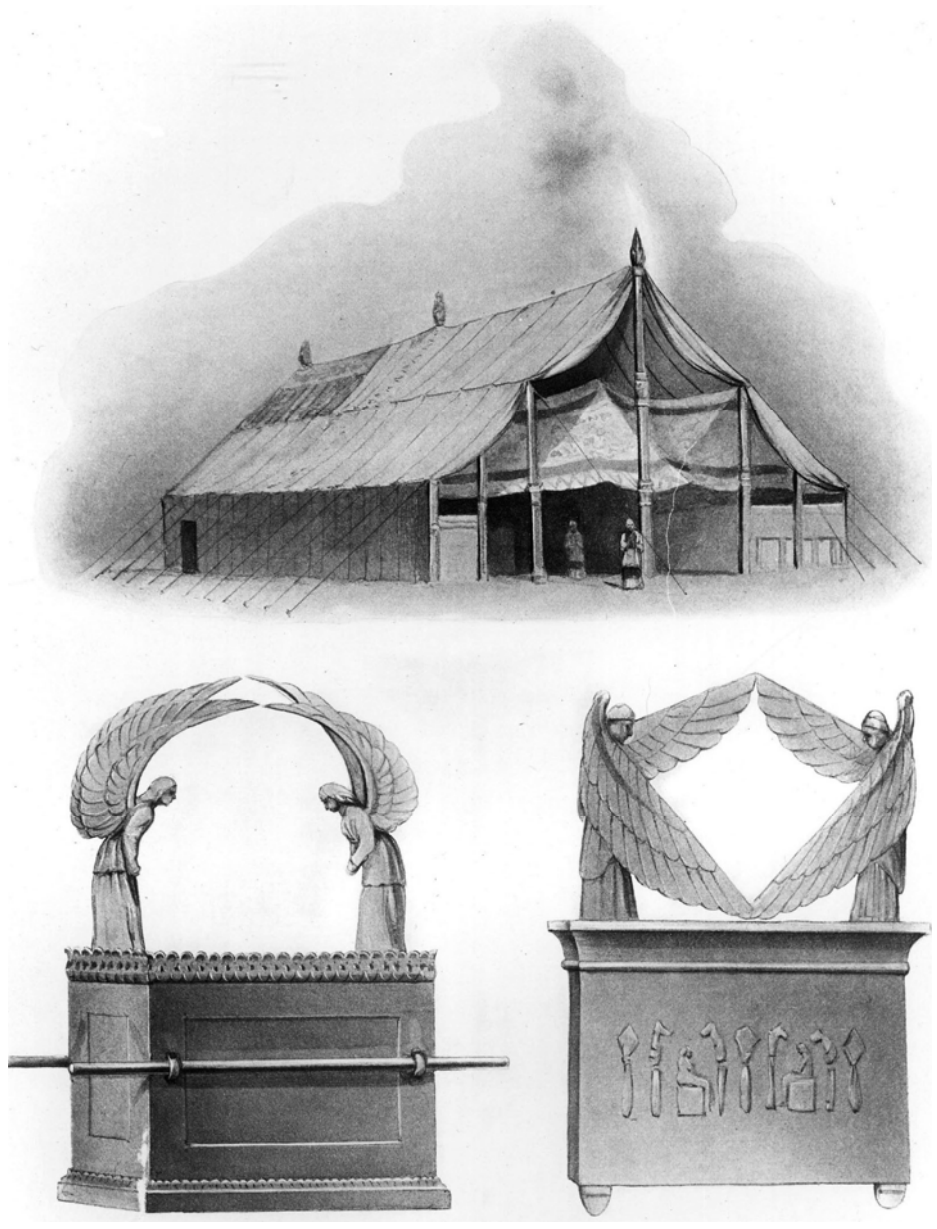
It is scarcely necessary, after the description that has already been given of the Roman Colleges of Artificers, to say that they were analogous to the Craft Guilds. Indeed, it is a part of the hypothesis maintained in the present work, that the latter derived, directly or indirectly, the suggestion of their peculiar form as associated craftsmen from the former.

The *Agapæ* or Love Feasts of the early Christians, though at first established for the commemoration of a religious rite, subsequently became guild-like in their character, as they were sustained by the contributions of the members, and funds were distributed for the relief of widows, orphans, and the poorer brethren. Indeed, they are supposed by ecclesiastical writers to have imitated the Gre-

[1] Kenreck, "Ancient Egypt," vol. ii., p. 37.

[2] "Lexicon," in voce.

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, AND THE TABERNACLE



cian *Eranos.* The Government looked upon them as secret societies, and they were consequently denounced by imperial edicts.

Brentano, who has written a learned introduction to Toulmin Smith's *English Guilds,* published by the Early English Text Society, is disposed to trace the origin of Guilds to the feasts of the old German tribes from Scandinavia, which were also called Guilds. Among the German tribes, all events that especially related to the family, such as births, marriages, and deaths, were celebrated by sacrificial feasts in a family reunion. Similar feasts took place on certain public occasions and anniversaries, which often afforded an opportunity for the conclusion of alliances for piracy and plunder by one tribe or another.

I am not inclined to trace the origin of the Saxon and English Guilds to so degenerate a source, and I subscribe to the opinions expressed by Wilda,[1] one of the ablest of the German writers on this subject, who cannot find anything of the true nature of the Guild in these Scandinavian feasts of the family. Hartwig,[2] who has also investigated this point, agrees with Wilda.

Yet it is very evident that the sentiment of the Guild—that is, the desire to establish fraternal relations for mutual aid and protection—was not peculiar to the Saxons. It may rather be contemplated as a human sentiment, arising from the innate knowledge of his own condition, which makes man aware of his infirmity and weakness in isolation, and causes him to seek for strength in association with his fellow-man.

The similitude, therefore, if not the exact form of the Guild, has appeared in almost all civilized nations, even at the remotest periods of their own history. Wherever men accustom themselves to meet on stated occasions, to celebrate some appointed anniversary or festival and to partake of a common meal, that by this regular communion a spirit of fraternity may be established, and every member may feel that upon the association with which he is thus united he may depend for relief of his necessities or protection of his interests, such an association, sodality, or confraternity, call it by whatever name you may, will be in substantial nature a Guild.

Wilda thinks that the peculiar character of the Guilds was de-

[1] "Das Gildwesen in Mittelalter."

[2] "Untersuchungen über die ersten Anfange des Gildveerens."

rived from the Christian principle of love, and that they actually originated in the monastic unions, where every member shared the benefits of the whole community in good works and prayers, into the advantages of which union laymen were afterward admitted.

But the untenableness of this theory is evident from the fact that the same characteristic of mutual aid existed in the pagan nations long before the advent of Christianity, and was presented in those sodalities which represent the form of the modern Guild.

Besides the admission of Wilda and Hartwig that the early Saxon Guilds were so tinctured with the superstitious customs of the pagan sacrificial feasts, and that the Church had to labor strenuously and for a long time for their suppression, would prove that we must look beyond the monasteries for the true origin of the Guild.

I am inclined, therefore, to attribute them to that spirit of associated labor and union of refreshment which had existed in the Roman Colleges of Artificers, where, as has been already shown, there existed that organized union of interests which continued to be displayed in the Guilds.

I will not aver that the Guilds were the legitimate and uninterrupted successors of the Roman Colleges, but I will say that the suggestion of the advantages to be derived from an association in work, regulated by ordinances that had been agreed on, governed by officers who might judiciously direct the exercise of skill and the employment of labor, the result of all of which was a combination of interests and the growth of a fraternal feeling, was suggested by these Roman institutions, and more especially adopted by the Craft Guilds, which, at a later period in the Middle Ages, directed all the architectural labors in every country of Europe.

Of these Craft Guilds many authors have traced the origin to the Roman Colleges. Brentano does not absolutely deny this hypothesis, but he thinks it needs to be proved historically by its defenders. He thinks it more probable that they descended from "the companies into which, in episcopal and royal towns, the bond handicraftsmen of the same trade were ranged under the superintendence of an official, or that they took their origin from a common subjection to police control or from common obligations to pay certain imposts."[1]

[1] "English Guilds," in Early English Text Society Publications, p. 114.

It was in Germany that these episcopal communities existed. Arnold, in his *Constitutional History of the German Free Cities*,[1] describes one at Worms in the 11th century. To the Manor of the Bishop were attached, among other dependants, a class of villeins or bondsmen called *dagewardi*. These were divided into *coloni*, or workmen on the country manor, and *operarii*, or handicraftsmen, who were ranged, according to their trades, into different unions or societies. And it is from these that the continental Guilds of the Middle Ages have been erroneously supposed to have been derived. Still, when their bondage ceased, these societies may have developed themselves into Free Guilds; but the Free Guilds existed before, and the bond unions enforced by episcopal authority must have been organized simply for the convenience of the employer. There could not have been in them any of the peculiar characteristics of the free and independent Guild.

But even if this speculative notion of Brentano, that the Guilds were derived from the enforced association of the episcopal and royal bond handicraftsmen, were admitted to be correct, it would be only lengthening the chain which connects them with the Roman Colleges by the insertion of another link, for we should have to look to these Roman sodalities for the idea of union and concerted action, which in either of those instances must have influenced the combination of handicraftsmen.

However, Brentano immediately repudiates the views which he had just advanced, and admits that they deserve no further consideration, because Wilda has shown that the Craft Guilds did not spring from subjection, but arose from the freedom of the handicraft class.

Now, it is precisely in this point that the Craft Guilds most resemble the Roman Colleges. Founded originally in the earliest days of Rome for the express purpose of giving to the working-classes a separate and independent place in the public polity, they preserved this independence to the latest times and cultivated the spirit of freedom which sprang naturally from it. Their spirit of freedom and independence indeed often bordered upon excess. Thus they were watched and feared in the latter days of the republic and during the empire, because their love of freedom sometimes led them to inaugurate conspiracies against the Government, which

[1] "Verfasserungs geschichte der Deutschen Freistädte."

they supposed had the design of subverting or diminishing their privileges. To protect these privileges and to preserve this freedom they instituted the office of Patrons, men of distinction and influence, not of their trade, but selected from the order of patricians, who were to be the conservators of their franchises.

There is abundant historical evidence that the system of Guilds was well known to the Anglo-Saxons. Mr. Toulmin Smith, to whom we are indebted for the collection of Guild charters of a later date, says that "English Guilds, as a system of widespread practical institutions, are older than any kings of England. They are told of in the books that contain the oldest relics of English laws. The old laws of King Alfred, of King Ina, of King Athelstan, of King Henry I., reproduce still older laws in which the universal existence of Guilds is treated as a well-known fact, and in which it is taken to be a matter of course that everyone belonged to some Guild. As population increased Guilds multiplied; and thus, while the beginnings of the older Guilds are lost in the dimness of time and remain quite unknown, the beginnings of the later ones took place in methods and with accompanying forms that have been recorded."[1]

But it is not upon those laws alone that we have to depend for proof of the antiquity of the Saxon Guilds. The records of a few of the old Guilds still remain and show that the idea of association for mutual assistance, which is the very spirit of the Guild organization, was prevalent at least twelve centuries ago among our Saxon ancestors.

Among the laws of Ina, who reigned from 688 to 725, are two which relate to the liability of the brethren of a Guild in the case of slaying a thief.[2] King Alfred also refers to the duties of the Guild when he decrees that in the case of a crime the Brothers of the Guild (gegyldan) shall pay a portion of the fine.[3]

The *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ,* or Statutes of the City of London, contain several ordinances for the regulation of the various Guilds, and prescribing the duties of the members. The "Cnyhten Gyld," or Young Men's Guild, is mentioned by Stow as existing in the time of King Edgar, who granted the liberty of a Guild forever to "thirteene knights or soldiers well beloved of the king

[1] "Traditions of the Old Crown House," p. 28.
[2] Thorpe's "Anglo Laws," Ina 16, 21.
[3] "Leges Ælf," 27.

and the realme (for service by them done), which requested to have a certaine portion of land on the east part of the citie, left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants by reason of too much servitude."[1]

Thirteen was a favorite number in the religious Guilds. Ducange explains the reason in a quotation which he makes from an *Epistle to the Church of Utrecht,* wherein it is said that "a fraternity, commonly called a Guild, was formed, consisting of twelve men to represent the twelve apostles, and one woman to represent the Virgin Mary."[2]

The text of the "writing," or charter, by which Orky instituted a Guild at Abbotsbury has been preserved. Orky was the "huscarl," or one of the household troops,[3] of Edward the Confessor, and there is a charter of that monarch extant in which he gives permission to Tole, the widow of Orky, or Urk, to bequeath her lands to the monastery at the same place in which the Guild was established.

The original charter of Orky's Guild, as written in the Anglo-Saxon language, with a generally correct translation into English, has been inserted by Thorpe in his *Diplomatarium*) As it is one of the earliest of the Saxon charters that is extant, and as it will be interesting in enabling the reader to collate its provisions with those of the later Guilds on the pattern of which the Masonic Guilds, or Fraternities, were formulated, it is here presented entire. It must, however, be observed that it was not a Craft, but a religious Guild, and hence we find no allusion to the privileges and obligations of the former, which always composed a part of their ordinances.

ORKY'S GUILD AT ABBOTSBURY.

"Here is made known in this writing that Orky has given the Guildhall and the place at Abbotsbury to the praise of God and St. Peter, and for the guildship to possess now and henceforth of him and his consort for long remembrance. Who so shall avert this, let him account with God at the great day of judgment.

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[1] "Survaye of London," p. 85. [2] Ducange, "Glossarium" in voce, *Gilda.*

[3] The "huscarlas," says Kemble, were among the Saxons, and, until after the Norman Conquest, the household troops or immediate body-guard of the King. "The Saxons in England," vol. ii., p. 118.

[4] "Diplomatarium Ang.," pp. 605-608. I have ventured to make a few alterations in Thorpe's translation, to conform more strictly to the Anglo-Saxon original.

"Now these are the covenants which Orky and the guild brothers at Abbotsbury have chosen to the praise of God and the honor of St. Peter and their souls' need.

"This is first: Three nights before St. Peter's Mass, from every guild brother one penny, or one penny worth of wax, whichever be most needed in the monastery, and on the mass' eve one broad loaf, well raised and well sifted, for our common alms; and five weeks before Peter's Mass day let each guild brother contribute one guild-sester full of clean wheat, and let that be rendered within two days, on pain of forfeiting the entrance fee (ingang), which is three sesters of wheat. And let the wood be rendered within three days after the corn contribution, from every full guild brother (riht gegyldan)[1] one burthen (byrthene) of wood, and two from those who are not full brothers, or let him pay one guild sester of corn. And he who undertakes a charge, and does it not satisfactorily, let him be liable in his entrance fee, and let there be no remission. And let the guild brother who abuses another within the guild, with serious intent, make atonement to all the society to the amount of his entrance, and afterward to the man whom he abused, as he may settle it, and if he will not submit to compensation, let him forfeit the fellowship and every other privilege of the Guild. And let him who introduces more men than he ought, without leave of the steward and the purveyors (feomera), pay his entrance. And if death befall any one in our society, let each guild brother contribute one penny at the corpse for the soul, or pay according to three guild brothers (gylde be pry gegildum).[2] And if any one of us be sick within sixty miles, then we shall find fifteen men who shall fetch him; and if he be dead thirty; and they shall bring him to the place which he desired in his life. And if he die in the vicinity, let the steward have warning to what

[1] There is some difficulty here. The words "riht gegyldan" in the original mean literally "lawful members of the Guild;" and the word "ungyldan" signifies "those who are not members," for the particle un has the privative power in Anglo-Saxon as in English. Thorpe translates as "regular and non-regular guild brothers." I have adopted with hesitation Kemble's translation ("Saxons in England," i., 511). But what are "non-regular" or "not full brethren?" As "gegyldan" also means "to pay a contribution," we might suppose that the "riht gegyldan" were those who had paid their dues to the guild, and the "ungegyldan" were those who were in arrears. This would be a reasonable explanation of the passage; but there are grammatical difficulties in the way.

[2] Literally translated, but unintelligible. Kemble does not attempt a translation, but gives the passage the benefit of a blank.

place the corpse is to go, and let the steward then warn the guild brothers, as many as ever he can ride to or send to, that they come thereto and worthily attend the corpse and convey it to the monastery and earnestly pray for the soul. That will rightly be called a guildlaw which we thus do and it will beseem it well both before God and before the world; for we know not which of us shall soonest depart hence. Now we believe through God's support that this aforesaid agreement will benefit us all, if we rightly hold it.

"Let us fervently pray to God Almighty that he have mercy on us; and also to his holy Apostle St. Peter, that he intercede for us and make our way clear to everlasting rest; because for love of him we have gathered this guild (gegaderodon). He has the power in heaven that he may let into heaven whom he will, and refuse whom he will not; as Christ himself said to him in his Gospel: 'Peter, I deliver to thee the key of heaven's kingdom; and whatsoever thou wilt have bound on earth, that shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou wilt have unbound on earth, that shall be unbound in heaven.' Let us have trust and hope in him that he will ever have care of us here in the world, and after our departure hence, be a help to our souls; May he bring us to everlasting rest."

These covenants, which in later Guild charters are called ordinances, and by the Mason Guilds constitutions, very clearly define the objects of the association. These were not connected with the pursuit of any handicraft, but were altogether of a religious and charitable nature. Infirm brethren were to be supported, the dead were to be buried, prayers were to be said for the repose of their souls, and religious services were to be performed. There was an annual meeting on the feast of St. Peter, and regulations were made for the collection of alms on that day for the benefit of the poor. Especial attention was paid to the preservation of fraternal relations of mutual kindness between the members.

In all this we see the germ of those similar regulations which are met with in the "Constitutions of the Freemasons," compiled in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, and which were, *mutatis mutandis,* finally developed in the regulations of the Speculative Masons in the 18th century.

The essence of the regulations of this as well as of two other Guilds established about the same time, one at Exeter and the third at Cambridge, was the binding together in close fraternal union of

man to man, which was sometimes fortified by oaths for the faithful performance of mutual help.

The charter of the "Thanes' Guild at Cambridge" has been published by both Thorpe and Kemble from a Cottonian manuscript. As it contains some points not embraced in the charter of the Orky Guild, it is here presented, as a further means of collation with the charters of the later Craft Guilds. The original is of course in Anglo-Saxon, and I have adopted the translation of Thorpe, with the exception of a few emendations.

THE THANES' GUILD AT CAMBRIDGE.

"Here in this writing is the declaration of the agreement which this society has resolved in the Thanes' Guild at Cambridge. That then is first that each should take an oath to the others on the halidom of true fidelity before God and the world. And all the society should support him who had most right. If any guild brother die let all the guildship bring him to where he desired; and let him who should come thereto pay a sester (about eight quarts) of honey; and let the guildship inherit of the deceased half a farm. And let each contribute two pence to the alms and thereof bring what is fitting to St. Ætheldryth. And if any guild brother be in need of his fellows' aid and it be made known to the fellow nearest to the guild brother and, unless the guild brother himself be nigh, the fellow neglect it, let him pay one pound. If the lord neglect it, let him pay one pound unless he be on the lord's need or confined to his bed. And if any one slay a guild brother let there be nothing for compensation but eight pounds. But if the slayer scorns the compensation let all the guildship avenge the guild brother and all bear the feud. But if a guild brother do it let all bear alike. And if any guild brother slay any man and he be an avenger by compulsion and compensate for his violence and the slain be a nobleman let each guild brother contribute half a mark for his aid; if the slain be a churl (ceorl) two oras (100 pence) if he be Welch one ora. But if the guild brother slay any one through wantonness and with guile, let himself bear what he has wrought. And if a guild brother slay his guild brother through his own folly let him suffer on the part of the kindred for that which he has violated, and buy back his guildship with eight pounds, or forever forfeit our society and friendship.

And if a guild brother eat or drink with him who slew his guild brother unless it be before the king or the bishop of the diocese or the aldermen, let him pay one pound unless with his two bench comrades (gesetlung) he can deny that he knew him. If any guild brother abuse another let him pay a sester of honey unless he can clear himself with his two bench comrades. If a servant (cniht) draw a weapon let the lord pay one pound and let the lord get what he can and let all the guildship aid him in getting his money. And if a servant wound another let the lord avenge it and all the guildship together, so that seek he whatever he may (sece whet he sece) he have not life (feorh). And if a servant sit within the storeroom let him pay a sester of honey; and if any one have a footstool let him do the same. And if any guild brother die out of the land or be taken sick let his guild brethren fetch him and convey him, dead or alive, to where he may desire, under the same penalty that has been said, if he die at home and the guild brother attend not the corpse. And let the guild brother who does not attend his morning discourse (morjen space) pay his sester of honey."

In this agreement of an early Guild, we will again notice that, though the regulations are few, they all partake of that spirit of mutual kindness which has characterized the Guild organizations of all ages, and of which the Masonic Lodge is but a fuller development.

The principal points worthy of notice are as follows:

1. There was an oath of fidelity.
2. The sick were to be nursed and the dead buried.
3. A brother was bound to give aid to another brother if he were called upon.
4. If a member got into trouble or difficulty the Guild was to come to his assistance.
5. The injuries or wrongs of a member were to be espoused by the Guild.
6. To associate knowingly with one who had done injury to a member was a penal offense.
7. The severest punishment that could be inflicted on a member was expulsion from the body.

These seven points embrace the true spirit of the Masonic institution, and may be advantageously collated with the mediæval

Constitutions, and with the regulations and obligations of the modern Lodges.

That this collation of the older and the newer Constitutions may be more conveniently made, it will be necessary to anticipate the chronological sequence, and to present the reader the ordinances of two Craft Guilds, both of the 14th century.

The first of these Constitutions, though the date affixed to it makes it apparently sixty years later than the second, was really much older. Toulmin Smith says that "the internal evidence shows that the substance of the ordinances is older than the date given." As, in the beginning, they are said to be ordinances "made and of ancient time assigned and ordained by the founders of the Guild," he conjectures that they were first written in Latin, and that what we have "are the early translation of a lost original with some later additions and alterations."

The document now presented to the reader, and which has been taken from Toulmin Smith's collection of English Guilds, which was published by the Early English Text Society, is the Guild of the Smiths of Chesterfield. The Guild united with that of the Holy Cross of Merchants in 1387. But, as has already been said, the date of its institution must have been much earlier.

GUILD OF THE SMITHS OF CHESTERFIELD.

(The paragraphs are numbered for the convenience of future reference. There is no numbering in the original.)

1. "This is the agreement of the Masters and brethren of the Guild of Smiths of Chesterfield, worshipping before the greater cross in the nave of the church of All Saints there. The head men are an Elder Father, Dean, Steward and four Burgesses by whose oversight the guild is managed. Lights are to be found and be burnt before the cross on days named.

2. "If any brother is sick and needs help, he shall have a halfpenny daily from the common fund of the guild until he has got well. If any of them fall into want they shall go, singly, on given days, to the houses of the brethren where each shall be courteously received, and there shall be given to him, as if he were the Master of the house, whatever he wants of meat, drink and clothing, and he shall have a halfpenny like those that are sick, and then he shall go home in the name of the Lord.

3. "On the death of a brother twelve lights shall be kept burning round the body, until buried, and offerings shall be made. Round the body of a stranger or of the son of a brother, dying in the house of a brother four lights shall be kept burning.

4. "If it befall that any of the brethren, by some hapless chance, and not through his own folly, is cast into prison, all his brethren are bound to do what they can to get him freed and to defend him.

5. "If any sick brother makes a will, having first bequeathed his soul to God, his body to burial and the altar gifts to the priests, he shall then not forget to bequeath something to the guild according to his means.

6. "Whenever any one has borrowed any money from the guild, either to traffic with or for his own use, under promise to repay it on a given day, and he does not repay it, though three times warned, he shall be put under suspension, denunciation and excommunication—all contradiction, cavil and appeal aside—until he shall have wholly paid it. If he has been sick, the claim of the guild must be first to be satisfied. And if he dies intestate, his goods shall be held bound to the guild, to pay what is owing to it, and shall not be touched or sequestrated until full payment has been made to the guild.

7. "Should it happen, [which God forbid] that any brother is contumacious; or sets himself against the brethren; or gainsays any of these ordinances; or being summoned to a feast will not come; or does not obey the Elder Father when he ought nor show him due respect; or does not abide by what has been ordained by the Elder Father and greater part of the guild; he shall pay a pound of wax and half a mark. Moreover he shall be put under suspension, denunciation and excommunication, without any contradiction, cavil or appeal.

8. "Any one proved to be in debt, or a wrong-doer, shall be deemed excommunicate, and shall presume to come to the meetings of the brethren, his company shall be shunned by all, so that no brother shall dare to talk with him, unless to chide him, until he has fully satisfied the Elder Father and the brethren, as well touching any penalty as touching the debt or wrong doing.

9. "To keep and faithfully perform these constitutions, all the brethren have bound themselves by touch of relics."

Although, as its name imports, this is the sodality of a body of handicraftsmen, yet there is no reference to any regulations for work. In this respect it more resembles a Social than a Craft Guild. This deficiency is, however, supplied in the ordinances of the Tailors' Guild at Lincoln, which is next to be given. This circumstance is one of the internal evidences that the Smiths' Guild was much older than its charter purports.

The Tailors' was a Craft Guild, and its provisions for the regulation of labor, though few, are striking and may be profitable compared with the more developed system subsequently adopted by the Masonic Craft Guilds. The date of the institution of the Tailors' Guild is the year 1328. The paragraphs are here numbered for reference, as in the case of the former Guild.

THE TAILORS' GUILD AT LINCOLN.

1. "All the brethren and sisters shall go in procession in the feast of Corpus Christi.

2. "None shall enter the Guild as whole brother until he has paid his entry, a quarter of barley, which must be paid between Michaelmas and Christmas. And if it is not then paid, he shall pay the price of the best malt as sold in Lincoln Market on Midsummer day. And each shall pay 12 pence to the ale.

3. "If any one of the Guild falls into poverty (which God forbid) and has not the means of support he shall have every week 7 pence out of the goods of the Guild; out of which he must discharge such payments as become due to the Guild.

4. "If any one dies within the city, without leaving the means for burial, the Guild shall find the means according to the rank of him who is dead.

5. "If any one wishes to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land each brother and sister shall give him a penny; and if to St. James or to Rome a halfpenny; and they shall go with him outside the gates of the city of Lincoln, and on his return they shall meet him and go with him to his mother church.

6. "If a brother or sister dies outside the city on pilgrimage or elsewhere, and the brethren are assured of his death they shall do for his soul what would have been done if he had died in his own parish.

7. "When one of the Guild dies, he shall, according to his means, bequeath 5 shillings or 40 pence or what he will to the Guild.

8. "Every brother and sister coming into the Guild, shall pay to the chaplain as the others do.

9. "There shall be four mornspeeches held in every year, to take order for the welfare of the Guild; and whoever heeds not his summons shall pay two pounds of wax.

10. "If any Master of the Guild takes any one to live with him as an apprentice in order to learn the work of the tailors' craft, the apprentice shall pay 2 shillings to the Guild or his Master for him, or else the Master shall lose his Guildship.

11. "If any quarrel or strife arises between any brethren or sisters of the Guild, (which God forbid) the brethren and sisters shall with the advice of the Graceman and Wardens do their best to make peace between the parties, provided the case is such as can be thus settled without a breach of the law. And whoever will not obey the judgment of the brethren shall lose his Guildship, unless he thinks better of it within three days, and then he shall pay a stone of wax, unless he have grace.

12. "On feast days, the brethren and the sisters shall have three flagons and six tankards with prayers and the ale in the flagons shall be given to the poor who most need it. After the feast, a Mass shall be said and offerings made for the souls of those who are dead.

13. "Four lights shall be put round the body of any dead brother or sister until burial and the usual services and offerings shall follow.

14. "If any Master of the Craft keeps any lad or sewer of another Master for one day after he has well known that the lad wrongly left his Master, and that they had not parted in a friendly and reasonable manner he shall pay a stone of wax.

15. "If any Master of the Craft employs any lad as a sewer, that sewer shall pay 5 pence or his Master for him.

16. "Each brother and sister shall every year give 1 penny for charity when the Dean of the Guild demands it, and it shall be given in the place where the giver thinks it most needed together with a bottle of ale from the store of the Guild.

17. "Officers who are elected and will not serve are to pay fines."

It will be seen, on an inspection of these seventeen ordinances, that the Guild of Tailors of Lincoln combined the character of a Religious and a Craft Guild. The 15th and the 16th statutes regu-

late the conduct of the Masters in the prosecution of their trade, but all the others are appropriate to the regulation of religious services, to the practice of charity, and the inculcation of friendly and fraternal relations among the members.

In process of time the Craft Guilds, without losing altogether their religious features, which have been preserved to this day in the institution of Speculative Masonry, which is descended from them, began to enlarge the number of their ordinances for the regulation of work and workmen. As it will be necessary to give directly a specimen of the old Constitutions of the English Mediaeval Masons, which were nothing more nor less than ordinances of Masonic Craft Guilds, it will be proper, at the expense of a little recapitulation, to glance at the progress of these Craft Guilds. Some of the facts will refer equally to the Craft Guilds of the Continent, but only incidentally, as that topic will be treated hereafter as an independent topic. For the present our attention must be directed exclusively to the rise and growth of the English Guilds of Craftsmen.

It has been already seen that in the nth century, and even before, the inhabitants of a town were divided by the officers who governed the municipality, into freemen and bondsmen. To this last class belonged the handicraftsmen who were subjected to the payment of certain taxes and the performance of certain feudal services.

But there was also a class of free handicraftsmen who were not, as respects the carrying on of their business, subjected to the same servile indignities as the bondsmen. As the law made the distinction between the bond and free craftsmen, there was no necessity for the latter to enter into any association for the protection of their rights and privileges. They already formed a part of the governing and law-making power of the municipality, and were thus able to protect themselves.

But by a course of revolutions, which it is unnecessary to detail, the free handicraftsmen lost their place in the general Guild of the citizens. The burghers then began to feel a desire to subject them to the same imposts as were paid by the bond craftsmen.[1] These burghers, anxious for the prosperity of their towns, allowed foreigners, on the payment of a fee, to carry on their trade, which of course

[1] Brentano, "Development of Guilds," p. 115.

greatly affected the interests of the free craftsmen, by introducing competition.

Hence arose the necessity of association for that mutual protection of interests, which could not have been effected if the craftsmen continued in an isolated state, and from this arose the formation of Craft Guilds, which took the suggestion of their form from the older Guilds which had preceded them, most of which were, however, of a social or religious character.

The Craft Guilds thus established to suppress the encroachments of the burghers on their rights consisted at first, both in England and on the Continent, in France and in Germany especially, of the most eminent of the Craftsmen who were free, freedom being an indispensable qualification for admission into the fraternity.

But after the bond craftsmen were, by the liberal and humanizing progress of the age, emancipated from their bondage, many of them, leaving the companies into which they had been distributed during their bondage by their masters, became members of the Guilds of free craftsmen.

So now the handicrafts were divided into those who had always been free and those who had originally been bondsmen. And the only way in which the *ci-devant* bond craftsman could mingle on equal terms with the free craftsmen was by obtaining admission into and becoming, as it is called, "free of the Guild." This was a high privilege and not easily conceded or obtained.

The free craftsman always held aloof from the craftsman who was not free, the word *free* not being used as the opposite of *bondsman*, but only to indicate one who was not a freeman of the Guild and who worked outside of its regulations.

We find that this allusion to freemen of the Guild is constantly used in the old charters. Such expressions as Free Carpenters, Free Weavers, Free Tailors, are not, it is true, to be found on record, though it is not unlikely that they were in colloquial use. But in the charter of the Guild of Tailors of Exeter, granted by Edward IV., and the original of which is in the archives of the Corporation of Exeter, whence it was copied by Toulmin Smith,[1] is the following heading of one of the sections of the Ordinances: "The Othe of the Free Brotherys"—i.e., The Oath of the Free Brothers.

[1] "English Guilds," in Early English Text Society Publications, p. 318.

"Free Brothers" was a recognized expression in the early period of the organization of Craft Guilds, to indicate one who was a freeman of the Guild. The Masons appear to have preserved the use of the epithet with great pertinacity, and used the term "Freemason" to distinguish those who were free of the Guild from those "rough layers" or "cowans" who had not been admitted to the privileges of the fraternity and with whom they were forbidden to work.

In every Masonic Constitution that has been preserved is the ordinance that "no Mason shall make any mould, square, or rules to any rough layer." The Free Mason could not, by the laws of the Guild, engage in labor with one who was not free.

It is thus that I trace the derivation of the word "Freemason," used now exclusively to indicate the member of a Lodge of Speculative Masons, but originally to denote a Mason who was free of his Guild.

I think this derivation much better than that which traces the origin of the term to the French *Frire Maçon,* or Brother Mason. Such a derivation would necessarily assign the birth of the English Masonic Guilds to a French parentage, a theory not only wholly unsupported by historical authority, but actually in contradiction to it. Indeed, the French themselves have repudiated the idea, for they call a Freemason not a "Frère Maçon," or brother Mason, but a "Franc Maçon," *Franc* being the old French for *free.*

At first the Craft Guilds were voluntary associations, and could enforce their regulations only by the common consent of the members, but as in time some of these, unwilling to submit to the restrictions laid upon them, would withdraw and carry on their trade independently, it was found necessary to obtain the authority from the law of the land to punish such contumacy and to protect the interests of the Guilds.

This was effected by a confirmation of the Guild ordinances by the lord, the citizens, or afterward by the King, and in this way arose the charters under which, after the time of Henry I., all the Craft Guilds acted and continued to act to the present day.

This process did not, however, entirely cure the evil, and in the 12th century artisans of different trades and mysteries in London, being unwilling to unite with the incorporated Guilds or being unable to obtain admission into them, erected themselves into fraterni-

ties without the necessary powers of incorporation. These were not recognized by the companies of freemen and were condemned by the king for their contumacious proceedings.[1] They were opprobriously denominated "Adulterine Guilds," and they remind us of the *Collegia illicita*, or unlawful Colleges, among the Romans, as well as of the "clandestine Lodges" among the modern Speculative Masons.

The number of these Adulterine Guilds in the year 1180 was, according to Madox in his *History of the Exchequer*, fourteen, but no Guild of Masons is enumerated in the list.

Before proceeding to a comparison of the statutes, ordinances, or regulations of these early Guilds with the Masonic constitutions contained in the Old Records of the Order, it will be proper, at the expense of some recapitulation, to survey briefly the condition and character of these Saxon and Norman Craft Guilds. I have said on a former occasion, and here repeat the assertion, that an investigation of the usages of these Mediaeval Guilds and a comparison of their regulations with the old Masonic Constitutions will furnish a fertile source of interest to the Masonic archæologist and will throw much light on the early history of Freemasonry.

The custom of meeting on certain stated occasions was one of the most important of the Guild regulations. These meetings of the whole body of the Guild were sometimes monthly, but more generally quarterly. At these meetings all matters concerning the common interests of the Guild were discussed, and the meetings were held with certain ceremonies, so as to give solemnity to the occasion. The Guild chest, which was secured by several locks, was opened, and the charter, ordinances, and other valuable articles contained in it were exposed to view, on which occasion all the members uncovered their heads in token of reverence.

The Guild elected its own officers. This was a prerogative peculiar to the English Guilds. On the Continent the presiding officer was frequently appointed by the municipal or other exterior authorities.

In the early Saxon Guilds, and for some time after the Conquest, the presiding officer was called the "Alderman." At a later

[1] Allen, "New History of London," vol. i., p. 61.

period we find him designated sometimes as the "Graceman," sometimes as the "Early Father," and sometimes by other titles.

But eventually it became the uniform usage to call the chief officers of the Guild the "Master and Wardens," a usage which has continued ever since to prevail and which was adopted by the Speculative Masons.

The Craft Guilds not only directed themselves to the welfare of their temporal concerns, such as the regulation of their trade, which was called a "Mystery," but also took charge of spiritual matters, and for that purpose employed a priest or chaplain, who conducted their religious services and offered up masses or prayers for the dead. In this connection each Guild appears to have had a patron saint, and they were often connected with a particular church, where, on appointed occasions, they performed special services, and received in return a participation in the advantages of all the prayers of the church.

In these respects they resembled the Roman Colleges of Artificers, which, it will be remembered, were often connected with a particular temple, and the College was dedicated to the God worshipped therein.

Almsgiving was also practiced by the Guild, and while there was a general distribution of food and money to the poor indiscriminately, special attention was paid to the wants of their own indigent members, their widows and orphans.

To support the current expenses of the Guild an entrance-fee was demanded from every one on his admission, and all the members contributed monthly or quarterly a certain sum to the general fund.

The Guild administered justice among its members, and inflicted punishments for offenses committed against the statutes of the Guild. These punishments consisted of pecuniary fines, or of suspension, or even expulsion, commonly called excommunication. They discouraged suits at law between the members, and endeavored to settle all disputes, if possible, by arbitration.

Finally, there was an annual festival on the day of the patron saint of the Guild, when the members assembled for religious worship, almsgiving, and feasting. It was deemed an offense for anyone to be absent from this general assembly without sufficient excuse.

There was also a ceremony of admission and an oath adminis-

tered to the candidate on his reception. As these will be of great importance in a comparison of the usages of the Saxon Guilds with the Masonic sodalities, I copy the following form of admission and oath from the charter of St. Catherine's Guild at Stamford. The date of this charter is 1494, but Smith observes that there is internal evidence showing that the Guild was established at a much earlier period.

ADMISSION OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE GUILD OF ST. CATHERINE.

"Then it is ordained that when the said first even-song is done, the Alderman and his brethren shall assemble in their hall and drink; and there have a courteous communication for the weal of the said Guild. And then shall be called forth all those that shall be admitted brethren or sisters of the Guild; and the Alderman shall examine them in this wise: 'Sir or Syse be ye willing to be brethren among us in this Guild and will desire and ask it in the worship of Almighty God, our Blessed Saint Mary and of the Holy Virgin and Martyr Saint Catherine in whose name this Guild is founded and in the way of charity?' And by their own will they shall answer, 'Yea' or 'Nay.' Then the Alderman shall command the Clerk to give this oath to them in form and manner following:

" 'This hear you. Alderman: I shall true man be to God Almighty, to our Lady Saint Mary, and to that Holy Virgin and Martyr Saint Catherine in whose honor and worship this Guild is founded; and shall be obedient to the Alderman of this Guild and to his successors and come to him and his brethren when I have warning and not absent myself without cause reasonable. I shall be ready at scot and lot and all my duties truly pay and do; the ordinances, constitutions and rules what with the council of the same Guild, keep, obey and perform and to my power maintain to my life's end; so help me God and halidome and by this book.' And then kiss the book and be lovingly received with all the brethren; and then they drink about; and after that depart for that night."

Such is a brief sketch of the principal characteristics of the early Guilds. The main object of presenting it has been to enable the reader to compare these regulations with those of the Old Masonic

Constitutions of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, so as to show the growth and development of the Masonic law from them. It will, for the sake of convenient reference, be therefore necessary to select from these Old Masonic Constitutions one at least, and one of the earliest, that the reader may in making his comparison have the regulations of the Guild and the charges of the Masons side by side before him. But this investigation will perhaps be better continued in a separate chapter.

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY M.D., *33°*

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, *33°*

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC.

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CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY ENGLISH MASONIC GUILDS

TO Brother William James Hughan are we indebted, more than to any other person, for the collection and publication of all the Masonic Guild ordinances that have been preserved in the British Museum, in the archives of old Lodges, or in private hands.

In the beginning of his work on *The Old Charges of the British Freemasons* (a book so valuable and so necessary that it should be in the library of every Masonic archaeologist), Brother Hughan says:

"Believing as we do that the present Association of Freemasons is an outgrowth of the Building Corporations and Guilds of the Middle Ages, as also a lineal descendant and sole representative of the early, secret Masonic sodalities, it appears to us that their ancient Laws and Charges are specially worthy of preservation, study and reproduction. No collection of these having hitherto been published we have undertaken to introduce several of the most important to the notice of the Fraternity."

As Brother Hughan is distinguished for the accuracy and fidelity with which he has himself made, or caused to be made by competent scribes, copies of these Constitutions from the originals, I shall select from one of the earliest of them the ordinances or regulations, which shall be collated with those of the early Saxon Guilds, specimens of which have been given in the preceding chapter.

An account of these Old Records, as they are sometimes called, will be found in the first part of this work, where the subject of the *Legend of the Craft,* which they all contain, is treated. It will be unnecessary therefore to repeat here that account.

I might have selected for collation the statutes contained in the poem published by Halliwell, or those in the Cooke manuscript, as

both are of an older date than any in the collection of Hughan. But as they are all substantially the sam in their provisions, and the latter have the advantage of greate brevity, I shall content myself with referring occasionally, when required, to the former.

The manuscript which is selected for collation is that known as the Landsdowne, whose date is supposed to be 1560. The date of the manuscript is, however, no criterion of the date of the Guild whose ordinances it recites, for that was of course much older. It is thought to be next in point of antiquity to the poem published by Mr. Halliwell, to which the date of 1390 is assigned, and Hughan says that "the style of caligraphy and other considerations seem to warrant so early a date being ascribed to it." In copying the statutes from the copy published by Brother Hughan, I have made an exact transcript, except that I have numbered the statutes consecutively instead of dividing them, as is done in the original, into two series. This has been done for convenience of collation with the Guild ordinances inserted in the preceding chapter and which have been numbered in a similar method. The orthography, for a similar reason, has been modernized.

CHARGES IN THE LANDSDOWNE MANUSCRIPT.

1. "You shall be true to God and Holy Church and to use no error or heresy, you understanding and by wise mens teaching, also that you shall be liege men to the King of England without treason or any falsehood and that you know no treason or treachery but that you amend and give knowledge thereof to the King and his Council; also that ye shall be true to one another (that is to say) every Mason of the Craft that is Mason allowed, you shall do to him as you would be done to yourself.

2. "Ye shall keep truly all the counsel of the Lodge or of the chamber and all the counsel of the Lodge that ought to be kept by the way of Masonhood, also that you be no thief nor thieves to your knowledge free; that you shall be true to the King, Lord or Master that you serve and truly to see and work for his advantage; also you shall call all Masons your Fellows or your Brethren and no other names.

3. "Also you shall not take your Fellow's wife in villainy, nor deflower his daughter or servant, nor put him to disworship; also you

shall truly pay for your meat or drink wheresoever you go to table or board whereby the Craft or science may be slandered."

These are called "the charges general that belong to every true Mason, both Masters and Fellows." Then follow sixteen others, that are called "charges single for Masons Allowed." The only difference that I can perceive between the two sets of charges is that the first set refer to the moral conduct of the members of the Guild, while the second refer to their conduct as Craftsmen in the pursuit of their trade. The former were laws common or general to all the Guilds, the latter were peculiar to the Masons as a Craft Guild. The second set is as follows:

4. "That no Mason take on him no Lord's work, nor other mens, but if he know himself well able to perform the work, so that the Craft have no slander.

5. "That no Master take work but that he take reasonable pay for it, so that the Lord may be truly served and the Master live honestly and pay his Fellows truly; also that no Master or Fellow supplant others of their work (that is to say) if he have taken a work or else stand Master of a work that he shall not put him out without he be unable of cunning to make an end of his work; also that no Master nor Fellow shall take no apprentice for less than seven years and that the apprentice be able of birth that is freeborn and of limbs whole as a man ought to be, and that no Mason or Fellow take no allowance to be made Mason without the assent of his Fellows at the least six or seven and that he be made able in all degrees that is freeborn and of a good kindred, true and no bondsman and that he have his right limbs as a man ought to have.

6. "Also that a Master take no apprentice without he have occupation sufficient to occupy two or three Fellows at least.

7. "Also that no Master or Fellow put away lords work to task that ought to be journey work.

8. "Also that every Master give pay to his Fellows and servants as they may deserve, so that he be not defamed with false working.

9. "Also that none slander another behind his back to make him lose his good name.

10. "That no Fellow in the house or abroad answer another ungodly or reprovably without cause.

11. "That every Master Mason reverence his elder; also that a Mason be no common player at the dice, cards or hazard nor at

any other unlawful plays through the which the science and craft may be dishonored.

12. "That no Mason use no lechery nor have been abroad whereby the Craft may be dishonored or slandered.

13. "That no Fellow go into the town by night except he have a Fellow with him who may bear record that he was in an honest place.

14. "Also that every Master and Fellow shall come to the As sembly if it be within fifty miles of him if he have any warning and if he have trespassed against the Craft to abide the award of the Masters and Fellows.

15. "Also that every Master Mason and Fellow that have trespassed against the Craft shall stand in correction of other Masters and Fellows to make him accord and if they cannot accord to go to the common law.

16. "Also that a Master or Fellow make not a mould stone, square nor rule to no, lowen nor set no lowen work within the Lodge nor without to no mould stone.[1]

17. "Also that every Mason receive or cherish strange Fellows when they come over to the country and set them on work if they will work as the manner is (that is to say) if the Mason have any mould stone in his place on work and if he have none the Mason shall refresh him with money unto the next Lodge.

18. "Also that every Mason shall truly serve his Master for his pay.

19. "Also that every Master shall truly make an end of his work task or journey which soever it be."

Now, in the collation of these "Charges" with the ordinances of the early Guilds we will find very many points of striking resemblance, showing the common prevalence of the Guild spirit of religion, charity, and brotherly love in each, and confirming the

[1] The Freemason must not make for one who is not a member of the Guild a mould or pattern stone as a guide for construction of mouldings or ornaments, whereby he would be imparting to him the secrets of the Craft. The word "lowen," which is found in no other manuscript, is supposed to be a clerical error for "cowan." It is just as probable that it is a mistake for "layer," a word used in other manuscripts and denoting a "rough mason." The stone-mason and the bricklayer are at this day separate trades. But whether the correct word be "cowan" or "layer," the object of the law was the same, namely, that a member of the Guild should not work with one who was not.

opinion of Hughan, and the hypothesis which has been constantly advanced, that the one was an outgrowth of the other.

The religious spirit which pervaded all the Guilds is here exhibited in number 1, which requires the Mason to be true to the Church and to use no error or heresy.

The charge in number 2, to keep the counsel of the Lodge, is met with in nearly all the Guild ordinances. Thus in the ordinances of the Shipmen's Guild, of the date of 1368, it is said:

"Whoso discovereth the counsel of the Guild of this fraternity to any strange man or woman and it may have been proved . . . shall pay to the light two stone of wax or shall lose (forfeit) the fraternity till he may have grace. That is he shall be suspended from the Guild until restored by a pardon."

The same regulation is found in the ordinances of several other Guilds, whose charters have been copied by Toulmin Smith. In those of the Guild of St. George the Martyr, dated 1376, there is no option afforded of a pecuniary fine. The words of the statute are that "no brother nor sister shall discover the counsel of this fraternity to no stranger on the pain of forfeiture of the fraternity forevermore." Nothing short of absolute expulsion was meted out to the betrayer of Guild secrets.

In the "Charges of a Free Mason," said to be "extracted from the ancient Records," published by Anderson in 1723, and adopted by the Grand Lodge, soon after the Revival, for the government of the Speculative Masons, this principle of the Guilds has been preserved. It is there said, in Charge VI., sec. 5, that the Mason is "not to let his family, friends, and neighbors know the concerns of the Lodge." It is at this day an almost unpardonable crime to disclose the secrets of the Lodge. The spirit of the Guild has been preserved in its successor, the modern Lodge.

The prohibition in the fourth charge, to dishonor a brother, or "put him to disworship," is found in the earliest of the Guilds. That of Orky, for example, prescribes a punishment to any member who "misgretes," that is, insults, abuses, or injures another member. The Guild was always careful to preserve a feeling of brotherly love and harmony among its members, a disposition which is also the characteristic of the Masonic fraternity. Hence we find the tenth point of these Masonic charges declaring that "none shall slander another behind his back." But the very language of the fourth

point of the charges would appear to have been borrowed from the ordinances of some of the Guilds.

In those of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, whose date is 1377, we meet with these statutes:

"No one of the Guild shall do anything to the loss or hurt of another, nor allow it to be done so far as he can hinder it, the laws and customs of the town of Lancaster being always saved.

"No one of the Guild shall wrong the wife or daughter or sister of another, nor shall allow her to be wronged, so far as he can hinder it."

From the fifth to the twentieth charge, the regulations principally relate to the government of the Craft in their work. There is some difficulty in comparing these with the early Craft Guilds, from the paucity of charters of the latter which have been preserved. But wherever there are any points common to both, the analogy and resemblance between the two is at once detected.

Thus in the Charter of the Guild of Fullers at Lincoln, which Guild was begun in 1297, it is said that "none of the Craft shall work at the wooden bar (full cloth), with a woman, unless with the wife of a Master or his handmaid."

Toulmin Smith says that he cannot explain this restriction. But it was in fact only an effort of the Guild spirit common to all the Craft Guilds, which forbade one who was a member or freeman of the Guild from working with one who was not a member.

The Guild of the Tailors of Exeter had an ordinance that "no one shall have a board or shop of the Craft unless free of the city." And in the charter of the Guild of Tylers or Poyntours (pointers of walls) of Lincoln it is said that "no Tyler or Poyntour shall stay in the city unless he enters the Guild."

The same spirit of exclusiveness is shown in the seventeenth point of the Masonic Constitutions, which forbids a Master or Fellow from working with a Cowan, or one who was not a "Mason Allowed," that is to say, one who has been admitted into the fraternity or Guild.

This exclusion from a participation in labor of all who were not members of the sodality was a regulation common to all the Craft Guilds, but was perhaps more fully developed and more stringently urged in the Constitution of the Masonic Guild than in those of any of the others. It is from this principle of exclusiveness that the

modern Lodges of Speculative Masonry have derived their strict regulation of holding no communication with Masons who have not been "duly initiated," or with Lodges which have not been "legally constituted."

Contumacy, rebellion, or disobedience to the laws of the Craft or of the Guild was severely punished. The ordinances of the Smiths' Guild of Chesterfield prescribed that any brother who is "contumacious or sets himself against the brethren or gainsays any of these ordinances" shall be suspended, denounced, and excommunicated. A similar regulation is to be found in other Guilds.

According to the Landsdowne Statutes, a Mason is required to be true to every member of the Craft, and to reverence his elder or superior, and in the points of the statutes of the Masonic Guild, as set forth in the Halliwell MS., it is said that the Mason must be "true and steadfast to all these ordinances wheresoever he goes."

Suits at law between the members were discouraged and forbidden, except as a last resort, in all the Saxon Guilds.

The Shipmen's Guild provided that the Alderman (or Master) and the other members should do their best to adjust a quarrel, but if they were unable, then the Alderman should give them leave "to make their suit at common law."

In the Guild of the Holy Cross it was declared that no brother or sister of the Guild should go to law for a debt or a trespass until he had asked leave of the Alderman and of the men of the Guild.

The Statutes of the Guild of St. John the Baptist, enacted in 1374, are more explicit. There it is said that a member "cannot sue until he has shown his grievance to the Alderman and Guild brethren that are chief of the Council," and it adds that "the Alderman and the Guild brethren shall try their best to make them agree; and if they cannot agree they may make their complaint in what place they will."

The same provision is met with in all the Constitutions of the Masonic Guild. The earliest of them, the Halliwell MS., prescribes in case of a dispute a "love-day," or arbitration. The Landsdowne says that when a wrong is done by one of the members to another, the other Masters and Fellows must try to make them agree, and if they cannot agree they may then "go to the common law," which is the very expression used in the Shipmen's Guild above cited.

It is a very strong proof of the connection between the early Guilds and the modern Lodges that this reluctance to permit the brethren to carry their personal disputes out of the Craft and into the publicity of the courts was fully developed in the "Charges of the Speculative Masons," adopted in 1723. In these it is said, in the true spirit of the old Guilds to which Speculative Masonry succeeded, that, "with respect to Brothers or Fellows at law, the Master and Brethren should kindly offer their mediation, which ought to be thankfully accepted by the contending brethren; but if that submission is impracticable, they must, however, carry on their process or law-suit without wrath and rancor."

It is needless to extend these comparisons. Sufficient has been done to show that there is a close resemblance in their mode of organization, method of action, constitution, and spirit between the Saxon Guilds and the modern Masonic Lodges, which actually are, under another name, only Masonic Guilds. This resemblance indicates an historical connection between the two, and this connection may be more closely traced through the civic companies of London and other cities of England. That these latter were the direct offshoot from the former is a fact generally admitted by writers on the subject, and of it there can be no doubt. "In the Trade Guilds," says Mr. Thorpe, "we may see the origin of our civic companies."[1]

To these civic companies, and to one of them particularly, the Masons' Company in Basinghall Street, the reader's attention must be invited.

[1] "Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici," Preface, p. xvi.

CHAPTER X

THE LONDON COMPANIES AND THE MASONS' COMPANY

BOUT the middle of the 14th century, perhaps a little earlier, and in the reign of Edward III., the various trades began to be reconstituted under the name of Livery Companies and to change their name from Guilds to Crafts and Mysteries. There was, however, very little real difference between their new and their old organization, and the Guild spirit of fraternity remained the same.

There has been a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the word "Mystery," which was applied to these companies in such phrases as "the Mystery of the Tailors," or "the Mystery of the Saddlers."

Herbert says that the preservation of their trade-secrets was a primary ordination of all the fraternities, and continued their leading law as long as they remained actual "working companies," whence arose the names of "Mysteries" and "Crafts," by which they were for so many ages designated.[1]

This derivation is a reasonable one, especially when we remember that the word "craft," which was always associated with the word "mystery" in its primitive usage, signified art, knowledge, or skill.

But this explanation has not been universally accepted, and the word "Mystery," in its application to a trade or handicraft, has more generally been derived from the old or Norman French, where *mestière* was used to denote a craft, art, or employment. There is no certainty, however, that the word was not employed to denote the trade-secrets of a Guild or Company, as Herbert suggests. If *mestière* denoted, in old French, a trade, *mestre* meant, in the same language, a mystery, and the former word may have been de-

[1] "History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies," vol. i., p. 45 .

rived from the latter. But the modern Masons, in borrowing the word "Mystery" from the old companies, where they find their origin, undoubtedly use it in the sense of something hidden or concealed.

The origin of the livery and other companies out of the earlier Guilds is a matter of historical record.

Guilds, it has been already shown, existed in England from a very early period, but, as all tradesmen and artificers did not belong to Guilds, or, if they did, often acted irregularly in buying and selling a variety of wares or working in different handicrafts, a petition was presented to Parliament in the year 1355, in consequence of which it was enacted that all artificers and "people of mysteries" should choose forthwith each his own mystery, and, having chosen it, should thenceforth use no other.

It is here that we may assign the origin of the chartered companies, many of which exist to the present day, and among whom we shall find at a later period the Masons' Company, which was the direct predecessor of the Masons' Lodges, both of the Operative before and the Speculative after the beginning of the 18th century.

In a document found in the records of the City of London, of the date of 1364, and which has been published by Mr. Herbert,[1] we find the names of the principal, if not the whole of the city companies, which were in existence in that year. This document is an account, in Latin, of the sums received by the city chamberlain from those companies as gifts to the King, to aid him in carrying on the war with France.

The list records the names of thirty-two companies. Though we find several Craft Guilds, such as the Tailors, the Glovers, the Armorers, and the Goldsmiths, there is no mention of a Guild or Company of Masons. Whether such a body did not then exist as a chartered company, or whether, if in existence, it was too poor to make a contribution, which seems to have been a voluntary act, are questions which the document gives us no means of deciding.

Five years afterward, in 1369, a law was enacted by the municipal authorities of London, which must have tended to encourage the organization of these Companies. By this law the right of election of all city dignitaries, and all officers, including members of

[1] "History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies," vol. i., p. 30.

Parliament, was transferred from the representatives of the wards, who had hitherto exercised this franchise, to the trading companies. A few members of each of these were selected by the Masters and Wardens, who were to repair to Guildhall for election purposes. This right has ever since remained, with some subsequent modifications in the twelve Livery Companies of London.

The effect of this law in increasing the number of Companies very speedily showed itself. In a list in Norman French of the "number of persons chosen by the several mysteries to be the Common Council" in the year 1370, it appears that the Companies had increased from thirty-two to forty-eight.

In this list we find the seventeenth to be the *Company of Freemasons,* and the thirty-fourth the *Company of Masons.* The former appears to have been a more select, or at least a smaller, Company than the latter, for while the Masons sent four members to the Common Council the Freemasons sent only two. Afterward the two Companies were merged into one, that of the Masons, to which I shall hereafter again revert.

The constitution and government of these Companies appear to have been framed very much after the model of the earlier Guilds.

They had the power of making their own by-laws or ordinances, and of enforcing their observance among their members. These ordinances were called "Points." The word is first used in the charters of Edward III., who wills that the said ordinances shall be kept and maintained *en touz pointz,* or "in all points." We find the same word in the *Constituciones Geometric* in the Halliwell MS., where the ordinances are divided into fifteen articles and fifteen points. It is also met with in all subsequent constitutions. As a technical term the word is preserved in the Speculative Masonry of to-day, whose obligations of duty are to be obeyed by initiates into the fraternity in all their "arts, parts, and points." These little incidents serve to show the uninterrupted succession of our modern Lodges from the early Guilds and the later Companies which were formed out of them. They are therefore worthy of notice in a history of the rise and progress of Freemasonry.

It has been seen that in the most of the Saxon Guilds the principal officer was called the Alderman. After the Guilds were chartered as Companies, the chief officers received the title of Masters

and Wardens, titles still retained in the government of Masonic Lodges.

The ordinances required that there should be held four meetings in every year to treat of the common business of the Company. These were the quarterly meetings to which reference is made by Dr. Anderson when, in his *History of the Revival of Masonry*, in the year 1717, he says that "the quarterly communication of the officers of the Lodges" was revived.

The regulation of apprentices formed an important part of the system pursued by the Companies. No one was admitted to the freedom or livery of any Company unless he had first served an apprenticeship, which was generally for the period of seven years. And even then he could not be admitted into the fellowship except with the consent of the members. Masters were not permitted to take more than a certain number of apprentices, lest the trade or art should be overstocked with workmen and the journeymen or fellows find less opportunity for employment.

Care was taken that one member should not undersell another member, or work for a less, amount of pay or interfere with his contracts for labor. It was the duty of the Company to protect the interests of all alike.

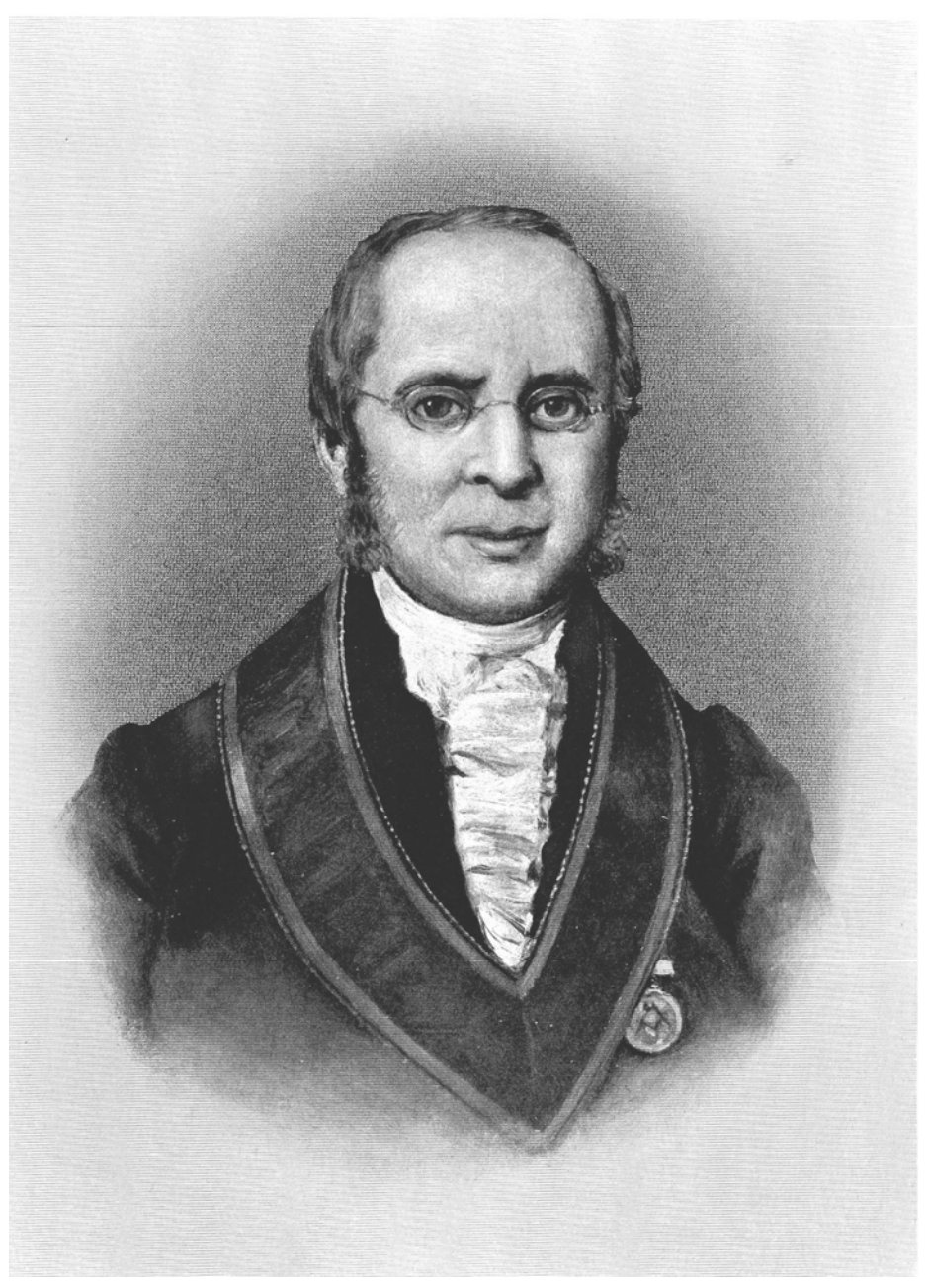
There were judicious regulations for the settlement of disputes between the members, so as to avoid the necessity of a resort to law. The spirit of the early Guild was in this exactly followed. "If any debate is between any of the fraternity," says an ordinance of one of these Companies, "for misgovernance of words or asking of debt or any other things, then anon the party plaintiff shall come to the Master and tell his grievance and the Master shall make an end thereof."[1]

To speak disrespectfully of the Company; to strike or insult a brother member; to violate the regulations for clothing or dress; to employ or work with men who were not free of the Company, and who were generally designated as "foreigners," or to commit any kind of fraud in carrying on the trade or handicraft, were all offenses for which the ordinances provided ample punishment.

The feeling of brotherly love exhibited in charity to an indigent or distressed member prevailed in all the Companies. When

[1] "Ordinances of the Company of Grocers," anno 1463.

GEORGE OLIVER, D.D.



a member became poor from misfortune or sickness, he was to be assisted out of the common fund.

All of these regulations will be found copied in the Old Constitutions of the Operative Masons, a fact which conclusively proves that they were originally a Company following the general usage which had been adopted by the other Companies, whether Trade or Craft, such as the Grocers, the Mercers, the Goldsmiths, or the Tailors.

The subject of "Liveries" is one that will be interesting to the Speculative Freemason, from the rule with which he is familiar, that a Mason, on entering his Lodge, must be "properly clothed." The word "clothing" here indicates the dress which he should wear, especially and imperatively including his "lambskin apron."

We have the very important and very authentic evidence of the fact that secret societies existed in the 14th century, marked by all the peculiarities we have seen distinguishing the English Companies.

In the year 1326 the Council of Avignon fulminated what has been called the "Statute of Excommunications," its title being "Concerning the Societies, Unions and Confederacies called Confraternities, which are to be utterly extirpated."

This statute is contained in Hardouin's immense collection of the arts of Councils.[1] The following is a part of the preamble, and it shows very clearly that the Church at that time recognized and condemned the existence of those Guilds, Companies, or Societies for mutual help, some of which were the precursors of the modern Masonic Lodges, against which the Romish Church exhibits the same hostility.

The statute passed at Avignon commences as follows:

"Whereas, in certain parts of our provinces, noblemen for the most part, and sometimes other persons have established unions, societies and confederacies, which are interdicted by the canon as well as by the municipal laws, who congregate in some place once a year, under the name of a confraternity, and there establish assemblies and unions and enter into a compact confirmed by an oath that they will mutually aid each other against all persons whomsoever, their own lords excepted, and in every case, that each one will

[1] "Acta Conciliorum et Epistolæ Decretales æ Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum," Paris, 1714, tome vii, p. 1, 507.

give to another, help, counsel and favor; and sometimes *all wearing a similar dress* with certain curious signs or marks, they elect one of their number as chief to whom they swear obedience in all things."

The decree then proceeds to denounce these confraternities, and to forbid all persons to have any connection with them under the penalty of excommunication. And here again is a pointed reference to the subject of livery:

"They shall not institute confraternities of this kind; one shall not give obedience nor afford assistance or favor to another; nor shall they *wear clothing which exhibits the signs or marks of the condemned thing*."

That the mediæval Masons wore a particular dress when at work, which was the same in all countries, is evident from the plates in several illuminated manuscripts from the 10th to the 16th centuries, copies of which have been inserted by Mr. Wright in his essay on mediaeval architecture.[1] The dress of the Masons in all these plates, whether in England, in France, or in Italy, is similar. "In reviewing and comparing these various representations," says Mr. Wright, "of the same process at so widely distinct periods, we are struck much less with their diversity than with the close resemblance between both workmen and tools, which continues amid the continual, and sometimes rapid, changes in the condition and manners of society. Whether this be in any measure to be attributed to the circumstance of the Masons forming a permanent society among themselves, which transmitted its doctrines and fashions unchanged from father to son, it is not very easy to determine."[2]

The question is not, however, of so difficult a solution as Mr. Wright supposes, when we see that every Guild or Company of tradesmen or artificers had its form of dress peculiar to itself, which was called its "livery." The Masons, as a Company, followed the usage and adopted their own livery or clothing. The modern Speculative Masons preserve the memory of the usage by declaring that none shall enter a Lodge or join in its labors unless he is "properly clothed;" that is, wears the livery of the fraternity.

According to the authority of Stow, in his *Survey of London*, liveries are not mentioned as having been worn before the reign of

[1] "Essays on Archæological Subjects," vol. ii., pp. 129-250.

[2] Ibid., p. 136.

Edward I., or about the beginning of the 14th century. That is, they were then first licensed at that time or mentioned in the charters of the Companies, but he admits that they had assumed them before that time without such authority. And this is confirmed by the illuminated manuscripts to which allusion has been made above, which show that the Masons used a particular clothing as far back as the 10th century.

In the "Statute of Excommunications," passed in the beginning of the 14th century by the Council of Avignon, societies or confraternities are denounced which had been established for mutual aid, and which are described as "all wearing a similar dress with certain curious signs or marks."

About the middle of the 14th century there began a separation between the wealthier and the more indigent Companies, which ended after a long contention in the exclusion from the municipal government of all except what are now called "The Twelve Great Livery Companies," namely, the Companies of Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers. These Companies, as distinguished by wealth, by political power and commercial importance from the minor Companies, which were often only voluntary associations of men of the same trade or craft, were called the "substantial companies," the "principal crafts," the "chief mysteries," and other similar titles which were intended to imply their superiority, though many of the so-called "minor companies," as the weavers and bakers, were really of greater antiquity, of more public utility and importance.

Among these "minor companies," the one of especial importance to the present inquiry is the "Masons' Company."

Of this Company, Stow gives the following account in his *Survey of London:*

"The Masons, otherwise termed free masons, were a society of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times and as a loving brotherhood should use to do, did frequent their mutual assemblies in the time of King Henry IV. in the 12th year of whose most gracious reign they were incorporated."

A fuller account of the Company is given by Chiswell in the *New View of London,* printed in 1708, in the following words:

"Masons' Company was incorporated about the year 1410, having been called the *Free Masons*, a fraternity of great account, who have been honored by several Kings, and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society. They are governed by a Master, 2 Wardens, 25 Assistants, and there are 65 on the Livery.

"Their armorial ensigns are, Azure, on a Chevron Argent, between 3 Castles Argent, a pair of Compasses, somewhat extended, of the first Crest, a Castle of the 2nd."[1]

The Hall of the Company, in which they held their meetings, was "situated in Masons Ally in Basinghall street as you pass to Coleman street."[2]

Maitland, who published his *London and its Environs* in 1761, gives a later date for the charter. He says that "this Company had their arms granted by Clarencieux, King-at-Arms in 1477, though the members were not incorporated by letters patent till they obtained them from King Charles II. in 1677."[3]

The conflict in dates between Stow, with whom Chiswell agrees, and Maitland, the former ascribing the charter of the Company to Henry IV., in 1410, and the latter to Charles IL, in 1677, may be reconciled by supposing that the original charter of Henry was submitted to a review and confirmation, which was technically called an "*inspeximus*" an act which we constantly meet with in old charters. In other words, the Masons first received a charter for their Company from Henry IV. in 1410, which charter was confirmed by Charles II. in 1677.

These Companies of traders and craftsmen were not confined to London, but were to be found in other cities. The Masons, however, do not appear to have always maintained a separate organization, but seem sometimes to have united with other craftsmen. Thus among the thirteen Companies which were incorporated in the city of Exeter, the thirteenth consisted of the Painters, Joiners, Carpenters, Masons, and Glaziers, who were jointly incorporated into a Company in 1602. It may be remarked that all of these crafts were connected in the employment of building. Each, however, had its separate arms, that of the Masons being described by Izacke in

[1] "New View of London," vol. ii., p.611. [2] Ibid.

[3] "London and its Environs," vol. iv., p. 304.

his *Antiquities of Exeter* thus: "Sable, on a chevron between 3 towers argent, a pair of Compasses, dilated Sable."[1]

This will be an appropriate place to examine this subject of the Masonic Arms as historically connecting the Operative Craft with the Speculative Grand Lodge.

According to Stow, the Arms of the "Craft and Fellowship of Masons" of London were granted to them by William Hawkeslowe, Clarencieux King-of-Arms in the twelfth year of Edward IV., that is, in 1473, and were subsequently confirmed by Thomas Benott, Clarencieux King-of-Arms in the twelfth year of Henry VIII., or in 1521. These arms, which are blazoned in the original grant, now in the British Museum, are as follows: "Sable, on a chevron, engrailed argent between 3 castles of the second, with doors and windows of the field, a pair of compasses extended of the first." Translating the technical language of heraldry, the arms may be plainly described as a silver or white scalloped chevron, between three white castles with black doors and windows on a black field, and on the chevron a pair of compasses of a black color. Woodford says that these arms are supposed to have been adopted by the Grand Lodge of Speculative Masons in 1717. Kloss gives the same arms, except that the chevron is not scalloped (engrailed), but plain, as the seal of the Grand Lodge of England in 1743 and in 1767. The arms adopted by the Grand Lodge of England at the union in 1813, and still used, consist of a combination of the old Operative arms (the colors being, however, changed) with those of the Athol Grand Lodge, which are impaled. But as the latter arms were most probably an invention of Dermott, they are of no historical value.

From all this we see, so far as heraldry throws a light on history, that the English Speculative Masons have to the present day claimed to deduce their origin from the Operative Masons who were incorporated as a Company in the 15th century. They claimed to be their heirs, and according to the law of heraldry assumed their arms.

To resume the subject of the Masons' Companies, we have no records of the existence of those organizations under that name in more than a few places in England.

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[1] "Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter." By Richard Izacke, heretofore chamberlain thereof. Second edition, London, 1724, p. 68.

But the Masons seem often to combine with other Guilds for purposes of convenience. Several instances of this kind occur in old records, as in an appendix to the charter of the Guild of Carpenters of Norwich, begun in 1375, where it is stated that "Robert of Elfynghem, Masoun, and certeyn Masouns of Norwiche" had contributed two torches or lights for the altar of Christ's Church at Norwich. Now, as that church was the place where the Carpenters' Guild celebrated their mass, and as the fact of the contribution is noted in their charter, it is reasonable to suppose that the Masons, having no Guild or Company of their own in Norwich, had united in religious services with the carpenters.

The impossibility of obtaining any continuous narrative of the transactions of the Masons' Company; which was one of the forty companies of London mentioned by Stow, must render many of the deductions which may be drawn from certain portions of the Harleian MS. altogether conjectural. The probability or correctness of the conjecture will have to be determined by the reason and judgment of the reader.

The Masonic public has in its possession at this day, and easily accessible by any student, some twenty or thirty documents printed from manuscripts ranging in date from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 18th century. These documents are usually denominated "Masonic Constitutions." A very few of them were known to Dr. Anderson, and he has given inaccurate quotations from them in both of his editions of the *Book of Constitutions.* But for the greater number, new until a recent period, to the world, we are indebted to the researches of Masonic archaeologists, by whose unpaid industry they have been unearthed, as we may say, from the shelves of the British Museum, from the archives of old Lodges, or from the libraries of private collectors.

But though we possess transcripts of these Constitutions correctly made from the original manuscripts, there is nothing on record to tell us by whom they were written, nor under what authority. Internal evidence alone assures that they are all, except the first two, copies of some original not yet found, and that they contain the legend or traditionary history of Freemasonry which was believed and the laws and regulations which were obeyed by the Operative Masons who lived from the 15th to the 18th century, if not some centuries before.

To make any conjecture as to the source whence they have emanated and for what purpose they were written, we must recapitulate what little we know of the history of the Masons' Company of London.

The Masons' Company was incorporated, according to Chiswell, in the year 1410, or thereabouts, by King Henry IV., which charter was renewed by Charles II. in 1677, I suppose by an "*inspeximus*" or confirmation of the original charter, as was usual.

But we know from the list contained in the records of the city of London, and published by Herbert, which has already been referred to, that in the year 1379, in the reign of Edward III., there were in London a company of Freemasons and a company of Masons, the former of which sent two and the latter four members to the Common Council of the city. These two were wholly distinct from each other, but Stow tells us that at a subsequent period they united together and were merged into one Company.

What was the difference between these two Companies, is a question that will naturally be asked, and which can not very easily be answered.

My own conjecture, and it is merely a conjecture, though I think not an unplausible one, is that the Company of Freemasons was the representative in England of that body of Traveling Freemasons who had spread, under the auspices of the Church, over every country of Europe, and whose history will constitute hereafter an important portion of the present work; while the Company of Masons was the representative of the general body of the Craft in the kingdom, who had formed themselves into a Guild, Company, or Sodality, just as the Mercers, the Grocers, the Tailors, the Painters, and other tradesmen and mechanics had done at the same period. The two companies were, however, afterward merged into one, which retained the title of "The Company of Masons."

Each of the Trade and Craft Guilds or Companies kept a book in which was contained its ordinances and a record of its transactions. The language of these books was at first the Norman-French; sometimes, says Herbert, intermixed with abbreviated Latin, or the old English of Chaucer's day. Afterward, during the reign of Henry V., and by his influence, the ordinances were translated into the vernacular language of the period, and the books of the Companies were thereafter kept in English.

We find just such changes in the dialect of the old Masonic Constitutions from the archaic and, to unused ears, almost unintelligible style of the Halliwell poem to the modern English of the later manuscripts.

If the Masons' Company had had an historian like Herbert, who would have given a detailed history of its transactions from its origin, as he has done in respect to the twelve Livery Companies of London, we should, I think, have had no difficulty in defining the true character of the Old Constitutions. Many heroes have lived before Agamemnon, but they have died unwept because they had no divine poet to record their deeds.[1] So, too, we are left to dark conjecture in almost all that relates to the early history of the Masonic Craft in their primary Guild-life, for want of an authentic chronicler.

It may, however, be assumed, as a more than plausible conjecture, that there must have been for the Masons' Company a book of records and of their ordinances, just as there were for the other Trade and Craft Companies.

Indeed, Dr. Anderson says, in his second edition, that "the Freemasons had always a book in manuscript called the *Book of Constitutions* (of which they had several very ancient copies remaining), containing not only their Charges and Regulations, but also the history of architecture from the beginning of time."

Dr. Plot, also, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire,* tells us that the society of Freemasons "had a large parchment volume amongst them containing the history and rules of the craft of Masonry." And the contents of that volume, as he describes them, accord very accurately with what is contained in the Old Constitutions that are now extant.

We have, then, good reason to believe that the manuscript Constitutions, which consist of the *Legend of the Craft* and the statutes or Ordinances of the Guild, are all copies of an original contained in the archives of the Company, and which original Anderson says was called the *Book of Constitutions.*

It is not necessary that we should contend that the title given by Anderson is the right one, or that he had authority for the statement. It is sufficient to believe that there was a book in the ar-

[1] Horace, Carm., lib. iv., 9.

chives of the Masons' Company, as there was a similar book in the archives of the other Companies, and that the manuscript Constitutions, as we now have them, were copied at various times and by different persons from that book.

But it must be evident, to anyone who will carefully collate these manuscripts, that there must have been two originals at least. The *Legend of the Craft* and the set of ordinances differ so materially in the Halliwell poem from those in the later manuscript as to indicate very clearly that the latter could not have been copied from the former, but must have been derived from some other original.

Now, in 1410 there were, according to the catalogue given by Herbert from the London records, two distinct Companies, that of the Freemasons and that of the Masons. It is very reasonable to conclude that each of these Companies had a *Book of Constitutions* of its own. If so, the Halliwell Constitutions may have found their original in the Company of Freemasons, and the later manuscripts, so unlike it in form and substance, may have had their original in the Company of Masons.

If, as Findal and some others have supposed, the Halliwell Constitution was of German or Continental origin, the invocation to the Four Crowned Martyrs leading to that supposition, then the fact that this manuscript of Halliwell was copied from the *Book of Constitutions* of the Company of Freemasons would give color to the hypothesis which I have advanced, that the Company of Freemasons, as distinguished from that of the Masons in the year 1410, was an offshoot from the sodality of Traveling Freemasons, who, at an earlier period, sprang from the school of Como in Lombardy.

A new charter, or rather, as I suppose, a confirmation of the old one, was granted to the Masons' Company in 1677 by King Charles II. About this time we might look for some changes in the long-used *Book of Constitutions* of the old Masons' Company, which had been incorporated in 1410, and of which the earlier manuscripts, from the Landsdowne to the Sloane, are exemplars.

Now, just such changes are to be found in the Harleian MS., which has been conjecturally assigned to the approximate date of 1670. An examination of this manuscript will show that it materially differs in several important points from all those that preceded it. Besides the old ordinances, which are much like those in the preceding manuscripts, but couched in somewhat better lan-

guage, there are in the Harleian MS. fifteen "new articles," as recognizing for the first time a distinction between the Company and the Lodges.

Article 30, which is the fifth of the new articles, is in the following words:

"That for the future the said Society, Company, and Fraternity of Free Masons shall be regulated and governed by one Master and Assembly and Wardens as the said Company shall think fit to choose at every yearly General Assembly."

There are several points in this article which are worthy of attention, as throwing light on the condition of the fraternity at that time.

1st. The words *for the future* imply that there was a change then made in the government of the Society, which must have been different in former times.

2d. The use of the word *Company* shows that these regulations, or "new articles," were not for the government of Lodges only, but for the whole Company of Masons. The existence of the Masons' Company is here for the first time recognized in actual words.

3d. The word "Assembly" is entirely without meaning in its present location, or if there is any meaning it is an absurd one. It can not be supposed that the Company at a General Assembly would choose an Assembly to govern it. Doubtless this is a careless transcription of the original by a copyist, who has written "Assembly" instead of "Assistants." In the charters of the other Companies we frequently see the provision that besides the Master and Warden a certain number of "Assistants" shall be appointed out of the Guild, to aid the former officers by their counsel and advice. For instance, in a charter of the Drapers' Company, after providing for the election of a Master and four Wardens, it is added that there may and shall be constituted and appointed certain others of the Guild "who shall be named assistants of the Guild or fraternity aforesaid, and from that time they shall be assisting and aiding to the Master and Wardens in the causes, matters, business, and things whatsoever touching or concerning the said Masters and Wardens."

Now, as assistants formed no part of the government of a Lodge, but were common in the Livery Companies, it is evident

[1] See the Charter in Herbert's "Twelve Great Livery Companies," vol. i., p. 487.

that the article under consideration, and therefore that the Harleian MS., in which it is contained, were copied from the Book of the Masons' Company.

4th. This article decides the fact that there was at that day a "yearly assembly" of the Company. We are not, however, to infer that this "yearly assembly" of the Masons' Company constituted, as some of our earlier histories have supposed, a Grand Lodge. If so, as the Master of the Company must necessarily have presided over the General Assembly, he would have been its Grand Master, and as there were other Masons' Companies in other parts of England, there would have been several Grand Lodges as well as several Grand Masters, all of which is unsupported by any historical authority. Indeed, neither the words "Grand Master" nor "Grand Lodge" are to be met with in any of the Old Constitutions, from the Halliwell MS. onward to the latest. Both titles seem to have come into use at the time of what is called the Revival, in 1717, and not before.

There are some other articles in this Harleian MS. that are worthy of attention, as showing the condition and the usages of the Craft in the 17th century, and which will be again referred to when that subject is under consideration in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XI

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES AND THE LODGES OF MEDIÆVAL MASONS

HERE were two conditions of the Craft in the period embraced between the 14th and 17th centuries which are peculiarly worth the notice of the student of Masonic history. These are the General Assembly of the Craft at stated periods, and their more customary meetings in Lodges.

It is to be regretted that the early records of English Masonry furnish but the slightest and most unsatisfactory accounts of the transactions of either of these bodies, so that most of our information on this subject is merely conjectural.

"We possess," says Mr. Halliwell, "no series of documents, nor even an approach to a series, sufficiently extensive to enable us to form any connected history of the ancient institutions of Masons and Freemasons. We have, in fact, no materials by which we can form any definite idea of the precise nature of those early societies."[1]

This is very true, and the historian finds himself impeded in every step of his labor in tracing the early progress of the institution. "We must therefore," as he continues to observe, "rest contented with the light which a few incidental notices and accidental accounts, far from being altogether capable of unsuspected reliance, afford us."

In the forty years which have elapsed since this passage was written, the energetic industry of Masonic archaeologists has brought to light many old records which are "of unsuspected reliance," which, though still too few to form a complete series of historic stages, will enable us to understand better than we did a half century ago the real condition of the Masonic sodalities in the Middle Ages. Had these records been in Mr. Halliwell's possession when he presented the first of them as a valuable contribution to Ma-

[1] "Society of Antiquaries," April 18, 1839, p. 444.

sonic history, he would hardly have erred as he did in his belief of the truth of the Prince Edwin story, or of the authenticity of the Leland MS.

As the geologist has been enabled to trace the gradual changes in the earth's surface, and in the character of its living inhabitants at the remotest period, by the fossil which he finds embedded in its early strata, or as the anthropologist learns the true character of prehistoric man from the stone and bronze implements that he has discovered in ancient caves and mounds, so the archaeologist can form a very correct notion of the state of mediæval Freemasonry from the scattered records of that period, which, long preserved in the obscurity of neglected archives or in the vast collections of the British Museum, have at length been published to the world, to form the authentic materials of a Masonic history.

They confirm many statements hitherto supposed to be without authority, and enable us by their silence to reject much that has been fancifully presented as authentic.

Thus in the manuscript which was discovered and published by Mr. Halliwell, and which he very correctly considered to be the earliest document yet brought forward connected with the progress of Freemasonry in Great Britain, we may learn that at least as early as toward the end of the 14th century the Masons met on specified occasions and under certain rules and regulations in a body which they called the "Congregation" or the "Assembly." Of this there can not be the slightest doubt, since the genuineness of the Halliwell poem is universally recognized as having been written between the years 1350 and 1400, and as containing an authentic account of the condition of the Craft at that period.

In the second article of the Constitutions contained in this work it is said that "every Mason who is a Master, must be at the general congregation if he is informed in sufficient time where that assembly is to be holden, unless he should have a reasonable excuse."[1]

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[1] "That every Mayster that ys a mason
Most ben at the generale congregacyon,
So that he hyt resonably y-tolde
Where that the semble schal be holde;
And to that semble he most nede gon
But he have a resenabul skwsacyon."
Halliwell MS., lines 107-112.

I have spared the reader the archaic and, to most persons, unintelligible language, but have given the true meaning in the translation, and append the original in a marginal note.

From this law it would appear that in the 14th century it was the usage of Master Masons to assemble from various parts of the country for purposes connected with the business or interests of the Craft.

In the Cooke MS., whose date is at least an hundred years later, the writer gives an account of the origin of this custom. It arose, he says, in the time of King Athelstan, who ordained that annually, or every three years, all Master Masons and Fellows should come up from every province and country to congregations, where the Masters should be examined in the laws of the Craft, and their skill and knowledge in their profession be investigated, and where they should receive charges for their future conduct.

As this, however, is a mere tradition, founded on the legend of Athelstan's, or rather Prince Edwin's, Assembly of Masons at York, it can not be accepted as a foundation for any historical statement.

But in the same manuscript we find the evidence that it was the custom of Masters coming from their Lodges or places where they worked with the Fellows under them, and their Apprentices, to some sort of gathering which was presided over by one of the Masters as the principal or chief of the meeting. It is the second article of the Constitutions, according to the Cooke MS., which is in the following words. I again translate the archaic language into modern English.

"That every Master should be previously warned to come to his congregation, that he may come in due time unless excused for some reason. But those who had been disobedient at such congregations, or been false to their employers, or had acted so as to deserve reproof of the Craft, could be excused only by extreme sickness, of which notice was to be given to the Master that is principal of the assembly."[1]

I say that this is evidence that in the latter part of the 15th century, which is the date of the manuscript, the custom did exist of several Masters assembling from different points for purposes of consultation, because a law would hardly be enacted for the due ob-

[1] "Cooke MS.," lines 740-755.

servance of a certain custom unless that custom had a substantial existence. This is not a tradition or legend, but the statement in a manuscript constitution of the existence of a law. The manuscript is admitted to be genuine. That it tells us what were the regulations of the Craft that were in force when it was written is not denied. And therefore, as it gives us the rules that were to govern Masters in their attendance upon an assembly or congregation of Masters, we must recognize the historical fact that at that time such assemblies or congregations did exist among the Craft of Masons.

These assemblies were probably extemporary, or called at uncertain times, as necessity required. If they were held at stated and regular periods, it would hardly have been required that a Master must have received previous notice to render him amenable to punishment for non-attendance. This would also lead us to presume that there was some person in whom, by general concurrence, was vested the authority to designate the time of meeting, and whose duty it was to give the necessary warning. And it would seem that this person must have been the one to whom excuses were to be rendered, and who is styled, in the quaint language of the manuscript, "pryncipall of that gederyng."

What was the circuit within which the jurisdiction of such an assembly extended, or what was the distance from which Master Masons were expected to repair to it, we must learn from later manuscript Constitutions, for the Cooke MS. leaves us in ignorance on the subject. It tells us only that assemblies were occasionally held, but says nothing of the number of representatives who constituted them nor of the circuit of country which they governed.

This is, however, determined by the later Constitutions. In the Landsdowne MS., whose date is sixty years after that of the Cooke, it is said that "every Master and Fellow shall come to the Assembly if it be within fifty miles of him." This distance is repeated in the York MS., dated 1600, in the Grand Lodge MS. of 1632, in the Sloane MS. of 1646, in the Lodge of Antiquity MS. of 1686, and in the Alnwick MS. as late as 1701.

There is, however, a discrepancy not to be explained in some of the Constitutions. The Harleian MS., whose ascribed date is 1650, says that the Mason must come to the Assembly if it be within ten miles of his abode, and in the Constitutions in the Lodge of Hope MS., whose date is 1680, and those in the Papworth MS., whose date

is as late as 1714, but must undoubtedly have been a mere copy of some older one, the distance is reduced to five miles.

Those who, in this reference to what is called sometimes a congregation, sometimes a general assembly, and once, as in the Papworth MS., an association, have sought to discover the evidence of the existence before the 18th century of a Grand Lodge for England and a Grand Master presiding over all the Craft in the kingdom, will not find themselves supported by any expressions either in these Old Constitutions or in any other records of the times which will warrant such an interpretation of the nature of these meetings of the Craft.

The object of these Assemblies, as described with great uniformity in all the Constitutions, was to submit those who had trespassed against the rules of the Craft to the judgment and award of their brethren, and where there were disputes to endeavor to reconcile the difference by a brotherly arbitration. If we may rely on a statement made in what is called the Roberts MS., from which we get the earliest printed book in Masonry, and which manuscript could not have been later than the latter part of the 17th century, these General Assemblies had also the power of making new regulations for the government of the Craft.

A book was printed in 1722 by J. Roberts, under the title of *The Old Constitutions belonging to the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons.* This book was, he says, "taken from a Manuscript wrote above five hundred years since," but the internal evidence shows that it could not have been written earlier than about the middle of the 17th century. It has indeed all the appearance of being a careless copy of the Harleian MS., with some additional matter which is not found in that document, the source of which is not known.

In this book of Roberts are some new regulations which are said to be "additional orders and Constitutions made and agreed upon at a General Assembly held at . . . on the eighth day of December, 1663."

Dr. Anderson, who, it is very probable, had seen this statement in the work of Roberts, has with an unwarranted inaccuracy, of which the Masonic historians of the 18th century were too often guilty, materially altered the statement in the second edition of his *Book of Constitutions,* and says that "Henry Jermyn, Earl of St

Albans as their Grand Master held a General Assembly and Feast on St. John's Day 27 Dec. 1663."

It will be seen that the Roberts Constitution says nothing of the Earl of St. Albans, nothing of his having exercised the functions or assumed the title of Grand Master, nothing of a feast, and nothing of the time of assembly being on St. John the Evangelist's day, which is an entirely modern Masonic festival. All that Anderson has here said is merely supposititious, and by this act of unfairness, Bro. Hughan very correctly says, his "character as an accurate historian is certainly not improved."

It has been seen that the earlier manuscript Constitutions do not speak of any specific time when the Assembly was held, and it is possible, or perhaps probable, that at first they were called at extemporaneous periods and according to the needs of particular districts where there were Master Masons engaged. This is, however, altogether conjectural.

But it would seem that about the middle of the 17th century, and indeed perhaps long before, there was instituted an annual assembly. The Harleian MS. leaves us no doubt upon the point, for it says, "that for the future the sayd Society, company and fraternity of Free Masons shal bee regulated and governed by one Master and Assembly and Wardens, as the said Company shall think fit to choose at every *yearely general Assembly*."

That this was to be done "for the future" would seem to imply that it had not been done theretofore, or it might mean that what had formerly been an authorized usage was thereafter to be confirmed as a law by this new regulation, and this is probably the more correct interpretation.

It is, however, very satisfactorily shown by this Harleian document that at the time when it was written, namely, in 1670, the Masons had begun to meet in an annual assembly, even if they did not do so before.

There is another feature in the mediæval condition of Freemasonry, which we may discover from an examination of these old manuscript Constitutions. While it is very clear that the Masons were in the habit of assembling annually, or perhaps at more frequent periods, in congregations, for general consultation on the interests of the whole body of craftsmen, they also united in other associations of a local character, which, in the earliest records to which we have

obtained access, were known by the name of "Lodges." This was an institution peculiar to the Masons. We hear of the Guilds, and afterward of the Company of Carpenters, the Company of Smiths, the Company of Tailors, and others belonging to various crafts, but we have no knowledge that there ever existed any lodges of Carpenters, Smiths, or Tailors. The Masons alone met in these local sodalities, which were of course in some way connected with the Company, after it had been chartered, and even before, when it existed as a Guild without incorporation.

The existence of these Lodges is not conjectural, but capable of the most convincing historical proof derived from these old manuscripts, whose genuineness has never been and can not be doubted, as well as from the testimony of other writers, some of them not of Masonic character, and therefore less suspicious.

The proofs of the existence of Lodges in which Masons in different parts of the kingdom met may be first presented as they are found in the Old Constitutions.

The Halliwell poem, which is the earliest of these manuscript records, plainly refers to the fact. In the 4th Article of the Constitutions which it prescribes, the Master Mason is forbidden to take a bondman as an Apprentice. And the reason assigned why this prohibition is made is that the lord whose bondman he is has the right to bring him away from any place where he might go, and if he were to take him from the Lodge it would be a cause of great trouble.

"For the lorde that he ys bonde to
May fache the prentes whersever he *go.*
Gef yn the *logge* he were y-take
Much desese hyt myght ther make."[1]

And in the third point of the same Constitution it is forbidden to the Apprentice to tell anyone the private concerns of his Master's house or whatsoever is done in the Lodge.

"The prevystye of the chamber telle he no man,
Ny yn the *logge* whatsever they done."[2]

The Cooke MS.,[3] which is the next of these old records that have been brought to light by modern researches, repeats these two prohibitions. It goes more at length into the causes which should

[1] "Halliwell MS." [2] Ibid. [3] "Cooke MS.," lines 769-777.

prevent a bondman from being made a Mason, and explains the nature of the trouble, briefly alluded to in the former manuscript, which might arise if the lord should seek to seize his bondman in the lodge. The bondman, it says, should not be received as an Apprentice, because his lord to whom he is bound might take him, as he had the right to do, from his business, and lead him "out of his *logge* or out of the place where he is working, and the trouble that might then be apprehended, would be that his fellows would peradventure help him and dispute for him and therefrom manslaughter might arise."

And in the third point of these Constitutions it is said that the Mason "can hele (must conceal) the counsel of his fellows in *logge* and in chamber."[1]

In the later manuscripts we find the same recognition of the lodge as in these first two.

In the Landsdowne MS. it is said that Masons must "keep truely all the councell of the lodge or of the chamber." This is repeated in substantially similar words in all the subsequent Constitutions. The lodge is also recognized as a place where the work of Operative Masonry was pursued, for the Freemason is forbidden to set the cowan to work within the lodge or without it.

We see, also, that there were many lodges as distinct organizations, but all connected by one bond of fellowship, scattered over the country. One of the regulations in all these Constitutions was that strange Fellows were to be cherished and put to work, if there were any work for them, and if not, they were "to be refreshed with money and sent unto the next lodge."

These Operative Lodges were as exclusive in relation to any connection with cowans, rough layers, or Masons who were not accepted as free of the Guild, as the modern Speculative Lodges are in relation to any connection with the uninitiated, or, as they are often called, "the profane."

Thus we find in all the Constitutions up to the year 1701 a regulation which forbade the giving of employment to "rough layers," or Masons of an inferior class, who had not been admitted into the society. "Noe Mason," says the latest of these Constitutions, "shall make moulds, square or Rule to any Rough Layers, alsoe

[1] "Cooke MS.," lines 441-453.

[2] "Alnwick MS.," anno 1701.

that noe Mason sett any Layer within a Lodge or without to hew or mould stones with noe mould of his own makeing." In brief words, he was to give such an intruder no work that was connected with the higher principles of the art, for the mould was the model or pattern constructed by the geometrical rules that were the most important secrets of the mediaeval builders. It is probable that these unfreemen were sometimes employed in the more menial occupations of the craft.

The Papworth MS., whose date is 1714, is the only one which omits this prohibition. Whether this omission arose from the growth at that late period of a more liberal spirit, or whether it was the clerical error of a careless copyist, are questions not easily determined. It is, however, probable that the latter was the case, as the spirit of exclusiveness adhered to the Masonic Guilds as it did to all the guilds of other crafts, and is continued to the present day by the Livery Companies, which are the successors of the early guilds, where the same spirit of exclusiveness prevailed.

The system of apprenticeship, which was common to all the guilds, was maintained with very strict regulations by the Masons.

No Master or Fellow was to take an Apprentice for less than seven years, nor was any Master to take an Apprentice unless his business was so extensive as to authorize the employment of at least two or three Journeymen. The spirit of monopoly is plainly perceptible in this regulation. The Fellows or Journeymen were unwilling to give to Masters of moderate means the opportunity, by the employment of Apprentices who might soon learn the trade, to add to the number of craftsmen and thus to diminish the value of their labor.

Great regard was paid to the physical condition of the Apprentice. In all the constitutions, from the very earliest to the latest, care is taken to declare that the Apprentice must be able-bodied. "The Master," says the Halliwell MS., "shall for no consideration of profit or emolument make an Apprentice who is imperfect, that is whose limbs are not altogether sound. It would be a great disgrace to the craft to make a halt and lame man. An imperfect man of this kind would do but little good to the craft. So every one may know that the craft wishes to have a strong man." And the compiler of the Constitutions quaintly adds the warning that "a maimed

man has no strength, as will be known long before night; "that is, he will show his weakness by failing in his work.

> " . . . maymed mon, he hath no might,
> Ye mowe hyt knowe long yer night."

This was written about the end of the 14th century. A hundred years afterward the Cooke MS. repeats the admonition in these words: "The sixth article is this, that no Master for no covetousness nor no profit take no Apprentice to teach that is imperfect, that is to say, having any maim for the which he may not truly work as he ought to do."

The same rigid rule of physical perfection in the Apprentice is perpetuated in all the subsequent constitutions. Thus the Landsdowne MS. (1560) says he "of limbs whole as a man;" the York MS. (1600), he must be "able of body and sound of limbs;" the Grand Lodge MS. (1632), he must be "of limbs as a man ought to be;" the Harleian MS. (1670), he must have "his right and perfect limbs and personal of body to attend the said science," and the Alnwick MS. (1701), that he must have "his right limbs as he ought to have."

When, in 1717, the Speculative superseded the Operative order, this regulation, which had been enforced for at least three centuries, was abandoned, and in the charges adopted by the Grand Lodge in 1722, Masons were required to be only good and true men, free-born, and of mature age.

Sixteen years afterward, when Anderson compiled and published the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* he, apparently without authority, restored the original rule of the guild, for in the same charge the words in that edition were altered by the insertion of the regulation that the men made Masons must be "hail and sound, not deformed or dismembered at the time of their making."

I say that this change was apparently made without authority, for in the subsequent editions of the *Book of Constitutions,* published after the death of Anderson, the language of the first edition was restored. Hence the present Grand Lodge of England does not require bodily perfection as a preliminary qualification for initiation.

But as Dermott in compiling his *Ahiman Rezon* for the use of the Grand Lodge of Ancients or the Schismatic Grand Lodge,

adopted Anderson's second edition as the basis of his work, all the lodges emanating from that Grand Lodge exacted the rigid guild law of corporeal perfection. As a very large number of the lodges in the United States had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Ancients, it has happened that the old rule of the guild has been retained sometimes in its full extent and sometimes with slight modifications in the Constitutions of the American Grand Lodges, all of which forbid the initiation into Masonry of one who is deficient in any of his limbs or members.

The American usage, however much it may be objected to because it sometimes closes the door of the lodges to worthy men on certain occasions, has certainly maintained more perfectly than the English the connection between the old Operative and the more modern Speculative branch, a connection whose preservation is important because it constitutes a part of the history of the Order.

Another fact in the character of the mediaeval Guild or Company of Masons that shows the connection with that association and the Speculative Masonry that grew out of it is the system of secrecy that was practiced. It has been hitherto shown that all the early guilds, whether Masonic or otherwise, required their members to keep the secret counsels of the body. And this regulation has been very correctly supposed to allude to the secrets of the trade, in their transaction of business if it were a Commercial Guild, or if it were a Craft Guild the methods of work. These secrets could only be acquired by a long apprenticeship to the trade or art, and it was unlawful to impart them to any persons who were not members of the guild.

The evidence of this has already been shown by extracts from various guild ordinances, and from the old Masonic Constitutions. But the secrets of the Guild or Company of Masons seems to have been maintained more rigidly by their statutes than were those of any other guild. What the secrets of mediaeval Freemasonry were will be discussed when we come to treat of the Traveling Freemasons, who spread in the 11th and 12th centuries from Lombardy over Europe, and established themselves in all the countries which they visited; that their arcana consisted of a secret system adopted by the Freemasons in building. Of this, as Mr. Paley[1] has observed,

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," chap, vi., p. 208.

little or nothing has ever transpired, and we may reasonably attribute our ignorance on the subject to the conscientious observance by the members of the fraternity of the oath of secrecy administered to them on their admission into the society.

The earlier Masonic Constitutions do not give the form of the oath, or indeed refer to an oath at all. They simply direct that the counsels of the Lodge and of Masonry shall be kept inviolate. It is not until 1670 that we find, in the Harleian MS., supposed to have been written in that year, the very words of the obligation that was to be administered. The constitutions or ordinances of that Constitution prescribe "That no person shall be accepted a Freemason or know the secrets of the said society until he hath first taken the oath of secrecy hereafter following."

The "oath of secrecy" thus prescribed is given in the following words, which will on comparison be found to be much more precise and solemn than the oath which was administered in the other guilds or companies:

"I, A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God and my Fellows and Brethren here present, promise and declare, that I will not at any time hereafter, by any act or circumstance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, publish, discover, reveal or make known any of the secrets, privileges, or counsels of the fraternity or fellowship of Free Masonry, which at this time, or at any other time hereafter, shall be made known unto me. So help me God and the holy contents of this book."

The last words indicate that this was a corporeal oath administered on the Gospels, as was the form always used at that period in administering oaths. As to the language, the intelligent Mason will readily perceive how closely the spirit of this old Masonic obligation has been preserved by the modern Speculative fraternity. It is another indirect mark pointing out the close connection and uninterrupted succession of the old and the new systems.

It is unnecessary to dilate further on the ordinances which are contained in these Constitutions. The object has been sufficiently attained, of proving the correctness of the hypothesis that the modern Lodges are the direct successors of these bodies whose laws and customs are so plainly exhibited in the old Masonic manuscripts.

CHAPTER XII

THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT AS A GERM OF HISTORY—USAGES OF THE CRAFT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IT has been seen in the preceding chapter how much information as to the usages of the craft in mediaeval times may be derived from the statutes and regulations contained in the manuscript Constitutions, and more especially in that most valuable and interesting one, the Harleian MS. This document differs very materially from all the others that preceded it, and suggests to us that there were important changes which about that time took place in the usages of the craft.

Of this manuscript, the date of which is supposed to be 1670, Bro. Hughan has said that it "contains the fullest information of any that we are aware of and is of great value and importance in consequence."[1]

An analysis of this manuscript will sustain the statement of this indefatigable explorer of old records and to whom we are indebted for a correct transcription from the original which is deposited in the British Museum.

No analysis, so far as I know, has ever been attempted of this important manuscript, so as to deduce its true character from the internal evidence which it contains.

It has been already shown that the Masons' Company received a new charter or act of incorporation from Charles II. just about the time that the Harleian MS. appears to have been written. It has also been suggested that the granting of the new charter would probably be considered as a very opportune period for the Masons' Company to make some changes in its *Book of Constitutions* by the adoption of new regulations.

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[1] "Old Charges of the British Freemasons," p. 11.

Now, I have supposed that the Harleian MS., differing so much, as it does, from all preceding manuscripts, is a copy or transcript of the *Book of Constitutions* of the Masons' Company as it was modified in the reign of Charles II.

In presenting us with the laws of the Craft which were at that day in force, it supplies us with a very accurate and authentic exposition of the usages and customs of the fraternity as they then prevailed.

A brief analysis therefore of some of the most important articles will certainly advance us very considerably in our knowledge of the progress of Freemasonry in the 17th century, about a hundred years before the Operative element of Freemasonry was absolutely extinguished by the Speculative. Hence it is that I call the Harleian MS. a germ of Masonic history.

We may profitably commence our analysis of the historical points developed in this manuscript by directing our attention to the origin and meaning of the words "Accepted Mason," which are so familiar at the present day in the title given to the Order as that of "The Free and Accepted Masons."

The 26th Article of the *Harleian Constitutions* directs that "no person shall be *accepted* a Mason, unless he shall have a lodge of five free Masons;" and the next article says that "no person shall be *accepted* a Free Mason but such as are of able body, honest parentage," etc.

The word "accepted" here used is of some importance as having been one of the titles afterward adopted by the Speculative Masons, who called themselves "Free and Accepted," in allusion to this very article. The word is first employed in the Harleian MS. In the older manuscripts we find the expression "Masons allowed," which, however, evidently means the same thing. In the two articles cited above it is very plain that an "Accepted Mason" is one who has been admitted into the fraternity by some ceremony, which is called his "acception," or acceptation. It is equivalent to the modern word "initiation."

But in the 28th Article we find the same word used in a double sense, of both "initiation" and "affiliation." It prescribes that "no person shall be accepted a Free Mason nor shall be admitted into any lodge or assembly until he hath brought a certificate of the time of acception from the lodge that accepted him unto the Mas-

ter of that Limit and Division where such lodge was kept which said Master shall enroll the same in parchment in a roll to be kept for that purpose, to give an account of all such acceptions at every General Assembly."

There is a very large and interesting amount of knowledge of the character of the Masonic organization and of its usages in the 17th century to be derived from this article, if understandingly interpreted.

No one was to be accepted a Freemason, that is, admitted into the fellowship or made free of the Guild or Company, or, as we would say in modern phrase, "affiliated," in contradistinction to a "cowan" or "rough layer," one who was not permitted to work or mingle with the Freemasons, unless he had brought to the Master of the limit or division in which a certain lodge was situated a certificate that he had been accepted (the word here signifying initiated or admitted by some ceremony into the craft) in that lodge. The Master of that division or limit must have been possessed of an authority or jurisdiction over several lodges, something like the Provincial Grand Masters in England or the District Deputy Grand Masters in the United States. This Master kept a list of the Masons thus made whose making had been certified to him and made a return of the same to the General Assembly at the annual meeting. This is much the same as is done at the present day, when the lodges make a return to the Grand Lodge at its annual communication of the number and names of the candidates that have been initiated by it during the year.

So there were two kinds of acceptation. The acceptation into the lodge, which was also called "making a Mason," and the acceptation afterward into the full fellowship of the Society or Company, which was to be done only on the production of a certificate of the time and place when the first acceptance or initiation occurred.

We find an analogous case in the modern usage. A man is first initiated in a lodge, and then he is made a member of it. The one usually follows the other, but not necessarily. A candidate may be initiated in a lodge and yet not claim or receive membership in it. Such cases sometimes occur. The candidate has been *accepted* in the old sense of *initiated,* in the lodge, but if he goes away and desires to be accepted into the full fellowship of the fraternity,

which act in modern language is called "affiliation," by uniting with another lodge, he can not be so accepted or affiliated into its fellowship unless he brings a certificate of his previous acceptation or initiation in the lodge in which he was made.

There is an apparent confusion in the double sense in which the word acceptation or acception is used, which can only be removed by this interpretation, which explains the two kinds of acceptance referred to in the same article. This will hereafter be applied to an explanation of some interesting Masonic circumstances that occurred in the life of the celebrated antiquary Elias Ashmole.

One more point, however, in this important article must be first referred to.

It is prescribed that when a Mason is to be made or accepted, it must be in a lodge of at least five Free Masons, one of whom must be a Master or Warden, of the limit or division where the said lodge shall be kept. Masters and Wardens were therefore ranks (it does not follow that they were, degrees) in whom alone was invested the prerogative of presiding at the making of Masons. It was not necessary that he should be the Master or Warden of the lodge where the initiation or acceptation was made. The lodge might, indeed, be a mere extemporary affair, consisting of five Free Masons called together for the especial purpose of accepting a new brother of the craft. But it was essential that a Free Mason, not a stranger brought from some other section of the country, but one residing or working in the vicinity, and who was not a mere Fellow, but who had reached the rank of a Master or a Warden, should be present and, of course, preside at the meeting.

Preston confirms this in a note in his *Illustrations of Masonry,* where he says:

"A sufficient number of Masons met together within a certain district, with the consent of the sheriff or chief magistrate of the place, were empowered, at this time, to make masons and practice the rites of Masonry without warrant of Constitution."[1]

The consent of the sheriff or chief magistrate which Preston supposes to be necessary to the making of a Mason is not required by the Harleian or any subsequent regulations which represent the Constitutions of the Masons' Company. The Halliwell poem and the

[1] Preston, "Illustrations," Oliver's edition, p. 182, note.

Cooke MS., which closely follow it, do say that the sheriff of the county, the mayor of the city, and many knights and nobles are to be at the General Assembly. But I have endeavored to show that the Halliwell statutes belonged to a different organization of the craft.

Another expression in this 28th Harleian regulation elucidates an important point in the organization of the Masonic sodality at that time. Of the five Free-Masons who were required to be present at the acceptance of a candidate, one was to be a Master and Warden "and another of the trade of Free Masonry." Hence it follows that the other three might be non-Masons, or persons not belonging to the craft. This is the very best legal evidence that we could have that in the middle of the 17th century non-professional persons were admitted as honorary members into the fraternity. The Speculative element, as we now have it, was of course not yet introduced, but the craft did not consist exclusively of working Masons.

These explanations will enable us to understand the often-quoted passages from the *Diary of Elias Ashmole,* which without them would seem to bear contradictory meanings.

Mr. Ashmole says, under the date of October 16, 1646, at half past four in the afternoon:

"I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire with Colonel Henry Mainwaring of Karticham in Cheshire, the names of those that then were at the lodge, Mr. Richard Penket Warden, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Richard Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam and Hugh Brewer."

The circumstances of the ceremony here detailed are strictly in accord with the regulations which were then in force and which were not long afterward incorporated in the Constitutions as these are preserved in the Harleian MS.

That manuscript says that at the acceptance of a Free-Mason there shall be "a Lodge of five Free Masons." The Landsdowne MS. says there should be "at least six or seven." The "new regulations" in the Harleian MS. reduced the number to five, which is the exact quorum required at the present day in Speculative Masonry for the admission of a Fellow Craft.

Of these five, one was to be a Master or Warden. And here we find Mr. Richard Penket acting as Warden. Another one of the five was to be "of the trade of Free Masonry." We know what respect was in those days paid to the distinction of ranks, so that

the titles of Esquire and Gentleman were carefully observed, the former having the magic letters "Esq." affixed and the latter the letters "Mr." prefixed to his name, while the yeoman, merchant, or tradesman was entitled to neither, but was designated only by his simple name.

"He who can live without manual labor," says an old heraldic authority,[1] "or can support himself as a gentleman without interfering in any mechanic employment, is called Mr. and may write himself Gentleman."

As Ashmole was a distinguished herald and careful in observing the rules of precedency, we may safely conclude that "Mr. James Collier" and "Mr. Richard Sankey" were gentlemen and not professional Masons, while plain "Henry Littler, John Ellam and Hugh Brewer," who are recorded without the honorable prefix, were only workmen "of the trade of Free Masonry."

So far Ashmole had only been made a Free-Mason; that is, been received as a member of the Craft. According to the regulations another step was necessary before he could be accepted into the freedom and fellowship of the Company.

"No person shall hereafter be accepted a Free Mason," says the New Articles, "until he hath brought a certificate of the time of his acceptance from the lodge that accepted him;" and further, that "every person who is now a Free Mason shall bring to the Master a note of his acception, to the end the same may be enrolled in such priority of place as the person shall deserve and to the end the whole Company and Fellows may the better know each other."

And here is the way in which Ashmole obeyed this regulation, which was then in full force.

He writes in his Diary, under the date of March 10, 1682, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as follows:

"I received a summons to appear at a lodge to be held the next day at Masons Hall in London."

On the next day, or March 11th, he writes as follows:

"Accordingly I went and about noon was admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons by Sir William Wilson, Knight, Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr. William Wodman, Mr. William Grev Mr. Samuel Taylor and Mr. William Wise.

[1] "Laws of Honour," p. 286.

"I was the senior fellow among them (it being thirty-five years since I was admitted) there was present besides myself the fellows afternamed. Mr. Thomas Wise, Master of the Masons-company this present year; Mr. Thomas Shorthose, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt,
—— Waidsfford, Esq. Mr. Nicholas Young, Mr. John Shorthose,
Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompson, and Mr. William Stanton.

"We all dined at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new-accepted Masons."

To many who have read these two extracts from *Ashmole's Diary*, the eminent antiquary has appeared to involve himself in a contradiction by first stating that he was made a Mason at Warrington in the year 1646, and afterward that he was admitted into the fellowship of Free Masons in 1682.

But there is really no contradiction in these statements. The New Articles in the Harleian MS. afford the true explanation, which is entirely satisfactory.

In 1646, while Ashmole was on a visit to Lancashire, he was induced to become a Free Mason; that is, as a non-professional member to unite himself with the Craft. This had been frequently done before by other distinguished men, and the regulations, which are not necessarily of the date of the manuscript, had provided for the admission or initiation of persons who were not workmen or professional Masons.

A lodge for the purpose had been called at Warrington. Whether this was a permanent lodge that was there existing or whether it was only a temporary one called together and presided over by a Warden of that district is immaterial. The passage in the Diary throws no light on the question. It was, however, most probably a temporary lodge, called together by Warden Penket for the sole purpose of admitting Ashmole and Mainwaring, or making them Free Masons. The regulations authorized this act. The only restrictions were that there should be five Free Masons present, one of whom was to be a Master or Warden and another a workman of the Craft or Operative Mason. All these restrictions were duly observed in the admission of Ashmole and his companion.

But this act, though it made him a Free Mason, did not admit him to a full fellowship in the Society. To accomplish this another step was necessary.

As persons were often made in temporary or occasional lodges, which were dissolved after they had performed the act of admitting new-comers, for which sole purpose they had been organized, it was necessary that the person so admitted should present a certificate of the time when and the place where he had been admitted or accepted, to some superior officer, who is called in the regulations "the Master of that limit and division where such lodge was kept;" and who was probably the Master Mason who presided over the Craft, who lived and worked in that section of the kingdom, or perhaps also the Master of the permanent lodge, composed of all the Craft in that division which assembled at stated periods.

This permanent lodge, to which all the Craft repaired, might have been called an "Assembly." If so that would account for the frequent use of the word "Assembly" in all the old manuscripts, to which every Mason was required to repair on due notice if it was within five or ten, or, as some say, within fifty miles of him. And this surmise will also explain the meaning of the regulation which says that no one, unless he produced a certificate of his previous acception, could be "admitted into any lodge or assembly," where the words "Lodge" and "Assembly" would seem to indicate two different kinds of Masonic congregation, the former referring to the lodges temporarily organized for special purposes, and the latter to the regular assemblage of Masons in a permanent body upon stated occasions and for the transaction of the general business of the Craft there congregated, and to which body the certificates were to be presented of those who had been accepted or initiated in the temporary lodge.

But Ashmole did not at the time, or at any time soon after, present such a certificate to the Master of that limit in Lancashire that he had been made a Free Mason in a lodge at Warrington on October 16, 1646. If he had done so we may be sure that he would have mentioned the fact in his Diary, which is so excessively minute in its details as to frequently make a record of matters absurdly unimportant.

Accordingly, though a Free Mason by virtue of his acceptance or making at Warrington, he was not admitted to the fellowship of the Craft, he was not "free of the Company," was not entitled to an entrance into any of its lodges or assemblies, nor could he take part in any of the proceedings of the sodality. He was a regularly made Free Mason, and that was all; he was in fact very much in the

isolated position of those who are called "unaffiliated Masons" in the present day. He had received initiation but had not applied for membership.

Thirty-five years afterward Ashmole did what he had neglected to do before, and perfected his relationship to the Craft. On March 11, 1682, he attended the meeting of a lodge held in Masons' Hall, the place of meeting of the Masons' Company. The lodge was thus held under the sanction of that Company. Mr. William Wise, the Master of the Company, was present, but is not spoken of as one of the members of the lodge. The lodge consisted of Sir William Wilson and six others. As Wilson is mentioned first, we may presume that he was the Master. By these seven Ashmole and some others (who it seems paid the scot for a dinner eaten on the occasion) were "admitted into the fellowship of Free Masons."

In 1646 he was made a Free Mason; in 1682 he was admitted to the fellowship of the Society. Thenceforth he became not only a Free Mason but an Accepted Mason; he was, in other words, by the ceremony performed at Masons' Hall, a "Free and Accepted Mason," and his name was enrolled in the parchment roll "kept for that purpose," that he and the company might "the better know each other."

The account of the acceptance of Elias Ashmole, recorded by himself and therefore of the most undoubted authenticity, when thus interpreted, supplies us with nearly all the details which are necessary to understand the usages of the Craft in respect to initiations and admissions in the 17th century. They will be more fully analyzed at the close of the present chapter. But it will be necessary first to refer to another authority of great importance on the same subject.

Robert Plott, who was the keeper of the Museum presented by Elias Ashmole to the University of Oxford, wrote, and in 1686 published, *The Natural History of Staffordshire,* in which work he gives an account of the Masonic customs prevailing at that time in the country. Plott was not a Free Mason. "The evidence of Dr. Plott is extremely valuable," says Oliver, "because it shows the existence of Lodges of Masons in Staffordshire and the practice of certain ceremonies of initiation in the 17th century in accordance with the regulations laid down in the manuscript Constitution whose authenticity is thus confirmed."

Dr. Plott says that they had in Staffordshire a custom "of ad-

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mitting men into the Society of Free Masons, that in the moorlands of this country seems to be of greater request than anywhere else, though I find the custom spread more or less all over the nation, for here I found persons of the most eminent quality, that did not disdain to be of this fellowship."

He then proceeds to relate and unfavorably to criticise the *Legend of the Craft,* which it is not necessary to quote. He afterward continues his account of the customs of the Masonic Society, in the following words:

"Into which Society, when they are admitted, they call a meeting (or *Lodg,* as they term it in some places), which must consist at least, of five or six of the *Ancients* of the *Order,* whom the candidates present with gloves, and so likewise to their wives, and entertain with a collation, according to the custom of the place. This ended they proceed to the *admission* of them, which chiefly consists in the communication of certain secret signs, whereby they are known to one another all over the nation, by which means they have maintainance whither ever they travel; for if any man appear, though altogether unknown, that can show any of these signs to a fellow of the society, whom they otherwise call an Accepted Mason, he is obliged, presently to come to him, from what company or place soever he be in; nay, though from the top of a steeple, what hazard or inconvenience soever he run, to know his pleasure and assist him; viz., if he want work he is bound to find him some; or if he can not do that to give him money or otherwise support him till work can be had, which is one of their articles; and it is another that they advise the Masters they work for, according to the best of their skill acquainting them with the goodness or badness of their materials; and if they be any way out in the contrivance of the buildings, modestly to rectify them in it, that Masonry be not dishonoured; and many such like that are commonly known; but some others they have (to which they are sworn after their fashion) that none know but themselves."[1]

There is another document of far more importance than those which have been cited, and which gives a more complete description of the usages of the Craft in the 17th century. I refer to the old record which has been designated as the Sloane MS. No. 3329.

[1] Plott, "Natural History of Staffordshire," chap. viii., p. 316.

Of the three copies of the Constitutions which are preserved in the British Museum and known as the Sloane MS. the one numbered 3329 is by far the most valuable and interesting. A part of it was inserted by Mr. Findel in the Appendix to his *History of Freemasonry*. But the complete text was published by Bro. Hughan in the *Voice of Masonry* for October, 1872, and in the *National Freemason* for April, 1873.

There has been some doubt about the exact date of the manuscript. Hughan thinks it was written between 1640 and 1700. Messrs. Bond and Sims, of the British Museum, experts in old manuscripts, suppose that its date is "probably of the beginning of the 18th century." Bro. Woodford mentions a great authority in manuscripts, but he does not give the name, who declares it to be previous to the middle of the 17th century. Finally, Findel thinks it originated at the end of the 17th century, and that "it was found among the papers which Dr. Plott left behind him on his death, and was one of the sources whence his communications on Freemasonry were derived."

But if Plott used this manuscript in writing his article on Freemasonry, of which there is certainly very strong internal evidence, then the date of the manuscript could not have been later than 1685, for he published his book in 1686, and it was most probably written some time before.

We are safe then, I think, in assuming the middle of the 17th century as the approximate date of the Sloane MS.

It differs from all the other manuscripts in containing neither the Ordinances nor the *Legend of the Craft.* It is simply a description of the Ritual of the Society of Operative Masons as practiced at the period when it was written, namely, as is conjectured, about the middle of the 17th century.

From all these important documents—the *Harleian Constitutions,* the *Diary of Ashmole,* the narrative of Dr. Plott, and the Sloane MS.—collated with each other and confirming each other, we are enabled to form a very accurate notion of what were the usages of the Craft in the 17th century, and approximately in the 16th and 15th centuries. A careful analysis will lead to the following results:

There was an incorporated Company of Masons, just as there were incorporated companies of other trades and crafts, such as the

Mercers, the Drapers, the Carpenters, the Smiths, etc. As this Company had been originally chartered in 1410, it must have exercised its influence over the Craft from that early period, and the early manuscript Constitutions were doubtless copies of its Guild Book of Laws and Records; but it is not mentioned by name in any of the manuscripts anterior to the middle of the 17th century. There is a frequent allusion to lodges as the place where Masters and Fellows worked, and there are references to an Assembly, which, from the language used, must have been a congregation of several Masters and Fellows. But there is no express recognition of the Company in any manuscript before the Harleian. From that time forth the Masons' Company seems to have constituted the head of the Craft in a certain district. There were several of these companies in different cities, but the principal one was that at London.

However or wherever a person was admitted as a Free Mason, he could only be considered as "Accepted" when he had reported the fact to some superior authority in the district where he had been made, whereupon his name was enrolled in a parchment book or roll.

There were, besides these companies, lodges in various parts of the country. Some of these lodges, at least toward the close of the century, were permanent bodies. But many were merely extemporaneously organized for the purpose of initiating a candidate, who was afterward reported to the Master of the limit or division in which the lodge had been held.

There was some ceremony, though a very brief one, at the time of admitting a newly made brother. There were secret signs and words, and an oath of secrecy and fidelity, but there are no documents extant to enable us to determine the nature of the ceremony of initiation.

We have no evidence of the existence of any degrees of initiation. Indeed, Masonic scholars have now come very generally to the conclusion that what are called in the modern rituals the First, Second, and Third Degrees were the later invention of the Speculative Free Masons of the 18th century. But this subject will hereafter be discussed at length in a chapter exclusively devoted to its consideration.

On the whole it will be readily seen that the sodalities of the Operative Masons of the 17th and preceding centuries were the

germ which afterward was developed in the 18th century into the full fruit of Speculative Masonry. The *Harleian Constitutions* present us with the basis of the laws which still govern the institution, the Diary which details Ashmole's reception and Plott's narrative prove that many usages of the present day were in existence at that period, and from the Sloane MS. we learn that certain points of esoteric instruction which prevailed in the 17th century have been incorporated, with necessary modifications of course, into the modern rituals. By comparing the Sloane document with the rituals that were published soon after the Revival, in 1717, and these again with those of the present day, we will be able to see how the later and perfected system has been gradually developed out of the primitive one of the middle of the 17th century, and we will be justified in believing that the same system was in existence at a much earlier period.

Not only, then, is there no difficulty in tracing the connection between the lodges of Operative Masons which were existing before the year 1717 with those of the non-operative Free Masons who, in that year, established the Grand Lodge of England, but it is absolutely impossible to exclude from our minds the conviction that there has been a regular and distinct progression by which the one became merged in the other.

We have now arrived at that period in the history of English Freemasonry which brings us into direct contact with the events that immediately preceded and accompanied the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, or, as it has been also called, the Revival of Masonry, in 1717.

But before that subject can be discussed it will be necessary for us to return, in our historical inquiries, to the events connected with the transmission of Masonry in the sister kingdom of Scotland and afterward on the Continent of Europe, and more especially to the Traveling Freemasons, who came from Lombardy in the 10th century, and to the later organization of the Stonemasons of Germany, interesting and prolific subjects which will require several chapters for their treatment.

CHAPTER XIII

EARLY MASONRY IN SCOTLAND

HAT the tradition of York is to the Freemasons of England, that of Kilwinning is to the Masons of Scotland. The story which traces the birth of the Order to the celebrated Abbey of Kilwinning was for many years accepted as the authentic history of Scottish Masonry.

Thus Sir John Sinclair, in his *Statistical Account of Scotland,* states that "a number of Freemasons came from the continent to build a monastery at Kilwinning and with them an architect or Master Mason to superintend and carry on the work. This architect resided at Kilwinning, and being a *gude* and *true* Mason, intimately acquainted with all the arts and parts of Masonry, known on the continent, was chosen Master of the meetings of the brethren all over Scotland. He gave rules for the conduct of the brethren at these meetings, and decided finally in appeals from all the other meetings or lodges in Scotland."[1]

This tradition has been accepted by the author of Laurie's *History,* who says that "Freemasonry was introduced into Scotland by those architects who built the Abbey of Kilwinning."[2] He connects those architects with the trading association of artists who were engaged in the construction of religious buildings on the Continent, under the patronage of the Pope, and who provided builders for both England and Scotland. And he suggests as an evidence that Masonry was introduced into Scotland by these foreign Workmen the fact that in a town in Scotland where there is an elegant abbey, he had "often heard that it was erected by a company of industrious men who spoke in a foreign language and lived separately from the town's people."

[1] Vol. xi., art. "Kilwinning."

[2] "History of Freemasonry," p. 89.

The Abbey of Kilwinning, which has been claimed as the birthplace of Masonry in Scotland, was situated in the town of the same name, and in the county of Ayr, on the southwestern coast of Scotland. It was founded by Hugh de Morville, High Constable of Scotland, in the year 1157. The abbey is now and has long been in ruins, though what now remains of it attests, says Mr. Robert Wylie, who has written a *History of the Mother Lodge, Kilwinning*, "the zeal and opulence of its founder, and furnishes indubitable evidence, fragmentary as it is, of its having been one of the most splendid examples of Gothic art in Scotland."

It is only very recently that anyone has attempted to deny the authenticity of the Legend which traces the introduction of Freemasonry into Scotland to the workmen who came over in the 12th century to construct the Abbey of Kilwinning.

Bro. D. Murray Lyon has attacked the tradition, together with some others connected with Scottish Masonry, all of which he deems destitute of historical support.

The tradition, however, like that of York among the English Masons, has not wanted its zealous supporters among the Scottish brethren, and more especially among the members of the Kilwinning, which claims to have a legitimate descent from the primitive lodge which was established in the 12th century by the foreign architect who settled in the town of Kilwinning.

It has, however, been attempted to trace the introduction of the Order into Scotland to a much earlier period, and one writer, cited by Wylie with apparent approval, says that Scotland can boast of many noble remains of the ancient Roman buildings which plainly evince that the Romans when they entered the country brought along with them some of their best designers and operative masons, who were employed in rearing those noble fabrics of which we can at this day trace the remains. And it is asserted that these Roman builders communicated to the natives and left behind them a predilection for and a knowledge of Masonry which have descended from them to the present generation.[1]

It is very probable that more is here claimed than can be authenticated by history. The influences exerted upon English archi tecture by the Roman colleges of Masons is very patent, as has

[1] Wylie, "History of the Mother Lodge, Kilwinning," p. 47.

been already shown. The Romans had been enabled to make for centuries a home in England, had introduced into it their arts of civilization, and made it in every respect a Roman colony.

But Scotland had never been completely subjugated by the Roman arms; the incursions of the legions were altogether of a predatory nature, nor are there many evidences from Roman remains that the Roman artists had been enabled to make, or had even attempted to make, the same impression on the warlike Scots and Picts that they had been enabled to produce in the more docile and more easily civilized inhabitants of the southern part of the island.

The theory which assigns the introduction of Freemasonry into Scotland to the workmen who came over from England or from the Continent in the 12th century, and erected the religious buildings at Kilwinning, Melrose, Glasgow, and other places, is a much more plausible one. The bodies of Traveling Freemasons were at that time in existence, and we know that they were perambulating the Continent and erecting ecclesiastical edifices; we know too that at that period there were corporations or guilds of Masons in England; and it is a very fair deduction from historical reasoning, though there be no historical records to confirm it, that the churches and abbeys which were erected in Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries must have been the work of Freemasons who came partly from England and partly from the Continent.

Bro. D. Murray Lyon, the Historian of the Lodge of Edinburgh, has said that "not the slightest vestige of authentic evidence has ever been adduced in support of the legends in regard to the time and place of the institution of the first Scotch Masonic Lodge."[1] This is, however, a merely local question affecting the claims to precedency on the roll of the Grand Lodge, and must not be mixed up with the question of the introduction of the Freemasons into Scotland as an organized society of builders. I can not consider it as quite aprocryphal to assign this to the time when religious establishments were patronized by King David I., which was toward the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century.

The Mother Kilwinning Lodge, at Kilwinning, the St. Mary's Chapel Lodge, at Edinburgh, and the Freemen St. John's, at Glasgow, have each preferred the claim that it is the oldest lodge in

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 2.

Scotland. Each has its proofs and each has its adherents, and the controversy has at times waxed warm among the Scottish Masons. Yet, as I have already said, it is, as a matter of general history, of but little importance.

We have seen that we are almost compelled to suppose that the institution of Masonry was introduced into Scotland by the builders who were engaged in the erection of religious houses from the nth to the 13th centuries. We can not get over the belief that these builders formed a part of the fraternity which already existed in the Continent of Europe and in England, and who were then engaged in the same occupation of constructing cathedrals and monasteries.

Knowing from other evidence what was the usage of these Traveling Freemasons, and that wherever they were engaged in the labors of their Craft they established lodges, we are again forced to the belief that in Scotland they followed the usages they had adopted elsewhere, and erected their lodges there also.

Doubtless there is no authentic evidence that the modern lodges at Glasgow, at Kilwinning, and at Edinburgh were the legitimate and uninterrupted successors of those which were established by the Masons who were engaged in the construction of the Cathedral, the Abbey, and Holyrood; indeed it is very probable that they are not. Nor is there any historical material which will enable us to determine which of these primitive lodges was first established by the mediæval builders. The probability is, as Bro. Lyon has suggested, that the erection of the earliest Scottish lodges was a nearly simultaneous occurrence, as wherever a body of mediaeval Masons were employed there also were the elements to constitute a lodge.[1]

The facts, therefore, would appear to be that lodges must have existed in Scotland from the time when those edifices were being erected, and that the Freemasons who came over from the Continent to erect those edifices brought with them the Freemasonry of the Continent.

We can not indeed prove these facts by historical records of undoubted authenticity, but we can advance no reason for denying or doubting their probability.

Ascribing the first introduction of Freemasonry into Scotland

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 242.

to the continental Masons, we have some evidence that at a later period there was a considerable influence exercised by England on Scottish Masonry. This is apparent from the fact that the Constitutions used in the Kilwinning Lodge, and in others established by it in the middle of the 17th century, and known as the "Edinburgh Kilwinning MS.," is a nearly exact copy of an English manuscript, and contains a charge to be "liegemen to the King of England, without treason or other falsehood."

This manuscript, which was kept in the archives of the Kilwinning Lodge, and known, says Lyon, as "the old buck," was frequently copied, and the copies sold by the Lodge of Kilwinning to those lodges which had received charters from it.

The fact that these Constitutions require allegiance to the King of England, that the legend which refers to the introduction of Masonry into England, and its subsequent expansion, dwells on the patronage extended to the Craft by the English Kings, and finally that the narrative contains no allusion to the Kilwinning or another Scottish legend, induce Brothers Hughan and Lyon to come to the conclusion that the manuscript was brought from England into Scotland, and that its adoption by the Kilwinning Lodge, and by those which were chartered by it, proves that the Masonry of England exercised in the middle of the 17th century a very great influence over that of Scotland, an influence which, as it will be seen, was still further exerted in after times in assimilating the rituals and ceremonial usages of the two countries.

This English influence on Scotch lodges at so early a period is a fact of great importance in the history of Masonry. From it is to be presumed that there was a great intimacy and frequent communication between the Freemasons of the two countries. It is to be presumed also that there was a great similarity—indeed, in many respects, an identity—of usages in Scotland and England. Therefore we may with great safety apply what we know of the Masonry of one country to that of another, where we have no other knowledge but that which is derived from such a collation.

Now, it is a well-known fact that while the literature of English Masonry is exceedingly deficient in any authentic records of lodges which existed anterior to the Revival of 1717, the Scottish lodges have preserved original minutes or records of their proceedings as far back as the end of the 16th century.

Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, has torn away, with an unsparing and relentless hand, the meretricious garments which the imaginations of Anderson and Brewster (Lawrie's edition) had cast around the statute of Scottish Masonic history. It will not be safe in writing such a history to lose sight of the incisive criticism of Lyon and trust to the deceptive and fallacious authority of earlier historians.

At the beginning of the 12th century, Masons had been imported into Scotland from Strasburg, in Germany, for the purpose of building Holyrood House; in the middle of the same century other Masons were engaged in erecting Kilwinning Abbey. From these epochs historians have been wont to date the origin of Scottish Masonry. We have no documents referring to that early period, but we know that King David I., who then reigned, was what Anderson would call a "great patron of Masonry," and that he nearly beggared the kingdom by the prodigality with which he invested its resources in the construction of religious edifices.

But it is not until we reach the commencement of the 15th century that we begin to find any records which seem to indicate the existence of a craft or guild like that which we know at the same time existed in England. It is not asserted here that there were no lodges or guild meetings in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. Judging from the condition of things in England at that time, we may conclude that guilds or lodges of Masons were in existence also in Scotland, but we have no documentary evidence of any authentic value to sustain the supposition.

The first period in which Freemasonry in Scotland begins to assume an historic form is the beginning of the 15th century.

James I. had been confined as prisoner in England from the year 1406 to 1424. During those eighteen years of his enforced absence, the kingdom had been greatly harassed by the contentions of what were called "leagues" or "bands" among the craftsmen of the different trades, including the Masons, and which might be compared to the modern trades-unions and strikes.

When James I. returned to Scotland, in 1424, he at once began to reform the abuses which had resulted from these illegal confederacies. He suppressed the "leagues," and instituted the office of "Deacon" or "Master-man," as a method of preserving the community from the frauds of the crafts. For this purpose the "Dea-

cons" were authorized, by act of Parliament, to regulate the works of all the crafts, to establish the rate of wages, and to punish any who should transgress the law.

But these powers having been found to be in many instances oppressive to the people and an encroachment on the prerogatives of the municipal authorities, were, after a year's trial, abrogated, and a new class of officials was instituted, called "Wardens," one of whom was selected from each trade. These Wardens were not the representatives of the crafts, but had a greater affinity with the town-councils of each burgh, whose prerogatives in regulating work and wages they exercised.

Now the Masons who originally came to Scotland in the 12th century from the Continent and from England had enjoyed the privilege from the Pope of regulating their own concerns and prescribing their own wages. This privilege they must of course have communicated to their successors in Scotland, and it was there apparently exercised, up to and including the time of the institution of Deacons, under whom the trade and craft unions exercised the same prerogative.

But when the Deaconship was abolished, and Wardens established as representatives of the municipal authorities, this right of regulating their own concerns was taken from the craft.

To this there was naturally resistance, and Lyon tells us that "the Deacons continued holding meetings of their respective crafts, for the purpose doubtless of keeping alive the embers of discontent at their degraded position and organizing the means for carrying on the struggle, not only to regain independence of action in trade affairs but also to acquire a political status in the country."[1]

There is nothing in the history of the reigns of the two succeeding kings, James II. and III., that connects them with the Masonic fraternity. None of the acts of the Scottish Parliament, during these two reigns, has any special reference to the Craft of Masons. James III. is said indeed to have had "a passionate attachment for magnificent buildings." Beyond this, says Lyon, "his name can not in any special degree be associated with Masons." But in truth, though documentary evidence of particular facts may be wanting, this attachment to magnificent edifices must have led the monarch

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 3.

to have bestowed his patronage upon that fraternity whose duty it was to erect them.

Brewster (Lawrie's edition) has sought to give an importance to the reign of James II., by the statement that that monarch had invested the Earl of Orkney and Caithness with the dignity of "Grand Master" of the Masons of Scotland, and subsequently made the office hereditary in his heirs and successors in the barony of Roslin.

This statement, long accepted by Masonic writers and by all the Masons of Scotland as a veritable fact, has been proved by more recent researches to be wholly unsupported by historic evidence and even to be contradicted by those authentic documents which are known as the "St. Clair Charters."

There are two Charters bearing this name, which were once the property of Mr. Alexander Deuchar, and were purchased at the sale of his library by Dr. David Laing of the Signet Library, and exchanged by him for other documents with Professor Aytoun of the University of Edinburgh, who presented them to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, in whose archives they are still preserved. The manuscripts have been carefully examined, and their authenticity is without doubt.

The date of the first of these Manuscripts is not given, but from internal and other evidence it seems presumable that it was written between the years 1600 and 1601.

It is signed by William Schaw as "Master of Work" and by several Masons of Edinburgh and various towns in Scotland.

It is unnecessary to give the text of the manuscript, as it has been printed by Lawrie, by Lyon, and by some others, but its substance may be cited as follows:

It begins by stating that the Lords of Roslin have from "age to age" been patrons and protectors of the Masons of Scotland and of their privileges, and as such have been obeyed and acknowledged. That within a few years past this position has from sloth and negligence been allowed to go out of use, whereby the Lord of Roslin has been lying out of his just rights and the Craft been destitute of a patron and protector, and other evils have arisen; wherefore it goes on to say that, not being able to wait on the tedious and expensive courses of the ordinary courts, the signers, in behalf of all the Craft and with their consent, agree that William Sinclair of

Roslin and his heirs shall obtain at the hands of the King liberty, freedom, and jurisdiction upon them and their successors, in all times to come, so that he shall be acknowledged by the Craft as their patron and judge under the King.

The second charter, which purports to be issued by the Deacons, Masters, and Freemen of the Masons and Hammermen of Scotland, is supposed by Lyon, with good reason, to have been written in the year 1628.

This document is confirmatory of the other, making the same statement of the recognition of the Sinclairs of Roslin as patrons and protectors of the Scottish Craft, but adding an additional fact, which will hereafter be referred to.

Upon this authority Brewster has said, in Lawrie's *History,* that King James II. had granted to William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, Baron of Roslin, the office of Grand Master, and made it hereditary to his heirs and successors in the barony of Roslin; and he adds that "the Barons of Roslyn, as hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland, held their principal annual meetings at Kilwinning."

Anderson had previously asserted that James I. had instituted the office of Grand Master, who was to be chosen by the Grand Lodge, and this, he says, "is the tradition of the old Scottish Masons and found in their records."

The language of Anderson shows that he was not acquainted with the St. Clair Charters, as they are called, because if he had seen them it is not likely that he would have omitted to take notice of the important point of hereditary occupation. But the authority of Anderson as an authentic historian is of so little value that we need not discuss the question whether any such tradition ever existed.

The statement made in Lawrie's *History* is, however, professedly based on the authority of the St. Clair Charters. This statement has been impugned by James Maidment in his *Genealogie of the Saint Clairs of Rosslyn,* by Lyon in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh,* and by several other writers.

As the statement made in Lawrie's work depends for its verity or its fallacy on the question whether these charters have been faithfully interpreted or not, it will be necessary in making the issue to investigate more particularly the express language which is used in these documents.

The words of the first charter, literally translated from the Scottish dialect of the original, are as follows:

"We, Deacons, Masters, and Freemen of the Masons within the realm of Scotland, with express consent and assent of William Schaw, Master of Work to our Sovereign Lord, forasmuch as from age to age it has been observed among us that the Lords of Roslin have ever been patrons and protectors of us and our privileges, likewise our predecessors have obeyed and acknowledged them as patrons and protectors, while through negligence and sloth the same has past out of use. . . . We, for ourselves and in the name of all our brethren and craftsmen, consent to the aforesaid agreement and consent that William St. Clair, now of Roslin, for himself and his heirs, shall purchase and obtain, at the hands of our Sovereign Lord, liberty, freedom, and jurisdiction upon us and our successors, in all times coming, as patrons and judges to us and all the professors of our craft within this realm, . . . so that hereafter we may acknowledge him and his heirs as our patron and judge under our Sovereign Lord, without appeal or declination from his judgment, and with power to the said William to deputize one or more judges under him, and to use such ample and large jurisdiction upon us and our successors, in town and in country, as it shall please our Sovereign Lord to grant to him and his heirs."

The second charter is but a repetition of the statements of the first, with a few additional details which make it a longer document. It approves and confirms the former "letter of jurisdiction and liberty made and subscribed by our brethren and his highness,[1] formerly Master of Work for the time to the said William St Clair of Roslin."

There is, however, one statement not to be found in the first charter, and which is of much importance. It is stated that the St. Clairs of Roslin had letters of protection and of other rights which were "granted to them by his majesty's most noble progenitors of worthy memory, which, with sundry others of the Lord of Roslin's writings, were consumed and burnt in a flame of fire within the castle of Roslin in the year . . ."

[1] Mr. Lyon objects to the opinion that Schaw was an Operative Mason and thinks that he was of higher social position and merely an honorary member of the Craft. If there were no other evidence to sustain Bro. Lyon in this view, the fact that the appellation of "highness," as here applied to him, would be sufficient to prove its accuracy.

The last two words are "in an," evidently meaning "in anno," but being at the end of the line, the two last letters with the date have been apparently torn or worn off from the manuscript. We can from this only gather the fact that there was a tradition among the Scottish Masons that some one of the Kings of Scotland, previous to James VI., in whose reign the manuscript was undoubtedly written, had by letters patent granted to the Lords of Roslin the patronage and protection of the Craft in Scotland.

Now, it is very evident that Brewster had no authority from these charters to make the statement that James II. had appointed the Barons of Roslin hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland. There is not the remotest allusion in either of these documents to the use of such a title. One of William Schaw's titles was "Chief Master of Masons," but that of "Grand Master" was never recognized in Scotland until one was elected in 1731 by the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh.

But the charters do not themselves declare that the Sinclairs of Roslin had received any such appointment from the King. It is true that the second charter does refer to the fact that letters of protection had been granted by the predecessors of James VI., which letters were burnt in a fire that took place at Roslin Castle at a time the date of which has been lost.

On this subject it has very properly been asked why was the fact of the burning of these papers not stated in the first charter; how is it that there is no certain knowledge of the year when this fire took place; and how was it that while all the other charters belonging to the house of Roslyn were preserved these alone were consumed by this fatal fire?

When the last Roslin resigned in the year 1736 his hereditary rights as patron, he certainly did allude to the possibility that some King of Scotland may have granted a charter to his predecessors. But he expressly designates those predecessors as William St. Clair and his son, Sir William, the very persons who are mentioned in the two charters as deriving their rights from the Masons in the beginning of the 17th century. But there is no evidence in his letter of resignation that he was at all acquainted with any charter granted by James II. to the Earls of Orkney and Barons of Roslin.

On the whole, I think we may explain this story of the St. Clair Charters in the following way:

At the beginning of the 17th century there was possibly a tradition, unsupported, however, by any historical evidence, that the St. Clairs of Roslin had been the hereditary patrons and protectors of the Craft of Masons in Scotland.

In the year 1601, when William Schaw was the "Chief Mason" and "Master of the Work," the St. Clairs, if they had ever exercised their patronage and protection, had ceased to do so.

The Masons needing at that time such a patron, designated William St. Clair as such, and to give a greater prestige to the position, either invented a tradition that the office had been hereditary in the family of the St. Clairs or repeated one that already existed.

About thirty years afterward, the Masons of Scotland renewed and confirmed the appointment of Sir William St. Clair, the son of the one who had received the appointment in 1601. And now, in accordance with the unhappy method of treating Masonic documents which seems always to have prevailed whenever it was necessary to make a point, the writers of the second charter changed the tradition which in the first charter was to the effect that the Masons had always appointed the St. Clairs as their patrons, and asserted that the appointment had been given at an early period by one of the Scottish Kings. This was a falsification of the original tradition and must be rejected.

It was, however, accepted by Sir David Brewster and has until recently been recognized as a part of the authentic history of Scottish Masonry.

I think there can be no doubt that the St. Clairs accepted the honorable position of patrons of Scotch Masonry which had been bestowed upon them in 1601 and retained the office until it was finally vacated in 1736 by William St. Clair, who resigned all claim or pretense that he had to any hereditary right to be "patron, protector, judge or Master of the Masons in Scotland." Upon this the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which had then been duly formed, first adopted for their presiding officer, under the influence of the example of the Grand Lodge of England, the title of "Grand Master" and elected St. Clair to the office.

Looking back to the 12th century, when Kilwinning Abbey, Glasgow Cathedral, and Holyrood and other religious houses were built by Freemasons brought over from England and from the Continent, we are to suppose, for we are without documentary informa-

tion, that the Masons of that and the succeeding centuries up to the end of the 16th century must have observed the usages and customs of the English and Continental Masons.

In the reigns of James IV. and V., the statutes of Parliament show that there were continual controversies between the Masons and the public authorities, the former seeking to enlarge their privileges and the latter to restrict them. When Mary ascended the throne she found the Masons suffering under an act passed during the regency which suppressed the Deaconry, and which with previous ones that forbade their meetings in "private conventions" or framing statutes, seemed to have deprived the Masons of almost all their prerogatives.

All these laws Queen Mary abolished, and granted letters under the Great Seal, which restored the office of Deacon, confirmed the Craft in the privilege of self-government, in the observance of the customs and the exercise of the prerogatives which they had formerly enjoyed.[1]

During the reign of James VI. we find a recognized connection between the Sovereign and the Craft, the office of Warden and that of Master of the Works, being made by the King's authority.

It is at this period that we begin to find records or minutes of lodges and statutes well authenticated, by which we are enabled to form a correct judgment of the condition and the customs of the Craft in Scotland at that early period.

In this respect Scotland has the advantage of England, where *we* find no authentic records of any lodge until the 18th century, while the first minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh date back to the year 1598.

A very fair analysis of the early minutes of the Scottish lodges, and especially of the Lodge of Edinburgh, has been given by Bro. D. Murray Lyon in his valuable history of that Lodge. Whoever expects to write a faithful history of Freemasonry in Scotland must depend on that work as almost the only source of authentic facts. As histories of the early period the imaginative illustrations of Anderson's, and of Lawrie's edition, are almost utterly valueless.

The minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, or St. Mary's Chapel, extend from December 28, 1598, to November 29, 1869. They are

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 5.

contained in six volumes, which are in an excellent state of preservation, with comparatively very few omissions. The first and second volumes, which include the space of one hundred and sixty-three years, that is, from 1598 to 1761, with a hiatus of only thirteen years, supply an ample store of authentic materials for early Scotch Masonic history.

The first volume contains a copy of what are called "The Schaw Statutes," the earliest Constitutions extant of Scotch Freemasonry. The date of this document is December 28, 1598. They are entitled "The Statutes and Ordinances to be observed by all the Master Masons within this realm; set down by William Schaw, Master of Work to his Majesty and General Warden of the said Craft with the consent of the Masters hereafter specified."[1]

Of these statutes, the most important for understanding the true condition and usages of the Masonic Craft of Scotland in the 17th century are the following:

The first point intimates that the ordinances thereafter prescribed are but a continuation of those which had previously prevailed, but of these no copy is in existence.

The second point requires them "to be true to one another, and to live charitably together." This is in exact accord with the guild spirit, to be found in all the old English Constitutions.

The third enjoins obedience "to their Wardens, Deacons, and Masters in all things concerning their Craft."

The fourth directs them to be honest, faithful, and diligent, and to deal uprightly with the Masters or owners of the work in whatsoever they shall take in hand. This is evidently a transcript from the English Constitutions.

The fifth point prescribes that no one shall take in hand any work which he is not able duly to perform. This is the same as the regulation in the English Constitution, but the Schaw statutes direct the compensation that is to be made for an infraction of the rule.

The sixth provides that no Master shall take another one's work from him, after the latter has made a contract with the owner

[1] In quoting from these statutes, from the minutes of lodges or any other documents, for the convenience of the English reader, the Scottish dialect of the originals has been translated into the vernacular, but with literal exactness. The object has been to impart the meaning, and not merely to preserve the original phraseology.

of the work (who in the English Constitutions is called "the lord"), under a penalty of forty pounds.

The seventh point is that none shall finish any work begun, and not completed by another, until the latter has received his pay for what he has done.

The eighth point provides for the election by the Masters of every lodge of a Warden to take charge of the lodge, whose election is to be approved by the Warden-General.

The ninth point directs that no Master shall take more than three apprentices unless with the consent of the Wardens, Deacons, and Masters of the shriffalty (district) where the apprentice dwells.

The tenth point is that no apprentice shall be taken for less than seven years, nor shall that apprentice be made a brother and fellow of the Craft until he has served seven years more after the expiration of his term of apprenticeship, unless by the special license of the Wardens, Deacons, and Masters assembled for that purpose, nor without a sufficient trial of his worthiness, qualifications, and skill.

The eleventh point makes it unlawful for a Master to sell his apprentice to any other Master or to dispense with the years of his apprenticeship by selling them to the apprentice himself. The apprentice was to fulfil the full term of his servitude with his original Master.

By the twelfth point the Master, when he received an apprentice, was to notify the fact to the Warden of the lodge, so that his name and the day of his reception might be properly enrolled in the book of the lodge.

The thirteenth point prescribed that the names of the apprentices should be enrolled in the order of the time of their reception.

By the fourteenth point a Master or Fellow was to be received or admitted only in the presence of six Masters and two Entered Apprentices, the Warden of the lodge being one of the six; the time of the reception and the name and mark of the Master or Fellow were to be enrolled in the lodge book, together with the names of the six Masters and two apprentices who received him and the names of the "intendars" or persons chosen to give him instruction. Nor was he to be admitted without an "assay" or specimen of his work and a sufficient trial of his skill and worthiness.

By the fifteenth no Master was to do any work under the charge or command of any other craftsman.

The sixteenth strictly prohibited all work with cowans.

The seventeenth forbade an apprentice to accept any work beyond a certain amount without the license of the Masters or Warden.

By the eighteenth all disputes were to be referred for reconciliation to the Wardens or Deacons of the lodge.

The nineteenth provided for the careful erection of scaffolds and footways so as to prevent any danger or injury to the workmen.

By the twentieth apprentices who had ran away from their Masters were not to be received or employed by other Masters.

The twenty-first commended all the craftsmen to come to the meeting when duly warned of the time and place.

The twenty-second point required all Masters who were summoned to the Assembly to swear under "a great oath" not to conceal the wrongs or faults done to each other nor to the owners of the works on which they were employed.

The twenty-third and last point prescribed that all the fines and penalties inflicted for a violation of these ordinances should be collected by the Wardens, Deacons, and Masters of the lodges and distributed according to their judgment for pious uses.

Bro. Lyon very properly suggests that this code of laws was applicable only to Operative Masons. This is certainly true, but so also were all the Constitutions of the English Craft and the Ordinances of the German and French Masons. Originally Freemasonry was an exclusively operative institution. But out of it grew the present Speculative system, in all these countries. To understand, then, the growth of the one out of the other, it is necessary to examine these constitutions and the minutes of the Operative lodges, of which latter Scotland only supplies us with authentic materials.

The great resemblance between the statutes of Schaw and the early English Constitutions indicates very clearly the close connection that existed between the two bodies of craftsmen in these countries, and leaves us in no doubt that both derived their laws and their customs from a common source, namely, that body of architects and builders who sprang up out of the Roman Colleges of Artificers and in time passed over into the Traveling Freemasons of Lombardy, who disseminated their skill and the principles of their profession over all Europe and to its remotest islands.

Having thus traced the rise of Masonry in Scotland to the builders who came over in the 12th century from the Continent, and perhaps from England, to be employed in the construction of religious houses at Kilwinning, at Glasgow, at Edinburgh, and other places, and having shown the condition of the Craft, so far as the great dearth of materials would permit, between that period and the year 1598, when the Schaw Statutes were enacted, we are next to inquire into the customs and usages of the Scottish Craft in the 17th century and until the organization of the Speculative Grand Lodge of Scotland in the year 1736. In performing a similar task in reference to the Masons of England, we were restricted for our sources of information to the manuscript Constitutions which could supply us only with logical deductions and suggestions, which made our narrative more a plausible conjecture than an absolute certainty.

But in tracing the customs and usages of the Scottish Craft in the 17th century, we are enabled to take as guides the minutes of the Operative lodges which, unlike those of England, have been preserved from the early date of the last years of the 16th century, and which have been collected and published by Bro. D. Murray Lyon in his most valuable *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, a work to which, in the following chapter, I shall almost wholly confine myself for facts, though not always concurring in his views and deductions. The facts are incontrovertible and authentic—the deductions, whether they be his or mine, may be erroneous, and their acceptance must be left to the reader's judgment.

CHAPTER XIV

CUSTOMS OF THE SCOTTISH MASONS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

THE Masons of the 16th century in Scotland appear to have been divided into two classes, the Incorporations and the Lodges. These, although not exactly similar to the Masons' Company and the lodges of England, may be considered as in some degree analogous.

In 1475 the Mayor and Town Council of Edinburgh chartered the Incorporation of Masons and Wrights. In this body two Masons and two Wrights were selected and sworn to see that all work was properly done, to examine all new-comers into the town who were seeking employment, to make the necessary regulations for the reception and government of apprentices, to settle disputes between the craftsmen, to bury the dead, and generally to make laws for the two trades of Masons and Wrights.

Incorporations were also invested in Glasgow and other cities with the same prerogatives. Controversies repeatedly and naturally arose between these Incorporations and the Lodges with whose privileges and regulations they sought to interfere. But early in the 17th century the former ceased to exercise some of their offensive prerogatives, and especially that of receiving and admitting Fellows of the Mason's Craft. But as Lyon justly observes, the fact that Wrights were present with Masons at the passing of apprentices to the rank of Fellow, favors the opinion that the ceremony of passing was simply a testing of the candidate's fitness for employment as a journeyman.

But the Incorporations were really extraneous bodies having their origin in the municipal spirit of interference. In investigating the Masonic usages and customs of the 17th century we must look really to the lodges and to what is suggested or developed of them in the Schaw and other statutes, and in the early minutes of the lodges that have been preserved.

The assertion of Anderson, Preston, and other writers of the 18th century, as well as some of a later date, that there was from the earliest period a government of the Craft in England by a Grand Master has been proved to be wholly untenable. Something of the kind appears, however, to have prevailed in Scotland at least from the end of the 16th century.

William Schaw, in his signature subscribed to the Statutes enacted by him, and in various records going back as far as 1583, calls himself, and is called, "the King's Master of Work." This is a very common title in the Middle Ages, but by no means indicated that the possessor of it was a Mason. The *Majester Operis,* or "Master of the Work," sometimes called the *Majister Operum,* or "Master of the Works," was an officer to whom was entrusted the superintendence of the public works. Sometimes, but not necessarily, he was an architect, and hence Anderson always calls these Masters of the Works, Grand Masters, an error which has a very unfortunate effect in confusing true Masonic history. The office was a monastic one also, and in early times the monk who was made the Master of the Work superintended the Masons employed by the monastery in conducting repairs or erecting buildings.

It does not, therefore, follow that Schaw was, from being called by this title, an Operative Mason. The evidence, though circumstantial, is the other way. Indeed, the office of King's Master of the Work was an old one in Scotland, and Schaw himself, in 1583, succeeded Sir Robert Drummond in the office.

But, in 1600, as it appears from a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, he presided over a Masonic trial, and to do this he must have been a member of the Craft. He was, therefore, it is to be supposed, a non-professional who was admitted to honorary membership, and he is only one instance among many of the adoption into the brotherhood of persons who were not Masons.

But, in that minute, Schaw is described as "the principal Warden and Chief Master of Masons."

Now, this title of "Principal Warden" is the same as that called in the Statutes of 1599 the "Lord Warden-General." This office of Warden-General, or General Warden, as it is also called, approaches nearer to the idea of a Grand Master than anything that we can find in Anderson's *Constitutions* in respect to the English Masons.

The General Warden appears, according to the Scottish Stat« utes, to have been possessed of several important prerogatives. He had the power of calling the representatives of the lodges to a General Assembly; he enacted the statutes for the government of the Craft—the election of Wardens in the particular lodges was to be submitted to him for his approval—and he exercised a general supervision over all the lodges; in short, the General Warden was, in fact, though not in name, the Grand Master of the Masons in Scotland.

There is some confusion about the names of the officers of the private lodges. In some instances we find the presiding officer called the Deacon, and in others the Warden. But it has been explained that the Warden was recognized as the head of the lodge in its relations with the General Warden, while the Deacon was the chief of the Masons in their incorporate capacity and also the head of the lodge. Sometimes both offices were united in the same person, who was then called "the Deacon of the Masons and the Warden of the lodge." As a general rule, however, the Warden appears to have been the presiding officer of the lodge, the custodian of its funds, and the dispenser of its charities. That he held a precedence over the Deacon is evident from the fact that when both are spoken of in a minute or in a regulation, the Warden is named before the Deacon. It is always "the Warden and Deacon," and never "the Deacon and Warden."

Both officers were elected by the suffrages of the Master Masons of the lodge, and the election was held annually.

In every lodge there were three classes of members: Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices; but it must be remarked that these were only three ranks, and that they do not by any means indicate that there were three degrees, in the sense in which that word is now understood.

The Masters were those who undertook contracts for building and were responsible to their employers for the fidelity of the work; the Fellows were the journeymen who were employed by these Master-builders; and the apprentices were those youths who were engaged, under the Masters, in acquiring a knowledge of their Craft.

If there was a ceremonial of initiation or reception and an esoteric knowledge of certain arcana, that ceremony and that knowledge must have been common to and participated in by each of the

three classes. Whatever was the Mason's secret the Apprentice knew it as well as the Master, for one of Schaw's regulations required that at the admission or reception of a Master or Fellow, there should be present besides six Masters, two Entered Apprentices, whence it is evident that nothing could have been imparted to the newly accepted Master that the Apprentice was not already in possession of.

That the ceremony of initiation was in the 17th century a very simple one is very evident from the slight references to it in the minutes of the lodges. The Statutes of 1598 required it to be performed in the presence alike of Masters and Apprentices, which shows, as has already been said, that it was a ceremony common to both. It appears to have consisted principally of the impartation of what was called the "Mason Word," and a few secrets connected with it, which are called in one of the old minute books, "the secrets of the Mason Word." What these "secrets" were, it is now impossible to discover, but as it has been seen that the Scottish Craft customs were originally derived from the English and the Continental Freemasons it is most probable that the secrets of the Word and the ceremonies of initiation were much the same as those described in the Sloane MS., heretofore quoted as practiced by the English Masons, and those described by Findel as used by the German Masons in the 12th century.

The Squaremen were companies of Wrights and Slaters in Scotland who were very intimately connected with the Masons, and who appear to have had, in many respects, a similarity, if not an identity, of customs.

Now these Squaremen had a ceremony of initiation, a word which was called the "Squaremen's word" and secret methods of recognition. In the ceremony of initiation, which was called the "brithering,"[1] the candidate was blindfolded and prepared in other ways; an oath of secrecy was administered, and after the performances, which were in a guarded chamber, were finished, a banquet was given, the expenses of which were paid by the fee of initiation.

The banquet was in fact so important a part of the ceremony of initiation among the Masons that special provision for it was made by Schaw, the Warden General, in the Statutes of 1598. Appren-

[1] Jamieson defines the word to brither thus: "To unite into a society or Corporation, sometimes by a very ludicrous process." — "Dictionary of the Scottish Language" in voc.

tices were to pay on their admission six pounds to the "common banquet," and Fellow Crafts ten pounds.

The Fellow Craft was also required to provide the lodge with ten shillings' worth of gloves. Nothing more conclusively proves the connection of the Scottish with the Continental Masons than this reference in the Statutes of the former to the article of gloves to be provided for the lodge. The use of gloves as a portion of the dress of an Operative Mason, is shown in early records to have been very common from early times on the Continent. M. Didron gives, in the *Annales Archéologiques*, several examples from old documents of the presentation to Masons and Stonecutters of gloves. Thus in 1381 the Chatelan of Vallaines bought a considerable quantity of gloves to be given to the workmen, and the reason assigned for the gift is that they might "Shield their hands from the stone and lime." In 1383 three dozen gloves were distributed to the Masons when they began the buildings at the Chartreuse of Dijon. At Amiens twenty-two pairs of gloves were given to the Masons.

The use of gloves seems to have been, among the different crafts, peculiar to the Masons, and their use is well explained as being intended for protection against the corrosive nature of the mortar which they were compelled to handle.

When Operative was superseded by Speculative Masonry the use of this article of dress was not abandoned, and in the Continental lodges to this day, the candidate is required to present two pair of gloves to the lodge on the night of his initiation. But the explanation now made of their use is, of course, altogether symbolical.

Another important ceremony connected with advancement to a higher rank in the fraternity was the production of the *Essay* or Trial piece.

It was a very common custom among the early continental guilds to require of every apprentice to any trade before he could be admitted to his freedom and the prerogatives of a journeyman, that he should present to the guild into which he sought membership, a piece of finished work as a specimen and a proof of his skill in the art in which he had been instructed.

This custom was adopted among the Scottish Masons, and when an apprentice had served his time of probation and was desirous of being advanced to the rank of a fellow or journeyman, he was re-

quired by the statutes to present an *Essay* or piece of work to prove his skill and competent knowledge of the trade.

At first the privilege of inspecting and judging the character of this trial piece was intrusted to the lodge, but afterward it seems to have been taken from them and given to the Incorporations, who, however, resigned it early in the 17th century. When an Apprentice wished to become a Fellow, he applied to his lodge, which, in Edinburgh, referred him to the Incorporation of Masons and Wrights of St. Mary's Chapel. By that body the piece of work to be done was prescribed; *Essay* masters were appointed to attend the candidate and see that he did the work himself, and when it was done, it was submitted to the brethren, who by an open vote admitted or rejected the piece of work.

Lyon very correctly finds a parallel to these *Essay* pieces of the Scottish Operative Masons, in the examinations for advancement from a lower to a higher degree, in the Speculative Lodges, but he is wrong in supposing that these tests for advancement were, in the "inflated language of the Masonic diplomas of the last century characterized as the 'wonderful trials' which the neophyte had had the 'fortitude to sustain' before attaining to the sublime degree of Master Mason."

The "wonderful trials" thus referred to were not the examinations to which the neophyte had been subjected to test his proficiency in the preceding degrees, but were the actual ceremonies of initiation through which he had passed, and considering their severity in the continental lodges, it is hardly an "inflation of language," to speak of some fortitude being needed to sustain them.

Annually both the Masters and the Fellows were required to renew their oath of fidelity and obedience to the brotherhood, and especially to take the obligation that they would not work with cowans.

It was also provided by the statutes that yearly the Fellows and Apprentices should submit to an examination which should test their memory and knowledge of the principles of the art.

Now as it would not have been fair to expect an Apprentice or Fellow to remember what he had never been taught, this regulation led to the introduction of a particular class of persons in the lodges who were called "intendars" or instructors, whose duty it was to instruct the newly admitted persons in the principles of the art.

This custom, according to Lyon, still prevails in some of the Scottish lodges. In the United States, it is a very general usage at the present day to provide an Apprentice as soon as he has been initiated and a Fellow Craft when he has passed, with an instructor whose duty it is to drill him accurately in the lecture of the degree into which he has just been admitted, so that when he applies for advancement he may be enabled to answer the questions that will be asked, and thus prove that he has made "due proficiency."

The transition of Operative into Speculative Masonry which took place soon after the beginning of the 18th century, is the most important portion of the history of the Institution. The gradual approaches to that condition in which the Operative element was wholly superseded by the Speculative, must therefore be regarded with great interest.

These approaches are marked by the introduction of persons who were not professional Masons into the Operative lodges. Occasion has been had heretofore to speak of the reception by a lodge of Operative Masons at Warrington in England, of two gentlemen who certainly were not Operative Masons, namely, Colonel Mainwaring and Elias Ashmole. This event occurred in the year 1646, and it is the earliest record in England of the acceptance of a non-professional member by a lodge of Operative Masons.

It does not, however, follow because this reception is the first recorded that it was therefore the first that took place. On the contrary it is most probable that the custom of receiving non-operative members was a very old one. It had, as we have seen, been practiced by the Roman Colleges of Artificers, and was by them propagated into the early Craft and Trade Guilds, and eventually imitated by the more modern Operative lodges. The practice still prevails in the London Livery Companies, which we know are the successors of the Trade Guilds of the Middle Ages.

In Scotland the custom of admitting non-operatives into the lodges has a much older record than that of England just referred to.

A minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh of the date of June 8th, in the year 1600, a *facsimile* of which is given by Lyon, records the presence at the meeting of the lodge of William Boswell, Laird of Auchinlech. The meeting was called for the purpose of considering a penalty that had been imposed upon the Warden. The Laird

of Auchinlech took a part in the deliberations, acquiesced in the decision at which the lodge arrived, and signed his name and affixed his mark to the minutes just as the Operative Masons did.

There are abundance of other instances of the admission of noblemen and gentlemen as honorary members. The case already cited of Boswell proves conclusively that the practice existed before the close of the 16th century. If we had the records we might, I think, find many cases still earlier.

In the admission of these "gentlemen masons," as they were sometimes called, the ceremonies of initiation, whatever they were, appeal' to have been the same as those practiced in the reception of operative members. As in the present day, and in Speculative Masonry, rank or condition secures no exemption.

Several instances are recorded during the 17th century of brethren who were not operative Masons being elected to preside over lodges. Thus Elphingston, who was tutor of Airth and collector of the King's Customs, was in 1670 one of the Masters or Past Masters of the Lodge of Aberdeen. The Earl of Cassilis was, in 1672, chosen as Deacon or head of the Lodge of Kilwinning. He had been preceded in the same office by Sir Alexander Cunningham, in 1671, and by the Earl of Eglinton in 1670. In 1678 Lord William Cochrane, the son of the Earl of Dundonald, was elected Warden of the same lodge.

All these appointments were merely honorary, and intended, it is to be presumed, to secure the patronage and influence of the noblemen or men of wealth and rank who were thus honored. They were not expected to perform any of the laborious duties of the office, for which task it is most probable that they were unfit. This, as Bro. Lyon observes, "may be inferred from the fact that when a nobleman or a laird was chosen to fill any of the offices named, deputies were elected from the operative members of the Kilwinning Lodge."[1]

The relation of females to Freemasonry in Scotland during the 17th century is worthy of attention.

It has already been seen that in one of the English Constitutions, when referring to the Charges, it is written that "one of the Elders taking the Booke and that he or shee that is to be made

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 52.

a Mason shall lay their hands thereon and the charge shall be given."

From this passage some persons have drawn the apparently natural inference that females were admitted. Bro. Hughan, in commenting on it, thinks that the manuscript being a copy from a much older one, the word "shee" was carelessly retained, and that it is only an evidence that females were admitted in the early Guilds, an historical fact that can not be denied. But he is not prepared to advocate the opinion that women were admitted into the Mysteries of Masonry. And he admits that the custom of the Guilds to admit women was gradually discontinued.

As the passage quoted is found only in the York MS. of 1693, it is more reasonable to suppose that the word "shee" was a clerical error for "they." Hence we have no satisfactory evidence that women were connected with the Masonic lodges in England.

But Bro. Lyon contends that the obligation of the apprentice to protect the interests of his "dame," which is mentioned in the same manuscript, would indicate that it was lawful at that time in England for females, as employers, to execute the work of Masons.

This statement derives probability from the fact that at that time, in Scotland, the widows and daughters of freemen Masons were, under certain restrictions, permitted to exercise the privilege of burgesses in executing Mason's work.

Lyon cites a minute of the Ayr Squaremen Incorporation of the date of 1628, which enacts that every freeman's daughter shall pay for her freedom the sum of eight pounds. But it is clear that if a fine was imposed for the freedom, there must have been a privilege accompanying it, which could have been nothing other than the right to do a freeman's work.

The Lodge of Edinburgh, in 1683, recognized this privilege and qualified it by certain restrictions. It was then enacted that a widow should not undertake work or employ journeymen herself, but might have the benefit of the work under the favor of some freeman "by whose advice and concurrence the work shall be undertaken and the journeymen agreed with."

It is apparent from these two minutes that, from 1628 to 1683 women, the widows or daughters of masons, were in the habit of employing journeymen to do work given to them by the patrons of their husbands or fathers.

But this custom, growing into an evil, in time the females acting independently and assuming the position and exercising the prerogatives of Master Masons, the Lodge of Edinburgh found it necessary at length to correct the abuse and to restrict the privilege by compelling the females to undertake the work and employ the journeymen under the direction of a Master Mason, who, acting for the widow, discharged the duties without receiving compensation (which was strictly prohibited) and gave her the profits.

Another usage of the Scottish Masons in the 17th century was that of opening the lodge with prayer. There is no record of the existence of such a usage in England, although it is highly probable that the same practice prevailed in both countries, since Freemasonry being a later institution in Scotland, we have seen that it derived many of its customs from the sister kingdom.

The use of prayer as an introductory ceremony has always been practiced in the English speculative lodges, and combining this with the fact now known that it was observed by the Scottish operatives, we have an additional reason for believing that it was a usage among the English operative masons of the 17th and earlier centuries.

Bro. Lyon says that in opening with prayer, the Lodge of Edinburgh "followed an example which had been set in the ancient Constitutions of the English Masons which open and close with prayer." Here our generally accurate historian appears to have fallen into an error in confounding the form of composition adopted in writing a manuscript with that of opening a lodge, two things evidently very distinct.

It is of course admitted that all of the old English Constitutions commence with a religious invocation, and that they end either with a prayer for help or an imprecatory formula like the condition of an oath to keep the statutes.

But in a careful examination of all these Constitutions from the Halliwell MS. to the Papworth MS., that is from the first to the last, I have failed to find any regulation or article which prescribes that the business of a lodge shall be preceded by prayer. The only regulation that has a religious bearing is the one that prescribes a reverence for God and Holy Church and the avoidance of heresy or error.

That it was the practice of the early English operative lodges

to open and close with prayer, is an opinion founded wholly on conjecture, but for the reasons already assigned, the conjecture appears to be a plausible one.

But the use of prayer in the Scottish lodges of the 17th century is not conjectural, but is proved by actual records, and Bro. Lyon, in his invaluable work, to which I have been almost wholly indebted for the facts in the present and the preceding chapter, supplies us with two forms of prayers, one "to be said at the convening," and the other "to be said before dismissing." Both are extracted from the minute-books of Mary's Chapel Incorporation for the year 1699, and it will be interesting to compare them with the oldest English formula, namely, that given by Preston.

The first of these, or the prayer at the opening of the lodge, is in the following words:

"O Lord, we most humblie beseech thee to be present with us in mercy, and to bless our meeting and haill (whole) exercise which wee now have in hand. O Lord, enlighten our understandings and direct our hearts and mynds, so with thy good Spirit, that wee may frame all our purposes and conclusions to the glory of thy name and the welfare of our Brethren; and therefore O Lord, let no partiall respect, neither of ffeed (enmity) nor favour, draw us out of the right way. But grant that we may ever so frame all our purposes and conclusions to the glory of thy name and the welfare of our Brethren. Grant these things, O Lord, unto us, and what else thou sees more necessarie for us, and that only for the love of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our alone Lord and Saviour; To whom, with thee, O Father, and the blessed Spirit of Grace, wee render all praise, honor and glory, for ever and ever, Amen."

The second prayer, or that used at the dismission or closing of the lodge, is as follows:

"O Lord, wee most humbly acknowledge thy goodnesse in meeting with us together at this tyme, to confer upon a present condition of this world. O Lord, make us also study heaven and heavenly myndednesse, that we may get our souls for a prey. And O Lord, be with us and accompany us the rest of this day, now and forever, Amen."

The importance of this record of prayers at opening and closing in the Scottish lodges, is that it adds great force to the conjecture that a similar custom prevailed in the English lodges at the same

PHOTOGRAVURE REPRODUCTION OF ONLY ILLUSTRATION IN ORIGINAL "BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS," LONDON, 1723

Supposed to be the oldest illustration in Speculative Freemasonry


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period. The statement made by the biographer of Wrenn and quoted by Findel, that the mediæval Masons of England commenced their labor each day at sunrise by a prayer, the Master taking his station in the East and the Brethren forming in a half circle around him, is a mere tradition. There is the want of a contemporary record. But the fact that there is such a record, absolutely authentic in the minutes of a Scottish lodge of the period, throws necessarily an air of great probability upon the tradition.

That the record of the Scottish lodge is a minute made in the last year but one of the 17th century does not necessarily lead to the inference that the custom had just then begun. The record is more likely, when there is no evidence to the contrary, to have been that of a custom long previously in existence than of one that has just then been adopted.

So we may fairly conclude that it was the usage of the Scottish lodges of the 17th century to open and close their meetings with prayer, a usage that we have reason to infer was also practiced by the English lodges of the same period.

The last of the Scottish Masonic customs to which it is necessary to refer is that of the use of Marks, instead of, or sometimes as supplemented to, the written signature.

This is an interesting subject and claims a very careful and thorough consideration.

The presence of certain figures chiselled on the stones of a building has been remarked by travelers as occurring in almost all countries where architecture had made any progress and at very early epochs. It has been remarked by Mr. Ainsworth, an oriental traveler, that he found among some ruins in Mesopotamia that "every stone, not only in the chief building but in the walls and bastions and other public monuments, when not defaced by time, is marked with a character which is for the most part either a Chaldean letter or numeral."

On the floor of a tomb at Agra, in India, it was found that every stone was inscribed with a peculiar mark chiseled upon it by the workman. Copies of over sixty of these marks were given in 1865 by a writer in the London *Freemasons Quarterly Review*.

In an interesting work on Architecture by Mr. George God-

win,[1] the author, referring to the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, makes the following remarks:

"Several years ago my attention was led to the fact that many of our ancient buildings exhibited on the face of the walls, both inside and outside, marks of a peculiar character on the face of the stones which were evidently the work of the original builders; and it occurred to me that if examined and compared they might serve to throw light upon these bands of operatives. I made a large collection of them in England, France, Belgium and Germany, some of which were published in the *Archæologia*. These are simply the marks made by the Masons to identify their work; but it is curious to find them exactly the same in different countries and descending from early times to the present day; for in parts of Germany and Scotland tables of marks are still preserved in the lodges, and one is given to the (practical) mason on taking up his freedom. He cuts it, however, on the bed of the stone now instead of on its face. The marks are usually two or three inches long."

These marks were, it is evident, prescribed by the Masters or Superintendents of the buildings in process of construction to be used by the workmen, so that each one's work might be identified when censure or approval was to be awarded. It was a measure of precaution, and the employment of marks is no evidence, unless the mark itself is of a purely Masonic character, that the workmen who used them were Freemasons.

At first, it seems from the observations of Mr. Ainsworth, they were merely letters or numbers. Afterward those found at Agra were principally astronomical or mathematical. But when used by organized bands of Freemasons we find among these marks such symbols as the hour-glass, the pentalpha, and the square and compasses. When the Freemasons followed the precautionary system of the ordinary stonecutters and adopted the use of marks, they gave, most generally, a symbolic character to them, though sometimes they made use of monograms of their names.

M. Didron, who discovered these marks at Spire, Worms, Strasburg, Rheims, Basle, and several other places, and who made a report of his investigations to the Historical Committee of Arts and

[1] "History in Ruins; a Handbook of Architecture for the Unlearned." By George Godwin, F.R.S., London, 1858.

Sciences of Paris, believed that he could discover in them reference to distinct schools or lodges of Masons. He divides them into two classes, those of the overseers and those of the men who worked the stones. The marks of the first class consist of monogrammatic characters, while those of the second are of the nature of symbols, such as shoes, trowels, and mallets.

It is possible that something like this distinction is to be found in the old Scottish marks. Of the 91 marks, copies of which are given in *facsimile* by Bro. Lyon as taken from the minute-book of the Lodge of Edinburgh, 16 are evidently monograms, such as GI, ME, AL, VH, NI, etc., while the remaining 75 are symbols, principally the cross in various forms, the triangle, the hour-glass, represented by two triangles joined at their apices, the pentalpha, etc. In one instance the monogram and the symbol are combined, where David Salmon adopts as his mark a fish or salmon, with the head in the form of the Delta or Greek letter equivalent to D.

There was undoubtedly a distinction of monogrammatic and symbolic marks, but whether Didron's idea that they belonged to two different classes of workmen is correct or not, it is impossible positively to ascertain. Bro. Lyon, however, affirms that "in regard to the arrangement of Marks into distinctive classes, one for Apprentices, one for Fellow Crafts, and a third for Foremen—the practice of the Lodge of Edinburgh, or that of Kilwinning, as far as can be learned from their records, was never in harmony with the teachings of tradition on that point."

It has been supposed the degree now called the "Mark Master's Degree" was originally manufactured by some ritual mongers toward the close of the last century and attached as a supernumerary degree to the Ancient and Accepted or Scottish Rite. I have in my possession the original charter granted in 1802 by the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, of Charleston, S. C, to American Eagle Mark Lodge No. 1.[1] When Thomas Smith Webb was establishing his new system he incorporated the Mark degree in his ritual and made it the fourth degree of the American Rite, as it is practiced in the United States of America. It has been supposed that Webb derived his degree from the Ancient and Accepted Rite,

[1] It was published in 1851 by the author in the "Southern and Western Masonic Miscellany," vol. ii., p. 300.

and it is not improbable that he did so. But more recently it has been discovered that the degree of Mark Mason and that of Mark Master Mason was given in Scotland by some of the Craft lodges as early as 1778. An excerpt made by that indefatigable Archaeologist, Bro. W. J. Hughan, from the minutes of the Lodge Operative Banff under date of January 7, 1778, shows that the degree of Mark Mason was conferred on Fellow Crafts, and that of Mark Master Mason on Master Masons.

I think, therefore, that we may fairly attribute the origin of the degree to the Masons of Scotland. The ritual has of course grown, as all rituals do, by gradual accretions to its present extent. But it is hardly necessary to say that the allegory and the tradition of the origin of the degree at the Temple of King Solomon is a mere symbolic myth, which is wholly unsupported by historical authority.

The statutes enacted by William Schaw, in 1598, for the government of the Masons of Scotland, direct that on the reception and admission of every Fellow Craft his name and mark shall be inserted in the book or register of the lodge.

The subsequent lodge minutes show that giving or taking a mark was accompanied by a fee, which was paid by the Fellow for this privilege.

The minutes also show that Apprentices were also permitted to select and use a mark.

The position and the prerogatives of Apprentices in the Scottish lodges is worthy of notice, especially as throwing some light on their condition in the English lodges, of which so little is said in the old Constitutions.

The presence of Apprentices at the admission of Fellow Crafts, was provided for in the Statutes of Schaw, as has already been seen.

Another prerogative granted to the Apprentices was that of giving or withholding their assent to any proposed accession of their ranks in the lodge.

They thus appear to have been so far recognized as active members. But Lyon says that this concession does not appear to have been granted to all Apprentices, but only to such as being "bound for the freedom" afterward became "Mason burgesses" and members of the Incorporation—Apprentices whose aim was that of becoming qualified for employment as journeymen.

If this view of Lyon is correct it would show an aristocratic distinction of rank, which was certainly unknown to the English Masons.

Apprentices were sometimes permitted to undertake work, of no very great value, on their own account, but with the consent of their Masters; a privilege that does not appear to have been conceded by the English Statutes.

The "passing" of an Apprentice to the rank of a Fellow Craft, although not a ceremony which added anything to the store of his Masonic knowledge, was still necessary to the extension of the influence and the increase of the revenues of the lodge. Apparently toward the end of the 17th century, many Apprentices were disinclined, at the expiration of their time of service, to undergo the trouble and expense of passing, but were disposed to work as unpassed journeymen. So at the beginning of the 18th century it was made imperative on Apprentices soon after their time of apprenticeship was out to "make themselves Fellow Crafts."

Fellow Crafts, or journeymen, were permitted to have Apprentices of their own, and it was provided by law that a Master might employ such fellows and yet not also employ their Apprentices, or he might employ the Apprentice and not the Fellow to whom he was bound. This seems to have been a peculiarity of Scottish Masonry in the 17th century. No similar provision is found in the English Constitutions.

Apprentices were prohibited from marrying, a very necessary provision, considering their relation to their Master's houses, which it may well be supposed existed in every other country.

In all of these usages of the Scottish Masons in the 17th century, we see the characteristics of an operative system. But this system was admitting the gradual encroachment of the Speculative element exhibited in the admission into the operative lodges of non-professional members.

The progress of this transition from an Operative to a Speculative character is better marked or rather better recorded in the Scottish than in the English history of Freemasonry.

In the latter we are aroused with suddenness from the contemplation of the operative system as detailed in the manuscript Constitutions extending into the very beginning of the 18th century, to the unexpected organization, without previous notice, of a purely

Speculative Grand Lodge a very few years after the date of the last written Constitution, which makes no reference to such an institution.

But the Grand Lodge of Scotland was not organized until nineteen years after that of the sister kingdom. The approaches to the change were gradual and well marked, and the struggle which terminated in the victory of Speculative or modern Freemasonry has been carefully recorded.

But the narrative of the events which led to the establishment in the year 1736 of the Grand Lodge of Scotland will form the interesting materials for a distinct chapter.

CHAPTER XV

THE FRENCH GUILDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

N account has already been given in this work of the character of the English Craft guilds or corporations of workmen. I have not been able to concur in the views of Mr. Thorpe, nor in the qualified opinion of Brentano, that we are to look for the origin of these guilds, not in the Roman Colleges, but in the Scandinavian confraternities.

In Gaul, and subsequently, with greater development, in France, we find the existence of similar guilds or corporations of workmen, and here we are able to trace them more directly to the Roman Colleges of Artificers, as their models, because, after the fall of the Empire and the invasion of the barbarians, the old inhabitants were not exterminated by the invaders. On the contrary, the Franks were well disposed to the Roman culture and civilization, accepted many of the Roman laws and customs, imitated the remaining monuments of Roman taste and skill, and finally adopted, in the place of their own rough Teutonic dialect, a modified form of the Latin language.

The Craft guilds or corporations of workmen which were in existence in Gaul at an early period after the decay of the Roman Empire, continued to exist with spasmodic interruptions until the 12th and 13th centuries, when they were fully developed in the *Corporations des Métiers.*

The writers of the exhaustive article on this subject in Lacroix's massive work on the *Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* have advanced the theory that the guilds came into Gaul with the conquerors, and were therefore of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin, but in their subsequent investigations they appear tacitly to admit the fact that there was a very close connection between them and the Roman Colleges.

M. Aug. Thierry is of the opinion that the corporations, like the municipal communes, found their origin in the principles that governed the Roman Colleges. The guild, he says, was the moving power; the Roman Colleges the material on which it acted and out of which it was generated, and he thinks it would be interesting to examine how this motive principle as a new element has been applied to the ancient element of municipal organization which we historically know to have been of Roman origin and in what proportion it is combined with them.

In other words, he would seek to trace the connection between the Guilds and the Roman Colleges and to determine the influence of one upon the other.

Now this is the very investigation in which I propose to be engaged in the present chapter, as I have already pursued in the previous discussion of the early English guilds.

The theory that I have hitherto maintained, and which I have seen no reasonable cause to repudiate, is that the Guilds were the successors, as it were, by inheritance of the Roman Colleges.

Therefore, though the subject of these institutions has already been very fully treated, it will be expedient to introduce the history of the early guilds of Gaul and of their progress until they culminate in the 12th century in the *Corporations des Métiers*, by a brief recapitulation of what has been before said at length on the subject of the Colleges of Artificers of ancient Rome.

The corporations of artisans, which received the name of *Collegia Artificum* or Colleges of Artificers, are supposed to have been instituted by Numa, who first divided the artisans of Rome into nine colleges, gave them regulations for their government, and prescribed peculiar rites and customs to be observed by them. They met in their course from the Kingdom to the Empire with many vicissitudes. They were abolished by Tullus Hostilius, re-established by Servius, again interdicted and anew instituted and enlarged in their faculties by the decemvirs. Under the republic they were a constant source of inquietude and danger; their turbulent members, misled by demagogues, repeatedly threatened the security of the state. They were, during the latter years of the republic, often dissolved and as often re-established. Finally, Caligula definitively re-constituted them and invested them with all their ancient prerogatives. Trajan and his successors showed the colleges but little favor; they were, how-

ever, tolerated because the artisans, deprived of consideration in the city, were much better received in the provinces, and could be retained at the Capital only by securing to them their privileges. At this epoch they had become very numerous both at Rome and in its provinces. A contemporary of Alexander Severus names thirty-two colleges; Constantine designates thirty more, and the inscriptions preserved by Heineccius, their most reliable historian, enumerates many more.

The colleges required for their legal existence the authority of the law—in modern phrase it was necessary for them to be incorporated. Those which were not were styled *illicit* and their existence was prohibited.

Into each college, the artisans of only a particular profession or handicraft were admitted; slaves even might become members with the consent of their masters; and at length, persons of distinction who were not of the profession practiced by the college were received as patrons or honorary members, and these became the protectors of the college.

Some of the trades, as for instance that of the bakers, were hereditary, and the practice of the trade descended from father to son.

No artist or handicraftsman was permitted to belong to more than one college.

Each college had the right to enact its own regulations for its internal government; for this purpose, and for the discussion of their common interests, the members frequently assembled, they elected their officers, and imposed a tax for the support of the common chest and decided these and all other questions by a majority of suffrages.

Each college had its patron deity and exercised peculiar religious rites of sacrifice and commemorative feasts, which sometimes degenerated into Bacchanalian banquets.

Such is a brief outline of the Craft guilds, as they may justly be styled, which prevailed in Rome at the time of the dissolution of the Empire, and which, for the reason already assigned, flourished with great popularity in all the provinces from southern Gaul to the northern limits of England, the evidence of which is extant in the numerous inscriptions which have been preserved commemorative of their residence and their labors in every part of Europe.

The writers of the article on the Corporations of Craftsmen, in

the work of Lacroix, assert that under the conquering Germans, from the moment that Europe emerged from the government of Rome, without ever completely escaping from the influence of its laws, the confraternities of workmen never for an instant ceased to exist. The rare vestiges that we possess of them do not permit us to believe in their prosperous condition, but they attest at least their persistence.[1]

These fraternities of workmen were the Provincial colleges which the invaders found when they entered the countries whence they had expelled the former Roman masters. But the Teutonic tribes, whose invasion was for the purpose of a permanent settlement, and not like that of the Huns, merely for temporary occupation and devastation, were not, as has been well observed, alien in mind and spirit from the Romans whom they had conquered. They had, to some extent, become familiar with the civilization which in the trial of strength they had overcome. Some of them had been soldiers in the imperial service or at the court, and many of them had listened to the teachings of Christian missionaries, and, though in an imperfect way, adopted Christianity as their religion.[2]

When, therefore, says Mr. Church, they founded their new kingdom in Gaul, in Spain, and in Italy, the things about them were not absolutely new to them. The influences of the Christian religion, which they imperfectly professed, of the Roman laws, which they did not altogether abolish, and of the Latin language, which they began insensibly to adopt, were exerted in producing a tolerance for the Roman corporations of workmen, as well as for many other Roman customs, and a facility for adopting the same system of organizing workmen, which led in time to the establishment of the guilds.

Of the regular progress of these guilds in the earlier centuries, as if they were a mere continuation of the corporations of the Roman colleges, we have sufficient, if not abundant, records.

Lucius Ampelius, a Latin writer of the 5th century, mentions,

[1] The article in Lacroix's "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance," which treats of the "Corporations de Métiers," was written by MM. Monteil and Rabutaux. To their researches I have been indebted for much that is contained in this chapter; but for the sake of brevity and convenience I shall cite authority under the general reference to Lacroix.

[2] Church, "The Beginning of the Middle Ages," p. 46.

in his *Liber Memorialis,* a consul or chief of the locksmiths, whence we may infer an organized body of those craftsmen. Under the Merovingian kings, or the first dynasty of France, we meet with a corporation of goldsmiths. The bakers were probably organized under Charlemagne, as he took measures for their regulation, and in 630 they are distinctly spoken of as a corporation in the ordinances of Dagobert.

In Lombardy, which after its conquest by Charlemagne was in close relations with France, there were many colleges or corporations of artisans. We find in Ravenna, in 943, a college of fishermen, and ten years afterward a chief of the corporation of merchants; in 1001 a chief of the corporation of butchers. In 1061 Philip I. granted certain privileges to the Master chandlers.

The "ancient customs" of the butchers are mentioned in the time of Louis VIL, in 1162; the same prince, in 1160, granted to the wife and heirs of one Yves Laccohre the faculty of practicing five trades, namely, those of the glovers, the purse-makers, the belt-makers, the cobblers, and the shoemakers.[1]

Under the subsequent reign of Philip II. similar grants or concessions are more numerous.

This monarch, whose military exploits had won for him the title of "Conqueror" and "Augustus," is said to have approved the statutes of several corporations; in 1182 he confirmed those of the butchers, and granted them several privileges; in the next year the skinners and the drapers were also the objects of his favor.[2]

In all Europe, say the writers in Lacroix's work, toward the 12th century, Italy gave the first impulse to that restoration to splendor of the corporations which for some centuries had been diminishing in importance. The confraternities of artisans in the north of France also constituted themselves into corporations, whence they spread into the cities across the Rhine. In Germany the guild had for a long time preserved its primitive form, and therefore the German and the French corporations are not to be confounded, though they had a common origin.

The most important event that marked the reign of Louis VI. in the 12th century was the affranchisement of the inhabitants of

[1] "Et Boileau, Livre des Métiers." Introduction by M. Depping.

[2] Lacroix, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance."

the cities,[1] and the establishment of the *Communes*, or independent municipal governments. One of the results of this movement was the revived organization of the Parisian Hanse. This, which Lacroix calls the oldest and most considerable of the French corporations, was a company of the recently affranchised citizens of Paris under the name of the *Merchadise de l'eau.* It was a corporation to which was assigned the control of river navigation. A corporation similar in character had existed during the Roman domination, but in the lapse of time and under changes of government had become extinct. To this ancient corporation, however, it is probable that the new one owed its origin. The Parisian Hanse was always treated with great favor by the Kings. Louis VII. confirmed their privileges, and Philip II. increased them. At length it obtained the privilege of the navigation of the Seine and Yonde between Mantes and Auvern. Foreign merchants could not pass these limits and bring goods into Paris unless they had affiliated with the Hanse, and associated in their mercantile gains a citizen who served as their guaranty. It presided over the disembarkation of all goods brought into Paris, and controlled all buying and selling. After a short time similar corporations were established in all the cities bordering on the sea or on rivers.

Previous to the second part of the 13th century several corporations of artists or Craft guilds had been authorized by different monarchs, but it is only in the reign of St. Louis, from 1226 to 1270, that we are to date the first general measures taken for the establishment of the communities in France, and of the corporations on a legal basis. Up to that time the Prevostship of Paris had been a venal office, which was sold to the highest bidder. Louis resolved to reform this abuse, and appointed Stephen Boileau to the office of Prevost of Paris.

Of Etienne, or Stephen Boileau,[2] French writers have not been niggardly in their encomiums. He was undoubtedly a magistrate worthy of the greatest praise. To him Paris is indebted for its police. He moderated and fixed the taxes and imposts which, under previous Prevosts, had been levied arbitrarily on trade and

[1] It was not until the 14th century that the stain of serfdom was removed from the peasants.

[2] The name has been indifferently spelled, Boileau, Boyleau, Boleaue, or Boylesve. I have adhered to the most usual orthography.

commerce. But his most important act in relation to our present subject was the distribution of the merchants and artisans into distinct communities or corporations under the name of confraternities, with specific statutes for their government.

He collected from old records and other ancient sources the customs and usages of the various crafts, most of which had never been written; collated them, and most probably improved them in many parts, preserved them as monuments in the archives of the Chatelet, which was the Guildhall of Paris, and thus composed his invaluable work entitled *Livre des Métiers*, or the "Book of the Crafts."[1]

In his introduction to this work, M. Depping says that "it has the advantage of being for the most part the work of the corporations themselves, and not a series of regulations drawn up by the authority of the State."

The systems of corporations now began to enter into the regular framework of the social organization. Royal confirmations of charters, which had been rare during the 12th century, were multiplied in the 13th, and became a universal usage in the 14th century.[2]

As an evidence of the growth of these fraternities in cities neighboring to France, it may be noted that in the year 1228 Bologna had twenty-one corporations of crafts; in 1321 Parma had eighteen, and in 1376 Turin had twenty-six.

The *Livre des Métiers* of Boileau contains the statutes or regulations of one hundred different corporations, and these were not all that were then existing in Paris. Some, for various reasons, had neglected or declined to have themselves inscribed at the Chatelet.

In succeeding reigns the corporations were greatly multiplied. Under the administration of the Chancellor Tellier, in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., Sauvai records in his *Histoire des Antiquitis de la Ville de Paris*, that he had counted 1,531 corporations in that city.

Some of these Parisian corporations possessed distinguished privileges. Such were the guild or corporation of Drapers, who held a pre-eminence over all others, the Grocers, the Mercers, the Skinners, the Hosiers, and the Goldsmiths.

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[1] This work, long in manuscript, was first printed and published in 1837 in one volume quarto at Paris by M. Depping, who has enriched it with a learned Introduction.

[2] Lacroix, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance."

Some of the corporations were held directly under the royal authority and some under certain high officers of the court.

In the first centuries after the dissolution of the Roman Empire the Roman law as to illicit or unauthorized corporations seems to have become obsolete or to have been wholly disregarded, and the corporations were constituted and organized at the will of their organizers. But subsequently, and more especially after the 12th century, the approval of their regulations by the King or other person, in whose jurisdiction they were, was required to impart to them a legal condition.

These corporations had their peculiar privileges conceded to them by the royal or other competent authority, and their statutes and regulations enacted, for the most part, by themselves. They were distinguished from each other by their coats of arms, which they displayed in their processions and on other public occasions.

Each of the corporations held its General Assembly, to which the members frequently came from a great distance. Absentees were often fined.

The number of craftsmen who attended was frequently great. For instance, in 1361, the General Assembly of the Drapers of Rouen was composed of more than a thousand persons.[1]

These Assemblies were generally convened by the officers of the King, who assisted at them either in person or by their delegates; but sometimes they were called together by the artisans without royal authority.

To render the attendance on them more convenient, artisans of the same profession usually inhabited the same quarter of the city, and even the same street. Sometimes this common residence was made obligatory, as in the case of the booksellers of Paris, who were compelled to dwell beyond the bridges on the right bank of the Seine.

The writers in Lacroix assert that these communities or corporations were in possession of all the privileges that formerly attached to the Roman Colleges. They could possess property, sustain actions at law through a procurator, and accept legacies. They had a common chest, exacted dues of their members, and exercised

[1] Lacroix, ut supra.

a police jurisdiction over them, and, to some extent, a criminal one. They struggled to preserve and to augment their privileges, and took part in all the conflicts of those turbulent times and in the quarrels, which were by no means few, between the Masters and the workmen. Some of them even exercised a jurisdiction over artisans who were not members of the corporation.

In most of the corporations the officers were elected by the community, though in some cases they were appointed by the King or other extraneous authority.

The members of the corporation were divided into three classes: Apprentices, Companions, and Masters. The writers in Lacroix speak of these classes as degrees, but evidently without attaching to the word the meaning conveyed in the modern Masonic use of it. They were simply ranks, or classes, the lower subordinate to the higher.

The duration of apprenticeship was from two to eight years, and in most of the trades the Companion had to undergo a considerable probation before he could become a Master. The Companion was usually called a *varlet gaignant;* that is, a man who earns wages equivalent to the English *journeyman,* or, as he was called in the old Masonic charges, a *Fellow*.

When the Apprentice, having completed his apprenticeship, or the Companion was desirous of being promoted to the rank of Master, he assumed the title of Aspirant.[1] He was subjected to frequent rigid examinations, and was required to prove his fitness for advancement by executing some of the principal products of the trade or craft which he professed. This was called his *chef-d'œuvre,* and in its execution he was surrounded by minute formalities. He was closely confined in an edifice or apartment specially prepared for the occasion; he was deprived of all communication with his relations or friends, and worked under the eyes of officers of the corporation. His task lasted sometimes for several months. It was not always confined to the direct products of the trade, but sometimes extended to the fabrication of the tools used in his craft.

The aspirant having successfully submitted to the examinations and trials imposed upon him, and having renewed his oath of fidelity to the King, an oath which he must have previously taken as an Ap-

[1] Lacroix, ut supra.

prentice, was required afterward to pay a tax, which was sometimes heavy, and which was divided between the King or Lord and the corporation. This tax was, however, remitted or greatly reduced in the case of the son of a Master of the Craft. From this usage has been, undoubtedly, derived the custom which still prevails in the Speculative Masonry of some countries, and which was once universal, of initiating a *louveteau,* or the son of a Mason, at an earlier age than that prescribed for other candidates.

The statutes of every corporation exercised great vigilance over the private life and morals of the members.

Bastards could not be accepted as Apprentices. To be admitted to the Mastership it was necessary that the Aspirant should enjoy a stainless reputation. To use the modern Masonic phrase, he must be "under the tongue of good report."

If an artisan associated with heretics or excommunicated persons, or eat or drank with them, he was subject to punishment.

The statutes cultivated good feelings and affectionate relations between the members.

The merchant or craftsman could not strive to entice a customer to enter his shop when he was approaching that of his neighbor.

Improper language to each other subjected the offender to a fine.

In reference to religion, each corporation constituted a religious confraternity, which was placed under the patronage of some saint, who was deemed the special protector of the profession. Thus St. Crispin was the patron saint of the Shoemakers, and St. Eloy of the Smiths.

Every corporation possessed a chapel in some church of the quarter, and often maintained a chaplain.

The corporations had religious exercises on stated occasions for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the community; they rendered funeral honors to the dead, and took care of the widows and orphans of deceased members; they distributed alms and sent to the hospitals the contributions which had been collected at their banquets.

The brethren received a strange workman in their trade when entering a city, welcomed him, provided for his first wants, sought work for him, and if that failed the eldest Companion yielded his place to him.

But this character in time degenerated, the banquets became

debauches, conflicts took place between the workmen, and coalitions were formed against the industrial classes.

The law then interfered, and these confraternities or guilds were forbidden, but without much success.

It will be very evident to the reader that the details here given of the rise and progress, the form and organization of the mediaeval corporations or guilds do not refer to the Masons exclusively, but to the circle of the handicrafts of which the Masons constituted only one, but an important, portion. Before the middle of the 12th, or the beginning of the 13th, century, the corporations of Freemasons were not distinguished from the other crafts by any peculiar organization. They had undoubtedly derived a prominence over the other guilds in consequence of their connection with the construction of Cathedrals and other great public buildings; but "at that time," says Mr. Fergusson,[1] "all trades and professions were organized in the same manner, and the guild of Masons differed in no essential particulars from those of the Shoemakers or Hatters, the Tailors or Vintners—all had their Masters and Past Masters, their Wardens and other Officers, and were recruited from a body of Apprentices, who were forced to undergo years of probationary servitude before they were admitted to practice their arts."

Mr. Fergusson draws incorrectly a deduction that the Freemasons were an insignificant body, and hence in his book, he pays no attention to them outside of Germany. He even underrates their constructive capacity, and thinks that the designs of the Cathedrals and other religious edifices were made by Bishops, who, taking as a model some former building, verbally corrected its mistakes and suggested his improvements to his builder. But history has shown that in France, as well as elsewhere, there were at an early period laymen who were distinguished architects.

The only legitimate inference that can be deduced from the fact that all the other handicrafts were organized on the same plan as the Masons, is that the guild spirit universally prevailed, and that there was a common origin for it, which most writers have correctly referred to the Roman Colleges, which were the most ancient guilds with which we are acquainted.

[1] "History of Architecture in all Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day." By James Fergusson, F.R.S., etc., London, 1867, vol. i., p. 477.

Having thus far treated of the guilds in general, or the corporations of all the trades, it is now proper to direct our attention exclusively to the Masonic Guilds as they present themselves to us in France during the Middle Ages.

Larousse, who has compiled the best and most exhaustive encyclopaedic dictionary in the French language, makes a distinction between the associations of Masons and those of the Freemasons in France, a distinction which has existed in other countries, but with more especial peculiarities in France. Like all the other crafts, they were divided into three ranks or degrees of Apprentice, Journeyman, and Master. But I fail to find any evidence that there was a separate initiation or an esoteric knowledge peculiar to each rank which would constitute it a degree in the modern and technical sense of that word.

Larousse mixes the history of the French with that of the German Freemasons, but makes the Operative Masonic Guilds spring out of a jealousy or rivalry on the part of the Operative with the better-cultured architects.

He says that while the nomadic constructors of cathedrals and castles, that is to say, the Traveling Freemasons, who, springing out of Lombardy, were organized at Strasburg, at Cologne, and probably at York, formed a kind of aristocracy of the Craft, other Masons, attached to the soil and living, therefore, always in one place, formed independent and distinct corporations in the 15th century. I think, however, that such organizations may be found at an earlier period.

These Masons did not, like the German and English Freemasons, claim to be the disciples of St. John the Baptist, but placed themselves under the patronage of St. Blaise.

St. Blaise was a bishop and martyr who suffered in the 3d century, during the persecution of Diocletian. His legend says that he was tortured by having his flesh torn with iron combs, such as are used in carding wool. Hence he has been adopted by the woolstaplers as their patron. But it is inexplicable why he should have been selected by the Masons of France as their protecting saint, since there is nothing in the legend of his life that connects him with architecture or building.

The Guild or Corporation of Masons comprised Masons proper; that is, Builders, Stonecutters, Plaisterers, and Mortar Mixers. This

we learn from the Regulations for the Arts and Trades of Paris, drawn up by Stephen Boileau and contained in the 48th chapter of his *Livre des Métiers.*

It will be interesting to compare these regulations of the French Masons, drawn up or copied as is said by Boileau from the older ones enacted by St. Eloy, with the statutes or constitutions of the English Masons contained in their Old Records. I have therefore inserted below a literal translation of them from the *Livre des Métiers.*

REGULATIONS OF THE MASONS, STONECUTTERS, PLAISTERERS, AND MORTAR MIXERS.

1. Whosoever desires may be a Master at Paris provided that he knows the trade and works according to the usages and customs of the craft.

2. No one can have more than one Apprentice and he can not take him for less than six years of service, but he may take him for a longer period and for money (a fee) if he has it. And if he takes him for a less period than six years he is subject to a fine of twenty sous of Paris, to be paid to the Chapel of St. Blaise, except only that he should be his son born in lawful wedlock.

3. A Mason may take another Apprentice, as soon as the other has accomplished five years of his service, for the same period that the other had been taken.

4. The present King on whom may God bestow a happy life has given the Mastership of the Masons to Master William de Saint Pater, during his pleasure. The said Master William swore at Paris in the lodges of the Pales before said, that he would to the best of his power, well and loyally protect the Craft, the poor as well as the rich, the weak as well as the strong as long as it was the king's pleasure that he should protect the Craft aforesaid and then Master William took the form of oath before said, before the Prevost of Paris in the Châtelet (or town hall).

5. The Mortar Masters and the Plaisterers have the same condition and standing, in all things as the Masons.

6. The Master who presides over the Craft of Masons, of Mortar Mixers and of Plaisterers, of Paris, by the King's order may have two Apprentices, but only on the conditions before said, and if he

should have more, he will be assessed in the manner above provided for.

7. The Masons, the Mortar Mixers and the Plaisterers may have as many assistants and servants as they please so long as they do not in any point teach them the mystery of the trade.

8. Every Mason, every Mortar Mixer and every Plaisterer must swear on the gospels that he will maintain and do well and loyally to the Craft, each in his place and that if he knows that any one is doing wrong and not acting according to the usages and Craft aforesaid he will every time make it known, under his oath, to the Master.

9. The Master whose Apprentice has completed his time of service, must go before the Master of the Craft and declare that his Apprentice has finished his time well and faithfully; and the Master who presides over the Craft must make the Apprentice swear on the gospels that he will conform well and truly to the usages and customs of the Craft.

10. No one should work at the aforesaid trade on days when flesh may be eaten after nones have been sounded at Notre Dame (*i.e.,* 3 o'clock in the afternoon) and on Saturday in Lent after Vespers have been chanted at Notre Dame unless it be on an arch, or to close a stair way or door opening on the street. And if any one should work after the aforesaid hours except in the above mentioned works of necessity he shall pay a fine of four derniers to the Master who presides over the Craft and the Master may take his tools for the fine.

11. The Mortar Mixers and the Plaisterers are under the jurisdiction of the Master aforesaid appointed by the king to preside over the Craft.

12. If a Plaisterer should send any man plaister to be used in a work, the Mason who is working for him to whom the plaister is sent, should by his oath, take care that the measure of the plaister is good and lawful; and if he suspects the measure he should measure the plaister or cause it to be measured in his presence. And if he finds that the measure is not good, the plaisterer must pay a fine of 5 sous; that is to say, 2 sous to the Chapel of St. Blaise, 2 sous to the Master who presides over the Craft and 11 (12?) deniers to him who has measured the plaister. And he to whom the plaister was delivered shall rebate from each sack that he

shall receive in that work, as much as should have been in that which was measured in the beginning. But where there is only one sack, it shall not be measured.

13. No one can become a Plaisterer at Paris unless he pays 5 *sous* to the Master who, by the King's order presides over the Craft; and when he has paid the 5 *sous* he must swear on the gospels that he will mix nothing but plaister with his plaister, and that he will deliver good and true measure.

14. If the Plaisterer puts anything which he ought not, in his plaister he shall be fined 5 *sous*, to be paid to the Master every time that he is detected. And if the Plaisterer makes it a practice to do this, and will not submit to fine or punishment, the Master may exclude him from the Craft, and if he will not leave the Craft at the Master's order, the Master must make it known to the Prevost of Paris, and the Prevost must compel the Plaisterer to quit the Craft aforesaid.

15. The Mortar Mixer must swear before the Master and before other syndics of the Craft, that he will make Mortar only out of good limestone, and if he makes it of any other kind of stone or if the mortar is made of limestone but of inferior quality he should be reprimanded and should pay a fine of 4 *deniers* to the Master of the Craft.

16. A Mortar Mixer can not take an Apprentice for a less time of service than six years and a fee of 100 *sous* for teaching.

17. The Master of the Craft has petty jurisdiction and the infliction of fines over the Masons, Plaisterers, and Mortar Mixers, their assistants and apprentices, as it will be the King's pleasure, as well as over those who intrude into their trades and over the infliction of corporal punishment without drawing blood and over the right of clamor or immediate arrest and trial if it did not affect property.

18. If any one of the Craft departs before the Master of the Craft, if he is in contempt he must pay a fine of 4 *deniers to* the Master; and if he returns and asks admission he should give a pledge; and if he does not pay before night, there is a fine of 4 *deniers* to the Master; and if he refuses and acts wrongly, there is a fine of 4 *deniers* to the Master.

19. The Master who presides over the Craft, can inflict only a fine for a quarrel; and if he who has been fined is so hot and foolish

that he will not obey the commands of the Master nor pay the fine, the Master may exclude him from the Craft.

20. If any one who has been excluded from the Craft by the Master, works at the trade after his exclusion, the Master may take away his tools and retain them until he pays a fine; and if he offers resistance, the Master must make it known to the Prevost of Paris who must overcome the resistance.

21. The Masons and the Plaisterers are liable to do watch, to pay taxes, and are subject to all the duties which the other citizens of Paris owe to the King.

22. The Mortar Mixers are exempt from watching, and also the stonecutters as the syndics have heard said from father to son from the time of Charles Martel.

23. The Master, who by the King's order presides over the Craft, is exempt from watching in consequence of that he does in presiding over the Craft.

24. He who is over sixty years old, or whose wife is dead, ought not to serve on the watch; but he ought to make it known to the King's Keeper of the Watch.

From these Regulations we learn that there was an officer who presided over the Craft in general, and who in many respects resembled the Chief Warden or Master of the Work of the Scottish Masons and the similar officer among the English, upon whom Anderson has gratuitously bestowed the title of Grand Master. He was appointed by the King, and in the Regulations is sometimes called "the Master who protects the Craft" (*le mestre qui garde le mestier),* and sometimes "the Master of the Craft" (*le mestre du mestier*).

At a later period he was styled "Master and General of the Works and Buildings of the King in the Art of Masonry," and still later "Master General of the Buildings, Bridges, and Roads of the King."

It is worthy of notice that one of these Regulations refers to a privilege as having been enjoyed by the Craft according to an uninterrupted tradition from the time of Charles Martel. This reference to the great Mayor of the Palace as being connected with Masonry, in a French document of the 13th century, and which is believed to have a much earlier origin, would authorize the hypothesis that the story of the connection of Charles Martel with Masonry

which is attributed to him in the English legend was derived by the English Masons from those French builders who both history and tradition concur in saying brought their art into England at a very early period.

The confounding of the name of Charles Martel the Warrior with that of his grandson Charlemagne, the Civilizer—if confusion there was, as is strongly to be suspected—must be attributed to the French and not to the English Masons.

The statutes of the Community, Corporation, or Guild of Masons were confirmed by Charles IX. and Henry IV. in the 16th, and by Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. in the 17th century. A great many letters-patent and decrees of the King's council are in existence, which define the jurisdictional powers of the Masters-General of the Buildings, and which contain regulations that release the Masons from all judicial summonses and from all judgments pronounced against them in other jurisdictions, remitting them to the Masters-General of the Buildings as their natural judges.

Some of these letters-patent related to the police of the Craft. Thus those of 1574 prescribed that Apprentices should be received by the Warden (*Maitre Garde*), and regulated the fee which should be paid under various circumstances. By an edict of October, 1574, sworn Master Masons were appointed as assistants to the Warden, who were to visit and inspect the works in Paris and the suburbs. These were at first twenty in number, but they were subsequently increased to sixty.

The Master-General of the Buildings had two jurisdictions, one which had existed for several centuries, and the other, which was established in the year 1645. The seat of the former was at Paris, in the Chatelet; that of the latter at Versailles.

Three architects, says Lacroix, who bore the title of "King's Counsellors, Architects, and Masters-General of the Buildings," exercised their jurisdiction year by year. They decided all disputes between the employers and the workmen and between the workmen themselves. Their courts were held on Mondays and Fridays, and there was an appeal from their judgment to the parliament.

In 1789 the Revolution in proclaiming freedom of labor abolished all corporative regulations and exempted the workmen from any sort of restraint, while at the same time they were deprived of all special privileges.

The Operative Masons of France, at the present day, constitute a large Confraternity, who have a kind of organization, but very singularly they are the only body of workmen who do not practice the system of *compagnage* or fellowship adopted by the other trades.

They have, however, their legends, and pretend that they are the successors of the Tyrians, who wrought at the building of the Temple in Jerusalem, calling themselves, therefore, the children of Solomon.

But they have no corporate existence and must be considered as working only on an independent and voluntary principle. There is, apparently, no similitude between them and the *Compagnons de la tour*, or brotherhoods of the other handicrafts in France. According to Larousse, they do not possess nor practice the *topage*, challenge, or formula of salutation by which the members of any one of these brotherhoods are enabled to recognize each other when meeting in a strange place.

From the sketch of the progress of architecture as a science and its practical development in the art of building in Gaul and in France, as presented in this chapter, we learn that the origin of the French Freemasons can not be traced as precisely as we do that of the German and British.

Rebold[1] says, very correctly, that the Masonic corporations never presented in France the peculiar character that they had in England and Scotland, and that hence their influence on the progress of civilization was much less than in those countries.

He further affirms that the custom adopted by the architectural corporations, of affiliating men of learning and condition as patrons or honorary members, appears to have resulted in France, as it had in other countries, namely, in the formation, outside of the corporations, of lodges for the propagation of the humanitarian doctrines of the institution; and he adds that when the Masonic corporations were dissolved in France at the beginning of the 16th century, lodges of this nature appear then to have existed.

All this is, however, mere assumption—an hypothesis and not an historical fact. Rebold himself admits that there is no longer any trace to be found of these Speculative Lodges.[2]

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[1] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 31.

[2] Nous n'en trouvons plus aucune trace. Rebold, ut supra

In fact, there never was in France that gradual development of Speculative out of Operative Masonry which took place in England and in Scotland.

The Speculative Masonry of France came to it, not out of any change in or any action of the Masonic guilds or corporations, by which they abandoned their Operative and assumed a Speculative character. The Speculative lodges, the lodges of Free and accepted Masons, which we find springing up in Paris about that epoch, were due to a direct importation from London and under the authority of the Speculative Grand Lodge of England.

The history of the rise and progress of Speculative Masonry in France comprises, therefore, a distinct topic, to be treated in a future chapter.

But we must first discuss the condition of Masonry in other countries and at other epochs.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TRAVELING FREEMASONS OF LOMBARDY OR THE MASTERS OF COMO

N the effort to trace the gradual growth of the modern system of Speculative Masonry out of the ancient organization of Operative Masons, we are arrested by an important era when the Guilds of architects and builders, issued about the 10th century from the north of Italy and under the name of "Traveling Freemasons," perambulated Europe, and with the patronage of the churches extended the principles of their art into every country from Germany to Scotland.

Before we can properly appreciate the events connected with the origin of this body of organized Masons as the undoubted link which connects the artificers of the Roman Colleges with the Masonic Guilds which sprang up in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain, we must take a brief view of the condition of the Roman Empire in respect to the cultivation of the arts at the time of its declension and after the seat of government had been removed from Rome to Byzantium.

Mr. Thomas Hope has devoted some thirty pages of his *Historical Essay on Architecture* to an investigation of the circumstances which toward the end of the 10th century affected architecture, generally and extensively, throughout Europe. To this admirable inquiry I shall be indebted for many of the details and leading ideas which will constitute the present chapter.

In this work, Mr. Hope remarks that the architecture of Christian Greece and Rome, that is to say, the Byzantine and the Roman styles, exhibited, while it was confined within the limits bounded by the Alps, more local diversities than after it had crossed the mountain-ranges and advanced successively through France and Germany to the farthest inhabited regions of northern Europe.[1]

[1] Hope, "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 220.

But as this advancement from the plains of Italy into more northern regions was accompanied by a style of architecture the adoption of which was at once the cause and the effect of that united action which distinguished the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, it will be necessary to give a brief glance at the condition of architecture in the times which preceded the exodus of artists from Italy.

It must be remembered that it is impossible to trace with any prospect of certainty, the progress of events which finally led to the institution of Speculative Masonry, unless we direct our attention to the early history of Operative Masonry.

Though Speculative and Operative Masonry never were and never can be identical—a mistake into which early Masonic historians like Dr. Anderson have fallen—yet it must be always remembered that the former sprung by a process of mental elaboration out of the latter. Operative Masonry is the foundation and Speculative Masonry the superstructure which has been erected on it.

This is the theory which is advanced in the present work, in contradistinction to that untenable one which traces a connection of the modern society with any of the religious institutions of antiquity.

If then the old Masonry of the mediaeval builders, which was essentially operative in its character, is the foundation on which the Freemasonry of the modern philosophers, which is essentially speculative in its character, is built, we can not pretend to write a history of the superincumbent building and at the same time totally ignore the underlying foundation.

It is necessary, therefore, to glance at the history of architecture and at its condition before and after the 10th century, if we would understand how Freemasonry in the beginning of the 18th century was transmuted from an Operative to a Speculative system, from an art of building to a science of philosophy.

It has been noted as an evidence of the union of principles which began to distinguish the architects of and after the 10th century, who called themselves Freemasons, that in the time of Caesar a habitation in Helvetia differed more from a dwelling in the northern part of Italy, though the regions were adjacent, than the church reared in England or Sweden did from one erected in Sicily or Palestine, remote as the countries were from each other.[1]

[1] Hope, "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 220.

Now let it be remembered that this unity of design was introduced by the Traveling Freemasons; that these derived a knowledge of the great principles of the art of building from the artificers sent by the Roman Colleges, in company with the Legions of the Roman army, into all the conquered provinces and who there established colonies; that those Traveling Freemasons communicated their knowledge to the Stonemasons of Germany, France, England, Scotland, and other countries which they visited in pursuit of employment and in the practice of their craft; and finally that those stonemasons having from time to time, for purposes of their own aggrandizement, admitted non-professional, that is to say non-masonic members into their ranks, the latter eventually overcame the former in numbers and in influence and transmuted the Operative into a Speculative institution.

Remembering these points, which give the true theory of the origin of modern Freemasonry, as it were, in a nutshell,[1] it will be at once seen how necessary it is that the Masonic student should be thoroughly acquainted with the history of these mediaeval Masons, and with the character of the architecture which they invented, with the nature of the organization which they established, and with the method of building which they practiced.

To attain a comprehensive view of this subject, it is necessary that we should, in the first place, advert to the history of the kingdom of Lombardy, which is admitted to have been the cradle of mediaeval architecture.

At the close of the 5th century, the Ostrogoths, instigated and supported by the jealousy of the Byzantine Emperor, had invaded Italy under the celebrated Theodoric. Odoacer, who then ruled over the Roman Empire of the East, having been treacherously slain, Theodoric was proclaimed King of Italy by the Goths. He reigned for thirty-three years, during the greater part of which long period he was distinguished for his religious toleration, his administration of justice, and the patronage of the arts.

In a passage written by Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, who was the Chancellor of Theodoric, the Minister describes, in a glowing panegyric, the exalted condition of architecture during the reign of that monarch. Tiraboschi, who cites the passage in his *History of*

[1] Translation by W. H. Leeds, London, 1836, p. 17.

the Sciences in Italy, attributes this flourishing state of the art to the influence of the Goths. But Moller, in his *Memorials of German Gothic Architecture,* dissents from this view, especially as the Gothic domination in Italy lasted scarcely more than half a century, and contends that were it even demonstrable that architecture had been at that time such as Cassiodorus describes it, the fact is to be ascribed rather to the Byzantine Romans, among whom he thinks that we must search for all that, at that era, was preserved of the city and the sciences.

The Goths were finally driven out of Italy in the reign of Justinian, and by the armies of the renowned Belisarius. This event occurred about the middle of the 6th century.

They were succeeded by another tribe of semi-barbarians, who, though they did not, as the Ostrogoths had done, assume the domination of the whole of the Italian peninsular, yet exerted an influence on the state of mediaeval architecture that produced results of most interesting character.

The Longobardi, a word which by a generally accepted etymology signifies the Longbeards, a title which they obtained from their manner of wearing that appendage to the face, were a Scandinavian tribe who, coming down from their almost arctic home, first settled on the eastern banks of the Elbe, but gradually extended their migrations southwardly until in the year 568 they invaded Italy, and founded in its northeastern part the kingdom which to this day bears the name of Lombardy.

The kingdom of Lombardy existed in a condition of prosperity for two hundred years, but was finally obliterated toward the end of the 8th century, in 774, from the roll of independent monarchies by the victorious arms of Charlemagne.

During that period it had been governed by one-and-twenty kings, several of whom displayed great talents and who left their monuments in the wisdom and prudence of the laws which they gave to the kingdom.[1]

In their first invasion under Alboin, their King, the Longo-

[1] Sismondi, "Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen Age," tome i., p. 14, Charles Butler says that no ancient code of law is more famous than the "Law of the Lombards;" none discovers more evident traces of the feudal policy. It survived the destruction of that empire by Charlemagne, and is said to be in force even now in some cities of Italy. "Horæ Judicas Subsecivæ," p. 85.

bards, or, as they were more briefly called, the Lombards, who were a fierce and warlike people, were pagans, and inflicted many persecutions on the Roman Christians. But their manners became gradually more mild, and in the year 587, Anthairs, their third monarch, embraced Christianity according to the faith of the Arians. His successor afterward adopted the orthodox or Catholic creed.

It was in the 6th century that the germs of the interference of the Church with the arts and sciences, and the control of architecture, were first planted. During the repeated incursions of barbarians, the gradual decline and ultimate fall of the power of the Roman Empire, and the continual recurrence of wars, the arts and sciences would have been totally extinguished had they not found a place of refuge among the priests, the bishops, and the monastic orders.

Whatever there was remaining of the old culture was preserved from perishing in the monasteries, the churches, and the dwellings of the ecclesiastics. Schools were erected in the cathedral churches in which youths were instructed by the bishop or someone appointed by him, in the knowledge of the seven liberal arts and sciences. In the monasteries the monks and nuns devoted as a part of their discipline a certain portion of their time to reading the works of the ancient doctors, or in copying and dispersing manuscripts of classical as well as Christian writers.

To these establishments, says Mosheim, are we indebted for the preservation and possession of all the ancient authors who thus escaped the fury of barbaric ignorance.

Architecture, which because its principles were generally and almost exclusively applied to the construction of churches and other religious edifices had become almost a sacred art, was at first and for a long time under the entire control of the clergy. The laity were either an ignorant peasantry or soldiers trained to war; the ecclesiastics alone exercised the arts, and especially architecture. Missionaries sent to teach the Christian faith carried with them into the fields of their labor, builders whom they directed in the construction of the new churches which they made their converts erect.[1]

Ecclesiastical writers have remarked upon the incredible number of churches which, under the influence of religious enthusiasm, were

[1] "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 213.

erected all over Europe, but more especially in Gaul and Italy at so early a period as the 6th century.

Lombardy is, as Mr. Hope has remarked, "the country in which associations of Freemasons were first formed, and which from its more recent civilization afforded few ancient temples whence materials might be supplied, was the first after the decline of the Roman Empire to endow architecture with a complete and connected system of forms, which soon prevailed wherever the Latin Church spread its influence from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Mediterranean."[1]

Moller, a learned German writer on architecture,[2] asserts that the Lombards were in the habit of building much, and appear to have quickly attained a higher degree of civilization than the Goths, to whom they succeeded. As a proof of their skill and architectural culture we may refer to D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments*,[3] where is exhibited a plate of the church of St. Julia near Bergamo, that of St. Michael at Pavia, and that of the round church of St. Momus, all of which he ascribes to the Lombards. Hope also enumerates among the churches erected in what he calls the Lombard style the Basilica of St. Eustorgio, which was built in the 7th or 8th century.

But, as in the case of the Goths, Moller ascribes whatever there was of excellence in Lombard architecture not to the Lombards themselves, who were originally a rude, invading people who adopted the civilized manners of the people whom they conquered as well as their architecture, but to the Byzantine Romans.

Other writers on this subject do not concur with Moller in this view.[4] It is not denied that there was a constant influx of Grecian artists from Byzantium into Lombardy, who unquestionably must have influenced the condition of the arts by their superior skill; it can not be doubted that at the time of the extinction of their kingdom they had attained a very considerable share of civilization, and had made much progress in the art of building. This is evident from the few monuments that still remain as well as from the fact

[1] "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 250.

[2] See Moller's "Memorials of German Gothic Architecture," translated by W. H, Leeds, London, 1836, p. 18.

[3] "L'Histoire de l'art par les monumens," Pl. xxiv.

[4] See Sismondi, "Histoire des Repub. Italy," ch. i.

that Charlemagne made but little change in their government when he established his Lombard Empire by their conquest.

Nicholson speaks of these Lombards in terms of commendation. He says that "Italy does not seem to have suffered much but rather the reverse from their government, and during their possession the arts flourished and were cultivated with greater success than during the periods either immediately preceding or following. It is certain that they gave a great impetus to building, for during the two hundred years of their sway the northern and central portions of Italy had become studded with churches and baptisteries."[1]

We may therefore very safely say that the ancient architecture of the Romans derived from their Colleges of Artificers was imitated by the Lombards and with its inevitable improvements brought to them from Byzantium by Grecian architects was subsequently extended over Europe.

But it was only after the conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne that that province began to assume that high place in architecture which was won for it by the labors of the builders who disseminated over all Europe the principles of the new style which they had invented.

This style, which was designated as the Lombard from the place of its origin, differed both from the Roman and the Byzantine, though it adapted and appropriated portions of both.

Notwithstanding that the rule over Lombardy by Charlemagne, a monarch whose genius in acquiring empires was equalled by his prudence in preserving them, must have tended to advance the civilization of the inhabitants, the long succession of a race of degenerate descendants had a retarding effect, and it was not until two centuries after his death that the architects of Lombardy established that reputation as builders which has so closely connected their labors with the history of Freemasonry in the Middle Ages.

It has been already seen, when this subject was treated in a previous part of this work, that the Roman Colleges of Artificers continued to exist in all their vigor until the complete fall of the Empire. The invasion of the hordes of barbarians which led to that result had diminished their number and impaired their organization, so long as paganism was the religion of the State. But when the

[1] "Dictionary of Architecture" in voce Lombardii Architecture.

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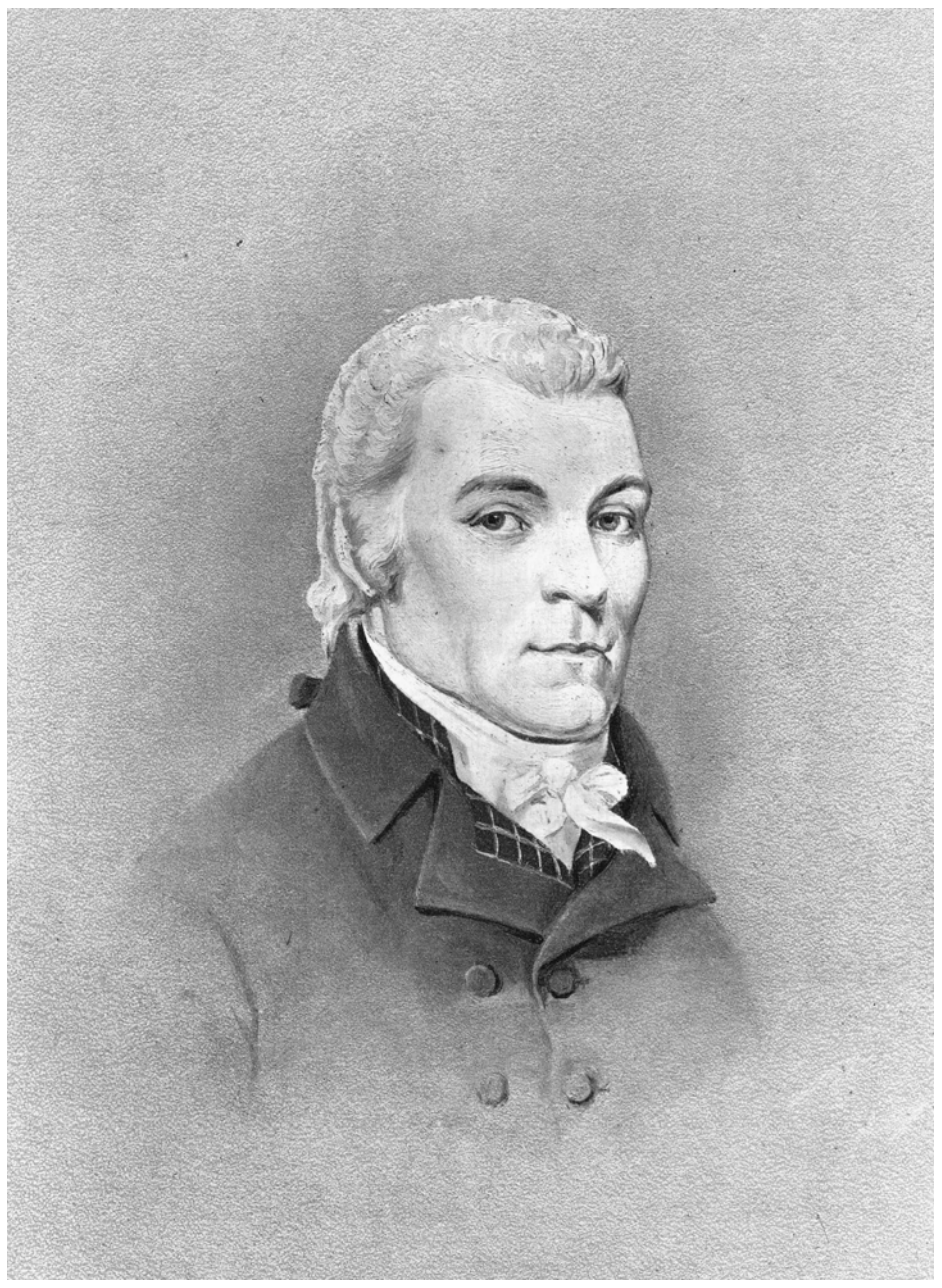

people were converted to Christianity, the Colleges, under the new name of Corporations, began to flourish again. The bishops and priests, who were admitted into them as patrons and honorary members, soon assumed the control of them and occupied the architects and builders in the construction of churches, cathedrals, monasteries, and other religious edifices.

What Whittington[1] has said of Gaul, may with equal propriety be applied to the other portions of Europe. The people were degraded, the barons only semi-civilized, commerce had not yet elevated the lower classes, and the arts had made but little progress among the higher classes. It was therefore chiefly through the clergy that the art of building was revived, which under these barbaric influences had previously led to its decay.

All the writers who have made this subject a study agree in the statement of the great influence of the clergy in the practice and propagation of mediæval architecture. Fergusson goes so far as to say that in the 13th century the Masons, though skilled in hewing and setting stones and acquainted with all the inventions and improvements in their art, never exercised their calling, except under the guidance of some superior person, who was a bishop, an abbot, or an accomplished layman.[2]

This too broad assertion is, however, hardly reconcilable with the fact that in France alone in the 13th century, to say nothing of England, Italy, or Germany, there were many architects who, though neither bishops nor abbots, both designed and built great works. Such, for instance, as Hugues Libergier, the builder of the Cathedral of Rheims, Robert de Lusarches, the builder of the Cathedral of Amiens, and Eudes de Montreuil who, says Whittington, was "an artist equally remarkable for his scientific knowledge and the boldness of his conceptions. He accompanied St. Louis in his expeditions to the Holy Land, where he fortified the city and port of Joppa, and on his return to France, was employed by the King in the constructing of several religious buildings."[1]

The important place occupied by the Church in the revival of architecture can not, however, be too highly estimated. Though it

[1] "An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France." London, 1811, p. 19.

[2] "History of Architecture in all Countries," etc., vol. i., p. 479.

[3] "Historical Survey," p. 68.

would be an error to suppose that there were no laymen who were architects, it must be confessed that the most eminent ecclesiastics made architecture a study, and that in the construction of religious houses, the bishops or abbots designed the plans and the monks executed them. And even if the architect and the Masons were laymen, the house was almost always built under the superintendence and direction of some ecclesiastic of high rank.

The view taken of this subject is the one that is historically the most tenable. Whittington's language is worthy of quotation.

"In those ages of barbarism, when the lay portion of the community was fully employed in warfare and devastation, when churches and convents were the only retreats of peace and security, they also became the chief foci of productive industry. Convents have long been celebrated as the chief asylums of letters in those ages. They also deserve to be remembered as the sole conservators of art; not only painting, sculpture, enameling, engraving, and portraiture, but even architecture was chiefly exercised in them; and the more as the edifices which showed any elegance of skill were only required for sacred purposes. In every region where a religious order wanted a new church or convent, it was an ordinary thing for the superior, the prior, the abbot, nay, the bishop, to give the design and for the monks to fulfill, under his direction, every department of the execution from the meanest to the highest."[1] It is important that the reader should be thoroughly impressed with the position and the services of the clergy in the architecture of the Middle Ages, because it accounts for the character of the institution of Stonemasons, who succeeded the ecclesiastical artists, and who though released from the direct service of the Church still remained under its influence. This is well shown in the symbols used by them in the decoration of the buildings which they erected, most of which belong to Christian iconography, in the charters and constitutions by which they were governed, which inculcate religious faith and respect for the Church, and finally in the transmission of a religious character to the Speculative Masons who succeeded them, and of whose institution it has been said that if Freemasonry be not an universal religion, it forms an auxiliary to every system of faith.

The only difference between the Freemasonry of to-day and that

[1] "Historical Essay," p. 222.

of the 10th or the 11th century, in respect to the question of religion is that the former is cosmopolitan and universal in its creed, whose only unalterable points are the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, while the latter was strictly Christian according to the orthodox, catholic form in its belief and practice.

But notwithstanding the change from intolerance to liberality of sentiment which the progress of the age has introduced, it must never be forgotten that whatever there is of a religious or sacred character in the constitution or the ritual of the Freemasonry of today must be traced to the influences of the Church over the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages.

But it is necessary to resume the thread of our history. At the beginning of the nth century Lombardy was the active center of civilization in Europe. It had prospered under the free institutions of its kings for two centuries, and on the extirpation of the royal line, the people shared in the benefits of the wise policy and prudent government of their conqueror, Charlemagne.

The workmen of Lombardy still maintained the relics of those ancient Sodalities, which had carried under the Roman domination the principles and practices of the Colleges of Artificers into the conquered provinces of the Empire.

The policy of the kings had led them to give various craftsmen the exclusive privilege of exercising their own trades, and under the form of guilds or corporations to establish bodies, which were governed by peculiar laws, and which were sought to be perpetuated by the introduction into them of youths who were to be instructed by the Masters, so that having served a due probation as apprentices, they might become associates and workers in the guild or corporation.

It was in this way that at that time all trades and professions were organized. In so far as respects the union in a corporation endowed with peculiar privileges, the Masons did not differ essentially from the shoemakers, the hatters, or the tailors. Each had its Masters, its Wardens or equivalent officers, and each was governed by its own laws and was recruited from a body of apprentices.[1]

There was, however, one very important difference between the Masons and the other crafts which was productive of singular results.

[1] Fergusson, "History of Architecture," vol. i., p. 477.

This difference arose from the nature of the work which was to be done, and which affected the relations of the craftsmen to each other.

The trade of the tailor or the shoemaker was local. The custom was derived from the place in which he lived. The members of the corporation or guild all knew each other, they lived in the same town or city—and their apprentices, having accomplished their time of service and gone forth to see the world, almost always returned home and settled among their relatives and their friends.

Hence the work done by these trades was work that came to them. It was brought to them by the neighbors who lived around them. Every shoemaker in a city knew every other shoemaker in the same place; every tailor was familiar with the face, the life, and the character of every other tailor. While such intimacy existed there was no necessity for the establishment of any peculiar guards against impostors, for the trade was seldom troubled with the presence of strangers.

But it was not so with the Masons. Theirs was not a local craft. Work did not come to them, but they had to go to the work. Whenever a building was to be erected which required a force of workmen beyond the number who resided usually near the place, Masons had to be sent for from the adjacent towns and districts, and sometimes from even much greater distances.

There was therefore a great necessity for caution in the admission of these "strangers among the workmen" lest some should intrude who were not legally entitled to employment by having acquired a knowledge of the craft in the regular way; that is, by having passed through the probation of an apprenticeship to some lawful Master.

Hence arose the necessity of adopting secret modes of recognition, by which a stranger might be known on his first appearance as a member of the Craft, as a true craftsman, or be at once detected as an impostor.

Mr. Fergusson has adopted this view of the origin of signs and passwords among the Masons. As a scholar of much research, but who, not being a member of the modern confraternity, derives his opinions and deductions from history unconnected with any guild traditions, his remarks are interesting. He says:

"At a time when writing was almost wholly unknown among

the laity, and not one Mason in a thousand could either read or write, it is evidently essential that some expedient should be hit upon by which a Mason traveling to his work might claim assistance and hospitality of his brother Masons on the road, by means of which he might take his rank at once on reaching the lodge without going through tedious examinations or giving practical proofs of his skill. For this purpose a set of secret signs was invented which enabled all Masons to recognize one another as such, and by which also each man could make known his grade to those of similar rank without further trouble than a manual sign, or the utterance of some recognized password. Other trades had something of the same sort, but it never was necessary for them to carry it either to the same extent nor to practice it so often as Masons, they being, for the most part, resident in the same place and knowing each other personally."[1]

Freemasonry was therefore in the following condition at the beginning of the nth century, so far as respects the Kingdom of Lombardy, to which the honor has been universally assigned of being the center from which the Masonic corporations spread abroad into the rest of Europe.

Lombardy being, as has already been shown, the active center whence the arts and sciences were radiated into other countries, architecture, as one of the most useful of the arts and one of an almost sacred character from its use in the construction of religious edifices, took a prominent place among the crafts that were cultivated in that country. Schools of architecture and corporations of architects principally ecclesiastics, were formed. These, passing into other countries and disseminating the principles of their science which they had acquired in the schools at home, have been hence known in history by the title of the "Traveling Freemasons of the Middle Ages."

Among these schools one of the most distinguished was that of Como.

The ancient city of Comum, lying at the southern extremity of the *Lacus Larius*, now called the Lake of Como, was, even under the Empire, a place of some distinction, as it had obtained from Caesar the full franchises of a Roman community. It was probably the birthplace of the elder and the younger Pliny, and was certainly

[1] "History of Architecture," vol. i., p. 478.

the favorite residence of the latter, who writes of it in one of his letters to Canidius Rufus in words of endearing fondness, calling it his darling. "What," he says, "is doing at Como, our darling?"[1] Pliny established there a school of learning, and at an early period it was noted for its foundries of iron. It retained its prosperity until the fall of the Empire, and continued in a flourishing condition under the Goths and under the Lombards. It retained its importance during the Middle Ages and is still populous and nourishing.

The architectural school of Como was of such repute in the 10th century that, according to Muratori, the historian of Italy, the name of *Magistri Comacini,* or Masters from Como, came to be the generic name for all these associations of architects.

The influx of Grecian artists from Byzantium into Italy at that time was, most probably, one of the means by which the Lombardic architects were enabled to improve their system of building. It was from the Greek Empire of Byzantium that the light of the arts and sciences, and of literature, proceeded, which poured its intellectual rays into the darkness of western Europe. At that time the word Greek, or Grecian, was synonymous with all intellectual culture.

We find a curious illustration of this in the *Legend of the Craft,* where Charles Martel, evidently a mistake for Charlemagne, is said to have been indebted for the improvements in architecture or Masonry in his Kingdom to the visit of Naimus Grecus. I have shown, in the first part of this work, that this expression simply means "a certain Greek." The legend thus recognized the fact that Europe was instructed in architecture by the Greeks of Byzantium, who visited Italy and Gaul.

The labors of these Masons could not long be confined within the narrow limits of Lombardy. Opulent as it was and populous, it could not fail to be fitted with churches and religious edifices, so that in time the need and the means of building more must have become exhausted.

There being no further demand for their services at home, they looked beyond the Alps, which formed their northern boundary, for new fields in which to exercise their skill and to avail themselves of the exclusive privileges which they are said to have possessed.

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[1] Quid agit Comum, tuæ meæ que deliciæ? Pliny, "Epistles," lib. i., cap. 3.

A certain number, says Mr. Hope, united and formed themselves into a single greater association or fraternity which proposed to seek for occupation beyond its native land, and in any ruder, foreign region, however remote, where new religious edifices and skillful artists to erect them were wanted, to offer their services and bend their steps to undertake the work.[1]

The connection of these Freemasons with the Church forms an interesting and important part of their history.

Governor Pownall, in an article on this subject in the *Archæologia,* was one of the first to make the statement that the origin of Freemasonry as an organized institution is to be traced to the builders who issued from Italy about the 12th century and traveled all over Europe, disseminating the principles of their art and erecting religious buildings under the patronage of the Pope. On this subject he writes as follows: "The churches throughout all the northern parts of Europe being in a ruinous state, the Pope created several corporations of Roman or Italian architects and artists, with corporate powers and exclusive privileges, particularly with a power of setting by themselves the prices of their own work and labor, independent of the municipal laws of the country wherein they worked, according as Hiram had done by the corporations of architects and mechanics which he sent to Solomon. The Pope not only thus formed them into such a corporation, but is said to have sent them (as exclusively appropriated) to repair and rebuild these churches and other religious edifices. This body had a power of taking apprentices, and of admitting or *accepting* into their corporation approved *Masons.* It will be found that, claiming to hold primarily and exclusively under the Pope, they assumed a right, as Freemasons, of being exempt from the regulations of the statutes of laborers, laws in England which made regulations for the price of labor; secondly, in order to regulate these matters amongst themselves as well as all matters respecting their corporation, they held general chapters and other congregations. Doing this they constantly refused obedience or to conform themselves to these statutes, which regulated the price of the labor of all other laborers and mechanics, although they were specifically mentioned therein."[2]

Dr. Henry, the historian, in speaking of them in his *History of*

[1] "Historical Essay," pp. 230, 231.

[2] "Archæologia," p. 117.

Great Britain, says that "the Popes, for very obvious reasons, favored the erection of churches and convents, and granted many indulgences by their bulls to the society of Masons in order to increase their numbers. These indulgences produced their full effect in those superstitious times, and that society became very numerous and raised a prodigious multitude of magnificent churches, about this time, in several countries."[1]

Sir Christopher Wren makes the same statement, and I quote at length the passage contained in the *Parentalia* (which is one of the rarest of modern English books), because it not only repeats the statement of Papal encouragement, but gives a very detailed account of the mode of traveling adopted by these wandering Masons and their usages in constructing buildings. His words are:

"We are told by one who was well acquainted with their history and constitutions that the Italians, with some Greek refugees, and with them Frenchmen, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects, procuring Papal bulls for their encouragement and their particular privileges; they styled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one nation to another as they found churches to be built; for very many, in those days, were every day building through piety or emulation; their government was regular; and where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a Warden, and overlooked each nine. The gentlemen in the neighborhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriage. Those who have seen the accounts in records of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals near four hundred years old, can not but have a great esteem for their economy and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures."[2]

Hope is still more explicit in referring to the Papal patronage which is said to have been bestowed upon these Traveling Freemasons. He says that when they were no longer restricted in the exercise of their profession to Lombardy, but had begun to travel into the most distant countries, wherever their services as builders might be required, it was found necessary to establish a monopoly in the construction of religious edifices by which all craftsmen, even

[1] "History of Great Britain," vol. viii., p. 275.

[2] "Parentalia," p. 306.

the natives of the country where they went as strangers were, if not members of their body, to be excluded from employment.

Now this exclusive privilege was one which no temporal potentate could give to have effect beyond his own dominions. In all those countries which recognized the Pope as the head of the Church—that is to say in all the countries of Europe—the authority of a Papal bull was the only power by which this monopoly could be universally secured.

The Masons, says Mr. Hope, could be regarded only as different troops of laborers working in the cause of the Pope, extending his estates by the erection of new churches; and he thinks that they thus obtained the requisite powers soon after Charlemagne had put an end to the rule of the Lombards in Italy, and had annexed that Kingdom to his own Empire.

"The Masons were," he says, "fraught with Papal bulls or diplomas not only confirming the corporate powers given to them by their own native sovereign, on their own native soil, but granting to them, in every other foreign country which they might visit for purposes connected with their association, where the Latin creed was avowed, and the supremacy of the spiritual head acknowledged, the right of holding directly and solely under the Pope, alone, entire exemption from all local laws and statutes, edicts of the sovereign or municipal regulations, whether with regard to the force of labor or any other binding upon the native subjects; they acquired the power, not only themselves to fix the price of their labor, but to regulate whatever else might appertain to their own internal government, exclusively in their own general chapters; prohibiting all native artists, not admitted into their society, from entering with it into any sort of competition, and all native sovereigns from supporting their subjects in such rebellion against the Church, and commanding all such temporal subjects to respect these credentials and to obey these mandates under pain of excommunication."[1]

This statement in reference to the granting of bulls or charters of privilege to the Traveling Freemasons is given by Mr. Hope, probably on the authority of Governor Pownall.

In February, 1788, a letter from Governor Pownall was read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, and subsequently pub-

[1] "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 232.

lished in the ninth volume of the *Archæologia*,[1] under the title of "Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Free Masons supposed to be the Establishes of it as a Regular Order."

Governor Pownall commences his letter by the assertion of his belief that the College or Corporation of Freemasons were the formers of Gothic architecture into a regular and scientific order by applying the models and proportions of timber frame-work to building in stone. Without stopping to discuss the question of the correctness of this theory of the origin of the Gothic style, which must be a subject of future consideration, I proceed to analyze those parts of the letter which refer to the patronage of the Freemasons by the Papal See.

According to Governor Pownall, the churches throughout all the northern parts of Europe being in a ruinous state, the Pope erected several corporations of Roman or Italian architects and artists with corporate powers and exclusive privileges,[2] particularly with a power of setting by themselves the prices of their own work and labor, independent of the municipal laws of the country wherein they worked. The Pope not only thus formed them into such a corporation, but is said to have sent them with exclusive powers to repair and rebuild the churches and other religious edifices which in different countries had fallen into decay, but also to build new ones when required. In England, into which these builders had penetrated at an early period, they were styled "Free and Accepted Masons."

In respect to the historical authority for the existence of this Papal bull, charter, or diploma, which is said to have been issued about the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, Pownall says that being convinced from "incontrovertible record" that the Corporation of Architects and Masons had been thus instituted, he was very solicitous to have inquiry and search made among the archives at Rome, whether it was not possible to find there some record of the transaction.

Application was accordingly made to the librarian of the Vati-

[1] "Archæologia," vol. ix., pp. 110-126.

[2] Although it was never competent for the Pope to create a corporation in England, yet according to Mr. Ayliffe, on the Continent that power was conceded to him and shared by him with the prince or temporal sovereign. "Treatise on the Civil Law," p. 210.

can, and the Pope himself is said to have ordered minute search to be made. But the report was that "not the least traces of any such record" could be found. Governor Pownall, notwithstanding this failure, thought that some record or copy of the charter must be buried somewhere at Rome amidst forgotten and unknown bundles and rolls—a circumstance which he says had frequently occurred in relation to important English records.

Unfortunately for the positive settlement of the historic question, it by no means follows because the Roman Catholic librarian of the Vatican could not or would not find a bull or diploma which in the 12th century had granted special indulgences to an association which the Popes in the 18th century had denounced and excommunicated, that no such bull is in existence. The policy of the Papal Church overrules, without compunction, all principles of historic accuracy and by its undeviating course, whenever the end seemed to justify the means, forged or suppressed documents are of no uncommon occurrence.

This question still divides Masonic writers. Krause, for instance, on the supposed authority of a statement of Elias Ashmole, communicated by Dr. Knipe to the compiler of his Life, admits the fact of a Papal charter, while Stieglitz, accepting the unsuccessful application of Pownall to the Vatican librarian, contends for the absurdity of any such claim.

The preponderance of historical authority is, however, in favor of the statement. There is certainly abundant evidence of the subordination of these Masons to ecclesiastical authority. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the entire supervision of church buildings exercised by bishops and abbots, who, as Fergusson says, made the designs while the Masons only followed the plans laid down for them, must have been supported by the express authority of the head of the Church.

The Traveling Freemasons were at an early period simply the servants of the Church.

Another fact worthy of attention is that the relationship of trade and the frequency of intercourse for other reasons between the different cities of Lombardy and Constantinople brought to Italy many Greeks, some of whom came seeking for employment and others were driven from their homes by political or religious persecutions. Among these emigrants were many artists who

united with the Masonic Corporations of Lombardy, and infused into them a large portion of their Byzantine art.

These Freemasons, thus armed with the authority of the Pontiff, having been well organized at home, were ready to set forth, like missionaries at the call of the Church, to build cathedrals, churches, and monasteries as they might be needed by the extension of the Christian religion. From the 10th to the 12th century, and in some places even earlier, we find them perambulating Europe and spreading the knowledge of the art in Germany, in France, in England, Scotland, and elsewhere.

The remarks of Mr. Hope on the professional wanderings of these Craftsmen of the Middle Ages, though they have the air of romance, are really well supported by historical authority.

"Often obliged," says that pleasing writer, "from regions the most distant, singly to seek the common place of rendezvous, and departure of the troop, or singly to follow its earlier detachments to places of employment equally distant, and that at an era when travelers met on the road every obstruction and no convenience, when no inns existed at which to purchase hospitality, but lords dwelt everywhere, who only prohibited their tenants from waylaying the traveler, because they considered this, like killing game, one of their own exclusive privileges; the members of these communities contrived to render their journeys more easy and safe by engaging with each other, and perhaps even in many places, with individuals not directly participating in their profession, in compacts of mutual assistance, hospitality, and good services, most valuable to men so circumstanced. They endeavored to compensate for the perils which attended their expeditions, by institutions for their needy or disabled brothers; but lest such as belonged not to their communities should benefit surreptitiously by these arrangements for its advantage, they framed signs of mutual recognition as carefully concealed from the knowledge of the uninitiated as the mysteries of their art themselves. Thus supplied with whatever could facilitate such distant journeys and labors as they contemplated, the members of these Corporations were ready to obey any summons with the utmost alacrity, and they soon received the encouragement they anticipated. The militia of the Church of Rome, which diffused itself all over Europe in the shape of missionaries, to instruct nations and to establish their allegiance to the Pope, took care not only to

make them feel the want of churches and monasteries, but likewise to learn the manner in which the want might be supplied. Indeed they themselves generally undertook the supply; and it may be asserted that a new apostle of the Gospel no sooner arrived in the remotest corner of Europe, either to convert the inhabitants to Christianity or to introduce among them a new religious order, than speedily followed a tribe of itinerant Freemasons to back him and to provide the inhabitants with the necessary places of worship or reception.

"Thus ushered in, by their interior arrangements assured of assistance and safety on the road; and by the bulls of the Pope and the support of his ministers abroad assured of every species of immunity and preference at the place of their destination; bodies of Freemasons dispersed themselves in every direction, every day began to advance farther and to proceed from country to country to the utmost verge of the faithful, in order to answer the unceasing demand for them or to seek more distant custom."[1]

One fact peculiarly worthy of remark is that throughout all Europe, from its southern to its northern, from its western to its eastern limit—wherever the Christian religion had penetrated and churches had been erected—a surprising uniformity existed in the style of all edifices wheresoever built at the same period. No better evidence than this could be furnished of the existence of an association whose members, wherever they might be scattered, must have been controlled by the same rules of art.

Sidney Smith, Esq., in a paper in the *Archæologia*, alludes to this fact in the following language, in which he speaks of this association as having been established in the early part of the 13th century by a Papal bull:

"Thus associated and exclusively devoted to the practice of Masonry, it is easy to infer that a rapid improvement, both in the style and execution of their work, would result. Forming a connected and corresponding society, and roving over the different countries of Europe, wherever the munificent piety of those ages promised employment to their skill, it is probable, and even a necessary consequence, that improvements by whomsoever introduced would quickly become common to all; and to this cause we may re-

[1] "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 235.

fer the simultaneous progress of one style throughout Europe which forms so singular a phenomenon in the history of architecture."[1]

Mr. Hope is subsequently still more elaborate in his remarks on this subject.

"The architects," he says, "of all the sacred edifices of the Latin Church, wherever such arose—north, south, east, or west—thus derived their science from the same central school; obeyed, in their designs, the same hierarchy; were directed in their construction by the same principles of propriety and taste; kept up with each other, in the most distant parts to which they might be sent, the most constant correspondence; and rendered every minute improvement the property of the whole body and a new conquest of the art. . . . The result of this unanimity was, that at each successive period of the Masonic dynasty, on whatever point a new church or new monastery might be erected, it resembled all those raised at the same period in every other place, however distant from it, as if both had been built in the same place, by the same artist. . . . For instance, we find at particular epochs, churches as far distant from each other as the north of Scotland and the south of Italy more minutely similar than those erected within the single precincts of Rome or Ravenna."[2]

Paley also speaks of this uniformity of style which prevailed everywhere throughout all countries as one of the most remarkable facts connected with the history of mediaeval architecture. And he cites the remark of Willis in his *Architecture of the Middle Ages*, that whereas in our own age it is the practice to imitate every style of architecture that can be found in all the countries of the earth, it appears that in any given period and place our forefathers admitted but of one style, which was used to the complete exclusion of every other during its prevalence.

Paley very correctly accounts for this by the fact that Freemasonry was in the Middle Ages "a craft in the hands of a corporate ecclesiastical confraternity the members of which seem to have been bound down to certain rules."[3]

After what has already been said in this work, it is very evident that this "craft in the hands of a corporate ecclesiastical confrater-

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xxi., p. 521.

[2] "Historical Essay on Architecture," pp. 238, 239.

[3] Paley, "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 206.

nity" must make a very important link in the great chain which connects the history of Freemasonry in one continued series from the first development of the art in a corporate form in the Colleges of Numa, until that transition period when the Operative was merged in the Speculative element.

Mr. Hope, who devoted much labor to an investigation of the influences which toward the end of the 10th century affected architecture generally and diffusively throughout Europe, wrote an exhaustive chapter on this subject in his *Historical Essay,* whence copious citations have been made in the present work. It will be sufficient in making a summary of what has been already presented to the reader, to say of these influences he considered the most important to be the establishment of a school of architecture in Lombardy and the organization of Guilds of Builders who, under the name of "Freemasons," perambulated the whole continent, passing over to England and Scotland, and taught the art of building under the inspiration of the same principles of architecture, directed by the same ideas of taste, and governed by the same guild spirit of fraternity.

Subsequently to the appearance of this work of Mr. Hope, Lord Lindsay entered the same field of investigation and presented the public with the result of his inquiries in a work entitled *Sketches of the History of Christian Art,* from whose pages much interesting information may be gleaned in respect to the condition of mediaeval Freemasonry and architecture.

These mediaeval Freemasons at first adopted the principles of Byzantine art in their construction of churches and afterward invented that new system known as the Gothic style of architecture. Before the organization of the Lombard school the architecture of Europe was that which had been derived from the builders of Rome, and all the churches constructed in Italy, in Gaul, and even as far as Britain, were built upon the model of the Roman basilica, an edifice which in pagan Rome served as a court of law and an exchange, or a place of public meeting for merchants and men of business.

As after the conversion of the Empire to the new religion, many of these edifices were converted into Christian places of worship, the word was used in the low Latin of the period to designate a cathedral or metropolitan church, and the style was readily adopted and followed in the construction of new churches.

The style of architecture which prevailed in Byzantium or Constantinople was very different from the Roman. The principal differences were the four naves as parts of a cross of equal limbs, and especially the surmounting dome or cupola, which was, generally, octagonal in shape.

This style the Lombard Freemasons adopted in part, modifying it with the Roman style, and finally developing the Gothic as a new system peculiarly their own. The history of this style, its progress in different countries, and the gradual changes it underwent, is therefore intimately connected with Freemasonry.

The question naturally arises why these Lombard Masons, who had derived their first lessons from the descendants of the old builders of the Roman Colleges of Artificers and who were surrounded by the examples of Roman art, should have so materially modified their system as to have given to it a much greater resemblance to the Byzantine than to the Roman style.

The answer to this question will be found not only in the fact that between the shores of northern and eastern Italy there was a very frequent, continuous intercourse with Byzantium, but also in the additional fact that the religious architects of Lombardy were very thoroughly imbued with the principles of the science of symbolism, and that they found these principles far better developed in the Byzantine than in the Roman style. "The basilica," says Lord Lindsay, "is far less suggestive, far less symbolical than the Byzantine edifice, and hence the sympathy always manifested for Byzantium by the Lombard architects."[1]

How the Freemasons of Lombardy became imbued with the science of symbolism and made it a prominent part of their art of building, are questions of very great interest, because they refer to the only bond which connects the Speculative Masons of the present day with the old Operative Masons of the Middle Ages. This important topic will be hereafter discussed in a separate chapter when I come to the consideration of that period of time in the history of Freemasonry which is marked by the transition of the Operative into the Speculative institution.

All that is necessary to be said here is that this symbolic style of architecture, beginning in Lombardy somewhere between the 7th

[1] "Sketches of Christian Art."

and the 10th centuries, diffused itself gradually at first, but rapidly afterward over the whole of Europe.

For this diffusion of a peculiar religious architecture Lord Lindsay assigns the following reason as germane to the subject of the present chapter:

"What chiefly contributed to its diffusion over Europe was the exclusive monopoly in Christian architecture, conceded by the Popes toward the close of the 8th century, to the Masons of Como, then and for ages afterward, when the title *Magistri Comacini* had long been absorbed in that of *Free and Accepted Masons,* associated as a craft or brotherhood in art and friendship. A distinct and powerful body, composed, eventually, of all nations, concentrating the talent of each successive generation with all the advantages of accumulated experience and constant mutual communication—imbued, moreover, in that age of faith, with the deepest Christian reverence, and retaining these advantages unchallenged till their proscription in the 15th and 16th centuries—we cannot wonder that the Freemasons should have carried their art to a pitch of perfection which, now that their secrets are lost, it may be considered hopeless to attempt to rival."[1]

The result of all these observations has been, I think, to strengthen and substantiate the theory which, all through this work, has been maintained, of the origin of Freemasonry as a Speculative institution founded on an Operative art. In every country where it has been founded we are enabled to trace its first beginning as a craft organized into a Guild, Corporation, or Confraternity, to the Roman Colleges of Artificers—the *Collegia Fabrorum*—which were originally established, or are said to have been established, by Numa.

Thus we find the architects who came out of these Colleges following the Roman legions in their marches to conquest, settling to work in the colonies, municipalities, and free cities which were established by the Roman government in the colonies of Gaul and Britain, and perpetuating the Roman taste and the Roman method of work.

So have we traced the progress of these Masons of Rome in the different colonies where they settled and continued their labors after the Empire had fallen.

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[1] "Sketches of Christian Art," vol. ii., p. 14.

And now we see the links of the historical chain more distinctly visible in the rise and progress of these Masons of Lombardy. Originally, undoubtedly Roman Colleges must have had their seats in the northern part of Italy, that highly favored province which, more than any other, had received its civilization and its art cultivation from the imperial city. Then, when the glory of Rome had departed, the Lombard kings preserved the Roman architecture, and after their conversion to Christianity, practiced it under the auspices of the Church.

Then came, toward the 10th century, those Corporations of Freemasons, who, imitating in their form of government the example which had been set by the Colleges, presented themselves as a Confraternity of workmen who, first having filled their own country with specimens of their skill, at length leaving Como and other cities of Lombardy, crossed the Alps and proceeded to communicate to other countries the knowledge of that art and the mode of practicing it, which they had acquired at home.

One of the first countries into which these Traveling Freemasons penetrated—perhaps the very first—was Germany. There we find, in the 12th century, the *Steinmetzen,* or the Stonemasons, who appear to have been almost a direct continuation of the Comacine Masters, or Traveling Freemasons of Lombardy.

These German Stonemasons have played too important a part in the history of Masonry to permit them to be passed over without an extended survey of all that is connected with their rise and progress, and with their wonderful achievements in mediaeval Masonry or Architecture.

The Stonemasons of Germany will then be the topic discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STONEMASONS OF GERMANY

E must not look in the early history of the Germanic tribes for that gradual and uninterrupted growth of architecture and its cultivation as coming down to them in a direct line from the Roman Colleges. First heard of in the time of Cæsar, the barbarians who occupied the vast region comprised within the Rhine, the Danube, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Baltic Sea, were described by Tacitus as an illiterate and warlike people, whose religion was a gross superstition, who had no knowledge of the arts or of architecture.

The Roman Colleges, which had sent their branches with the legions into Spain and Gaul and Britain, were never planted in Germany. While those provinces were enjoying the advantages of Roman culture and civilization, Germany, overspread with forests and morasses, was inhabited by warlike tribes of barbarians, to whom the arts of peace were unknown.

As late as the end of the 3d century, Germany was an unconquered province, and the Roman emperors were engaged not in colonizing the wild region north of the Danube and east of the Rhine, but rather in striving to avert the southern progress of the barbarous tribes of the Allemanni from the invasion and occupation of Italy.

The Romans built, it is true, several towns of some note on the banks of the Rhine, but in the vast interior region which extended from that river to the shores of the Baltic Sea, there was hardly a single city previous to the 9th century.[1] To the history of architecture or of its connection with the Roman Empire, as in the case of the other provinces, there is no early German contribution.

[1] Robertson, "History of Charles V.," vol. i., p. 217.

It was in the beginning of the 5th century that the Franks, a confederation of German tribes, began to take a place in the history of Europe. We need not dwell on the progress of their conquests. Sufficient to say, that having invaded the province of Gaul, they settled in it permanently and established the kingdom of the Franks which, in the course of time, became that of France.

The Franks were, of all the Teutonic tribes, the most intelligent, and though the most warlike, were the least ferocious. Hence in invading and in settling a Roman province, they readily adapted themselves, in great measure, to Roman habits and customs, and were very willing to accept and to practice the civilization of the more cultivated inhabitants of the country which they had invaded and had made their home.

The result was that from the time of Clovis, the first of the Merovingian race of kings who reigned at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century, and who has been deemed the founder of the Frankic kingdom, the Franks imparted to the Germans the civilization they had attained by their conquest of a civilized people. Hence the introduction of architecture, and any Operative Masonry, beyond the building of mere dwellings, into Germany is to be attributed principally to the Franks.

We find very few monuments of the work of Roman builders in Germany, and therefore we can trace the progress of architecture, not by any regular descent from the Roman Colleges of Artificers, but only through the indirect operation of Frankic artists.

Indeed, according to Moller,[1] the authentic history of German architecture begins with the reign of Charlemagne, but the only monuments remaining of that period are the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle and the portico of the Convent of Lorsch near the city of Worms.

Rebold[2] says that architecture flourished greatly under Charlemagne, who introduced into Gaul architects and stonecutters from Lombardy. Rebold does not always found his assertions on well-authenticated facts, but in this case he has the concurrent support of other historians, more scrupulously correct in their statements.

The efforts of Charlemagne, who was a legislator as well as a

[1] George Moller, "Denkmaler der Deutschen Beuenkunst," 4to. Darmstadt, 1821, cap. iii., s. 6.

[2] "Histoire Générale de la Franc Maçonnerie," p. 104.

warrior, to promote the civilization of the Germanic nations which he governed, led him,[1] after the subjugation of Lombardy, to draw materials from that comparatively cultured kingdom to advance his projects, and to introduce among his Teutonic subjects some taste for architecture, in which the Lombards at that time excelled the rest of the world.

Moller shows very plainly the evidence of this transmission of architecture into Germany from the south—that is, from Italy.

He tells us that in the beginning of the practice of architecture in Germany there were two styles of building which materially differed from each other. The earliest was a foreign style, evidently imported from the south—that is to say, from Italy or Lombardy—and a more modern one, which Moller says was invented by the Germans themselves. This was a modification of the first, and was intended to accommodate the building to the nature of a northern climate. It is in this style that we find the grandest monuments of architecture which Germany possesses.[2]

The leading form of the churches built during the 10th and 11th centuries was the same, says Moller, as that of the churches built at the same period in England, France, and Italy.

Here are two propositions, each of great importance in a train of reasoning for the purpose of tracing the history of early German Freemasonry through the progress of its groundwork, architecture.

First we have a confirmation of what has already been said, that the first architecture and, of course, the first Masonry of Germany were derived from Lombardy.

It is true that Moller (whose authority on the history of German architecture is not to be despised) thinks it erroneous to ascribe to the Lombards any material influence upon the architecture of the west and north of Europe. But almost in the same breath he admits that in the beginning German architecture was introduced from Italy, and confesses, also, that the Lombards were in the habit of building a great deal, and appear to have quickly attained a higher degree of civilization than the Goths.[3]

Accepting these admissions as strictly and historically correct, I

[1] See Sismondi, "Republiques Italiennes," tom, i., p. 20.
[2] Moller, "Denkmaler," ut supra.
[3] "Denkmaler," cap. ii., s. v.

am prepared to accept the theory of Mr. Hope, that the Lombards, the *Magistri Comacini*, the Traveling Freemasons from the school of Corao, in the 10th century, introduced their system of architecture into Germany at that early period of time.

Secondly, in the statement that the style of building then practiced in Germany was the same as that used in England, France and Italy, we have a further confirmation of the theory so ably developed by Mr. Hope, that the Traveling Freemasons who perambulated Europe, and under ecclesiastical supervision erected cathedrals and monasteries, were a secret organization, distinguished by an identity of principles in the construction of edifices in all countries from the south of Italy to the north of Scotland.

While dwelling on this period we must not neglect to advert to the influence of religion, which seems to have played a very important part in the propagation of the science of architecture, a part which it is well worth considering.

Christianity was introduced into Germany, and the gradual civilization of the people proceeded with a few exceptions from the south and west parts of the country—that is, from those parts which were contiguous to Italy and Gaul.

It is there where the clergy, as the ministers and missionaries of the new religion exercised the greatest influence and were engaged in directing the construction of churches and convents, that we must look for the first appearance of architecture.

Architecture, whose boldest conceptions are exhibited in the construction of houses for worship, is very closely connected with religion. Hence, after the diffusion of Christianity, it became a necessary art, and we may trace its growth as concurrent with that of the new faith in Germany. Therefore, it is that we find so learned a writer as Moller ascribing the origin of the German building art in Germany to the time of Charles the Great, and to those countries bordering on the Rhine and in the south, where Roman culture and religion had been first introduced.[1]

With these preliminary remarks, which were necessary to show what was, in the early period of German history, the condition of architecture, of which the principles were almost always practically enforced in the form of organized Operative Masonry, we may pro-

[1] "Denkmaler," cap. iii., s. vi.

ceed to investigate its gradual development until we reach the era of the organized Stonecutters' Guild.

It is not until the 10th century that we find the Operative Masons of Germany assuming anything like an organized condition. It was in the reign of Otho the Great (crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936), who has been called the Civilizer of Germany, that Roman culture began to be introduced into that country. The Germans, possessing no native or original architecture, readily, when the way was opened to them by the increase of intercourse, copied the monuments of Roman civilization.

In Germany, as in Gaul and in Britain, the arts were at first cultivated by the ecclesiastics, and the monasteries were their workshops. Especially may this be said of architecture, and still more especially of ecclesiastical architecture or the construction of religious edifices.

Sulpice Boisserée, who has furnished a most exhaustive treatise in his *Histoire et Description de la Cathedrale de Cologne,* gives so lucid a view of the motives which led these old Stonecutters to unite in a fraternity and to connect themselves closely with the clergy, that I am tempted to translate it, though it be at the expense of some repetition of what has already been said in other parts of this work. But we can not too often call the attention of the student and the disciple of Speculative Masonry to the remote origin from which the ponderous institution of the present day has sprung.

In those early days, when Masonry was beginning to take its place in Germany, whoever wished, says Boisserée, to assume the profession of an architect must begin by learning to cut stone. When he had become a Master in that art, there grew up between himself and his former companions a sort of fraternity which was wisely maintained by the customs and statutes of the Order, and which was especially observed among those who devoted themselves to the building of houses of worship. As they were persuaded that this work of erecting houses of God was a very noble and a very pious occupation, and as even the secular labor of constructing, for this purpose, monuments of solidity, elegance, and perfection required men formed by experience and united by sentiments of honor and fidelity, they, by their union, established a confraternity or private community, which was distinguished from the common

body of craftsmen by being exclusively devoted to ecclesiastical architecture and the building of churches. This fraternity preserved, in all their purity, the rules and practices of the art which they transmitted as a secret to the depository of succeeding generations.

This fraternity had an organization similar to that of the Hanseatic league. The Masters and workmen employed on edifices of less size or importance were subordinate to the architects of the principal fabrics, and the fraternity was, in the course of time, divided into districts which extended over all Germany. But this large development belongs to a later period, that of the 12th and 13th centuries, when the Stonemasons adopted that distinct organization as a Guild, which was first exhibited, or, at least, of which we have the first authentic records, in the labors of the workmen who produced those wonders of architecture, the cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg.

This subject will be treated in the succeeding chapter. At present we must restrict our investigations to the architects and Masons of the earlier period.

The building of churches was, therefore, of course, under the care of ecclesiastics. The monasteries, says Findel, were the nurseries of science and civilization, the center of all energy and zeal in art, and the fosterers of architecture.[1] Fergusson thinks that in the Middle Ages, in the construction of religious edifices, the designs were made by bishops, who, taking as a model some former building, verbally corrected its mistakes and suggested his improvements to the builder.[2] He thus impliedly admits the existence of two classes, the clergy and the laity, both of which were engaged in the pursuit of architecture, and of which classes the former greatly predominated in the infancy of the art.

Fergusson, who is not always right in his conclusions, here at least, is correct. It will be found, as we pursue our history, that architecture as a science and Operative Masonry as an art began under ecclesiastical auspices and were confined to monks and monasteries. Michelet, in his *Histoire de la France,* speaking of the wonderful architecture of the Middle Ages and of the science of

[1] "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 51.
[2] "History of Architecture in all Countries," etc., p. 80.

mystical numbers which occurs in all the churches of that period, which he considers as the secret of the mediaeval Masons, attributes this mystical knowledge to the Church.

"To whom," says he, "belonged this science of numbers, this divine mathematics? To no mortal men but to the Church of God. Under the shadow of the Church, in chapters and in monasteries, the secret was transmitted, together with instruction in the mysteries of Christianity. The Church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture."

But in time, and indeed at an early period after the renaissance of architecture in the 10th and 11th centuries, the practice and eventually the control of architecture passed away from the ecclesiastics as an exclusive possession and began to be shared by the laymen.

There were then, in the history of mediaeval architecture in Germany (as well as in other countries), three distinct epochs or periods.

First, when the science of architecture and the art of building were wholly in the hands of the clergy; second, when they were shared by the clergy and the laity; and third, when the science and the art passed away entirely from the clergy into the hands of the laity.

It was in the third period that bishops ceased to be "Masters of the Work" (*Magister Operis*) and the position was assumed by wholly professional lay artists.

The second period may be styled, if we borrow an expression from geology, the "transition period" of mediaeval architecture.

In Germany this transition time is marked by the organization of the *Steinmetzen*, and the establishment of the workshops known as the *Bauhütten.*

The *Steinmetzen*[1] (literally the Stonecutters) of Germany were builders or architects or both, who in the Middle Ages, dating from the 9th century at least, associated themselves together in fraternities and were engaged, sometimes alone and sometimes in connec-

[1] Dr. Krause (drei altest kunst, iv., 362) thinks that the last syllable in *Steinmetz* comes from *masa, mets,* or *mess,* signifying a measure, and conveyed the idea that the chief object of a laborer in stone was to form his stone according to a just measure of proportion. Hence a *Steinmetz* would signify, literally, a stone-measurer. But I prefer to adopt the generally accepted etymology and derive the word from the obsolete verb, *metzen,* to cut. The *Steinmetzen* were the Stonecutters.

tion with a monastery or under a bishop or other prelate of the Church, in the construction, principally, of religious edifices.[1]

Fallon, in *Mysterien der Freimaurer,* cites various customs practiced by the *Steinmetzen* which would seem to indicate that there was a close connection between them and the modern Speculative Freemasons, who sprung up in the 18th century.

The most important of these customs may be enumerated as follows:

1. The German *Steinmetzen* divided their members into three classes, *Meister, Gesellen,* and *Lehrlinge,* answering to the Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices of the English Masons. But there is no evidence that these were degrees in the modern sense of that word. As has already been shown in England and Scotland, they were ranks, promotion into which depended on length of service and skill in labor.

2. The existence of some esoteric knowledge, some peculiar ceremonies, and some form of initiation in consequence of which strangers were excluded from the association.

3. The adoption of secret modes of recognition, by means of signs, tokens, and words, by which a strange member could make himself known.

4. Their establishment as a confraternity or brotherhood, in which each member was bound by solemn obligations to afford relief to his poorer brethren.

5. Laws and usages were adopted which resembled in many respects those of the modern Speculative Masons. Some of these were the natural result of their organization as a brotherhood, but others, such as their usages at banquets, the prerogatives of a Master's son over other persons, and some others, were peculiar, and were adopted by the Freemasons of the 16th century, and have been perpetuated in the modern Lodges.

The increase in the number of churches and other religious edifices naturally caused a proportionate increase in the number of workmen. The monks, not being able to supply the requisite num-

[1] As in narrating the early history of Masonry in Scotland I was compelled to depend on the laborious researches of Bro. Lyon, so, in treating of mediaeval Masonry in Germany, I have not hesitated to draw liberally from the invaluable pages of Bro. Findel's "Geschichte der Freimaurer," using, for convenience, the able translation of Bro. Lyon. But I have not omitted to consult also the works of Krause, Kloss, Steiglitz, and many other writers, both Masonic and profane.

ber, the laity were admitted to a participation in architectural and masonic labors. Still they were for a long time kept in strict dependence on their ecclesiastical superiors.

Hence the lay craftsmen lived in close connection with the monasteries and assisted the monks in their labors as builders, forming, for this purpose, associations among themselves and living in huts near the monastery or other building which they were erecting. To this usage Findel, with much reason, attributes the rise of the "*Bauhütten*."[1]

Hütte is defined as meaning a hut, cottage, or tent. *Bauhütte*, which is literally a building-hut, was the booth made of boards erected near the edifice which was being built, and where the *Steinmetzen*, or Stonecutters, kept their tools, carried on their work, assembled to discuss matters of business, and probably ate and slept.[2]

It will be remembered that Sir Christopher Wren, in the *Parentalia*, describes a similar custom among the English Masons of erecting temporary places of habitation near the buildings which they were erecting.

These they call "Lodges," a word which has about the same signification in English that the word *Hütten* has in German.

The *Bauhütten* were therefore the Lodges of the German *Steinmetzen* in the Middle Ages. The word continued to convey this meaning until the 18th century, the English expression Lodge modified into Loge was substituted for it, by the Speculative Masons who received their charters from the Grand Lodge of England.

Findel says that the real founder of the *Bauhütten* was Wilhelm, Count Palatine of Scheuren and Abbot of the Monastery of Hirschau. For the purpose of enlarging the monastery he had brought workmen together from many places. He had incorporated them with the monastery as lay brethren. He instructed them in art, regulated their social life by special laws, and inculcated the doctrine that brotherly concord should prevail because it was only by working together and by a loving union of their strength that they could expect to accomplish the great works in which they were engaged.[3]

The *Bauhütten* or Lodges flourished for a long time, principally under the patronage of the Benedictine order of monks. But at length the transition period of which I have already spoken began

[1] Findel, "History," p. 52. [2] Ibid., ut supra, p. 54. [3] Ibid., ut supra, p. 54.

to pass away and the third to arrive, and the Master Builders who had received their architectural knowledge from the monks separated themselves from them and established independent Lodges. As early as the 13th century there were many Lodges which had no connection with the monasteries, but were bound together in a general association that included all the Stonecutters of Germany.

Until the 12th century our knowledge of the Masonic associations, other than the schools of architecture which were established in the bosom of the monasteries, is unsupported by any documentary evidence. Indeed, the first written Constitution of the German Freemasons which has reached the present day is that of Strasburg, in the year 1459, which purports, however, to be a revision of the Regulations of the Stonecutters founded at that city in 1275. Of the latter there is no copy extant.

But as Winzer, who wrote on the *German Brotherhoods of the Middle Ages*,[1] has remarked, such regulations may have existed long before they had written constitutions, the necessity of which could have been felt only when the craftsmen had obtained a formed recognition, and when their laws were committed to writing to give them, as it were, a superior sanction.

Though this is but an hypothesis, it is not without the support of great probability. In the nth century the Traveling Freemasons from the celebrated school of Lombardy had entered Germany and begun to propagate the principles and the practice of their art.[2]

Of this fact we find abundant evidence in the construction during that century of numerous cathedrals in Germany. Such were those of Bamberg, finished in 1019; of Worms, in 1020; of Spire, in 1061; of Constance, of Bonn, in 1100; and a great many others.[3]

Until we approach the period when the Lombard architects diffused the principles of their art in Germany, under the peculiar form of an association of Freemasons, which was not until about the 11th or 12th century, the history of Masonry in Germany is really only that of the Operative art in its simplest form, and deriving what

[1] Cited by Findel, "History," p. 57.

[2] En 1060 les conféries maçonniques de la Lombardie se repandent en Allemagne. en France, en Normandie et en Bretagne. Rebold, "Histoire Gen. de la Franc-Maçonnerie," p. 109.

[3] Mr. Hope especially cites the cathedrals of Spire and Worms as specimens of the Lombard style of architecture.

little there was of it in common with the Masonry of other countries, principally from France.

To the Franks coming from Germany and invading Gaul was France indebted for its political character. To the same Franks, returning in the time of Charlemagne and his successors, to communicate a portion of the culture and civilization that they had acquired from mingling with the native inhabitants of the conquered Roman province, was Germany indebted for all the architectural and Masonic character that it had, until the peaceful invasion of the Lombard Freemasons in the 11th century.

From that time the Freemasonry of Germany began to assume a new modification as a Guild or Corporation of associated workmen, like those which we have already seen existing in Britain and Gaul.

To the German Freemasonry of that period we must therefore now direct our attention.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CATHEDRAL OF STRASBURG AND THE STONEMASONS OF GERMANY

THE Abbe Philip Andrew Grandidier was a learned historian and canon of the great choir of the Cathedral of Strasburg. He was the author of several historical works on Alsatia and Strasburg, where he was born in 1752. Among them were *Historical and Typographical Essays on the Cathedral Church of Strasburg*.[1] It is evident that he had paid much attention to the antiquities of his native city, and although not a Mason, his learning, his impartiality, and his abundant opportunities of acquiring information, gave no little authority to the views that he may have expressed on the antiquities of German Masonry.

In the year 1778 he wrote a letter to Madame d'Ormoy, which first appeared in the following year in the *Journal de Nancy* and which, copied ten years afterward in the Marquis de Luchet's *Essai sur la Secte des Illuminé's*, has since been repeated in French, German, and English, in dozens of Masonic books and magazines.

This letter he afterward enlarged and made it the frame of a narrative which he embodied in his *Historical Essays*, published four years afterward. In this work he has advanced a theory on the origin of Freemasonry which, notwithstanding Dr. Krause's disparaging criticism,[2] has been accepted as true by most of the recent Masonic historians.

As the statement of the Abbe Grandidier is very interesting, it is here presented to the reader as a groundwork of what will be said, with some modifications, on the same subject in the present

[1] "Essais Historiques et Typographiques sur l'Église Cathedral de Strasburg," Strasburg, 1782.

[2] "Kunsturkunden der Freimaurersbrüdersheft," iv., p. 251.

chapter. And I shall interpolate some portions of the letter which are not embraced in the essay.

The Abbe begins by saying that, "opposite to the church and the episcopal palace is a building appendant to the Cathedral and the Chapel of St. Catherine which serves as the *Maurerhof*, or workshop, of the Masons and Stonecutters of the Cathedral. This workshop is the origin of an ancient fraternity of Freemasons of Germany."[1]

The Cathedral Church of Strasburg, and especially its tower, which was begun in 1277 by the architect Erwin of Steinbach, is one of the masterpieces of Gothic architecture. The edifice as a whole and in its details is a perfect work and worthy of all admiration, since it has not its equal in the world. Its foundation was built with such solidity that, notwithstanding the apparent fragility of its open-work, it has to the present day resisted storms and earthquakes.[2] The tower of the Cathedral was finished in 1439. This prodigious work spread far and wide the reputation of the Masons of Strasburg.

The Duke of Milan, in the year 1479, wrote a letter to the magistrates of Strasburg in which he asked for a person capable of directing the construction of a superb church which he wished to build in his own capital.[3] Vienna, Cologne, Zurich, Friburg, and Landshutt constructed towers in imitation of that of Strasburg, but they did not equal it in height, in beauty, or in delicacy. The Masons of those different fabrics and their pupils spread over the whole of Germany, and their name soon became famous.

As an evidence of their renown he quotes Jacobus Wimphelingius, who flourished at about the end of the 15th century, as saying that the Germans are most excellent architects and that Æneas Sil-

[1] "Essais Historiques et Typographiques," p. 413.

[2] Lettre à Madame d'Ormoy.

[3] From the Letter. Grandidier says, "I possess a copy of this letter in Italian." It is a pity that the writers of the 18th century, when referring to facts connected with Masonic history, have so often made their accuracy doubtful and their authority suspicious by careless anachronisms or improbable statements. In 1479, the Duke of Milan was a boy of fifteen, the son of the licentious tyrant Galeaz, who had been assassinated in 1476. The Duchy was administered by the Bonne of Savoy, the widow of Galeaz, as regent, during the minority of her son. Nor was Milan, torn at that time by intestine contests end the revolution of the Genoese, in a condition to indulge in the luxury of architecture.

vius (who was Pope of Rome from 1458 to 1464) declared that in architecture they excelled all other nations.

That they might distinguish themselves from the common herd of the Masonic craft, they formed associations to which they gave the German name of *Hütten,* signifying lodges. All of these lodges agreed to recognize the superiority of that of Strasburg, which was called *Haupthütte* or Metropolitan or Grand Lodge.

Afterward the project was conceived of forming, out of these different associations, a single society for the whole of Germany; but it was not thoroughly developed until thirteen years after the complete construction of the tower of Strasburg.

Jodoque, or Jos Dotzinger, of Worms, who succeeded John Hültz in 1449 as architect of the Cathedral, formed, in 1452, a single body of all the Master Masons who were dispersed over Germany. He gave them a particular word and sign by which they could recognize those who were of their fraternity.

The different Masters of the particular lodges met at Ratisbon on April 25, 1459, and there drew up their first statutes. The act of confraternity digested in this Assembly constituted Jos Dotzinger and each of his successors, by virtue of the office of architect of the Cathedral of Strasburg, as sole and perpetual Grand Masters of the General Fraternity of Freemasons of Germany.

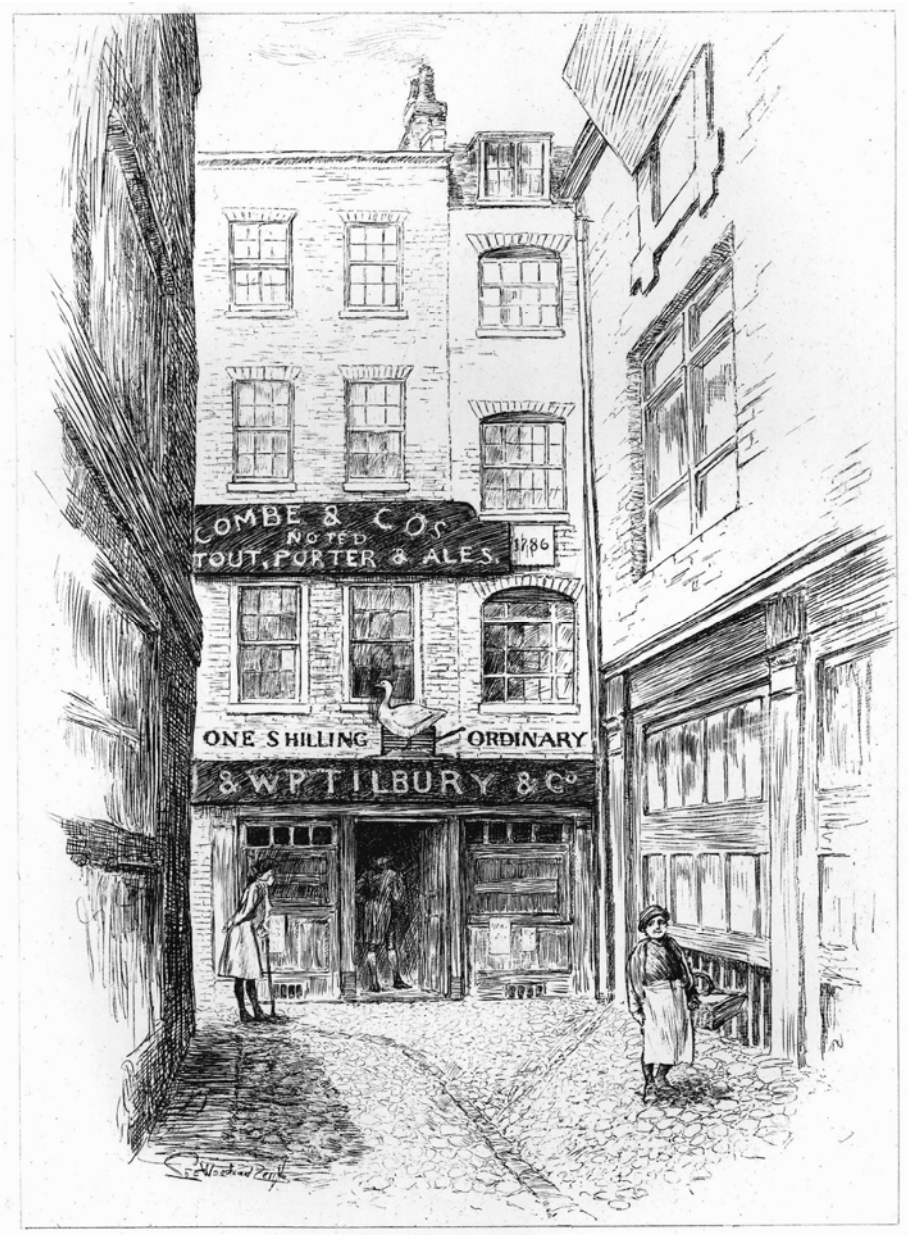
The second and third General Assemblies of the lodges were held at Spire on April 9, 1464, and April 23, 1469. The Constitutions of the fraternity were confirmed, and it was enacted that a Provincial Chapter should be annually held in each district. John Hammerer, who lived in 1486, and James of Landshutt, who died in 1495, succeeded Jos Dotzinger in the place of Architect of the Cathedral of Strasburg and in that of Grand Master of the Masons of Germany. Conrad Wagt, who succeeded them, obtained from the Emperor Maximilian I. the confirmation of their institution and of the statutes of the lodges. The diploma of this Prince is dated at Strasburg, October 3, 1498. Charles V. and Ferdinand L, and their successors, renewed these privileges on different occasions.

This Fraternity, composed of Masters, Companions, and Apprentices (in German, *Meister, Gesellen,* and *Diener*), formed a particular jurisdiction independent of the body of other Masons.

The Society of Strasburg embraced all those of Germany. It held its tribunal in the lodge, or, as it is now called, the *Maurerhof,*

GOOSE AND GRID IRON TAVERN, LONDON, 1717

The Grand Lodge of England was organized in this Building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& W.P. TILBURY & Co

and judged without appeal all causes brought before it, according to the rules and statutes of the Fraternity.

The inhabitants of Strasburg resorted to it in all litigated cases relating to building. In 1461 the Magistracy entrusted to it the entire cognizance of such cases, and in the same year prescribed the forms and the laws which it should observe, and this privilege was renewed in 1490. The judgments which it gave received the name of *Hüttenbrief* or lodge-letters. The archives of the city are full of such documents, and there are few old families in Strasburg which have not preserved some of them among their papers. But its jurisdiction has been much diminished, especially since 1620, at which time the Magistracy took from the Lodge of Strasburg the inspection of buildings which had so long been entrusted to it. The necessity for this suppression arose from the abuse of its authority by the lodge.

The statutes or constitutions of the Freemasons of Germany, at first limited to the number of thirteen, were afterward extended to seventy-eight regulations. These were renewed and put in better order by the General Assembly of the Grand Lodge, held on August 24, 1563, at Basle, and on the 29th of the following September, at Strasburg, seventy-two Masters and thirty Companions were present at this Assembly, which was presided over by Mark Schau, the architect of the Cathedral. Twenty-two lodges directly depended on the Grand Lodge of Strasburg. The lodges of the Masons of Swabia, of Hesse, of Bavaria, of Franconia, of Westphalia, of Saxe, of Misnia, of Thuringia, and of the countries situated along the river Moselle, as far as the frontiers of Italy, acknowledged the authority of the same Grand Lodge.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Master Masons of the fabric of Strasburg imposed a fine on the lodges of Dresden and Nuremberg, and the fine was paid. It was only by an edict of the imperial diet of Ratisbon that the correspondence of the Grand Lodge of Strasburg with the lodges of Germany was interdicted.[1]

The Grand Lodge of St. Stephen of Vienna, which founded the lodges of Austria, of Hungary, of Styria, and of all the countries

[1] This was because Alsace, of which Strasburg was the capital, had ceased to be a part of the German Empire and been annexed to France. This was the first precedent of the doctrine now held by American Masonic jurists, that Masonic and political territorial jurisdiction must be coterminous.

adjacent to the Danube, the Grand Lodge of Cologne, which had under its dependence the places on the west bank of the Rhine, that of Zurich, whose jurisdiction extended over the lodges of Berne, of Lucerne, of Shaffhausen, of St. Gal, and of the cantons of Switzerland, all these referred in all grave and doubtful cases to the Mother Lodge of Strasburg,

The members of this Society held no communication with the other Masons, who knew only the use of mortar and the trowel. The erection of buildings and the cutting of stone constituted their principal labor. So they regarded their art as far superior to that of the other Masons. The square, the level, and the compasses became their attributes and their characteristic marks.

As they were resolved to form a body distinct from the herd of workmen, they invented for their own use rallying words and grips for mutual recognition. These they called *das Wortzeichen,* or the "word sign," *der Gruss,* or the "salute," and the *Handschenk,* or "grip." The Apprentices, Companions, and Masters were received with certain ceremonies which were performed in secret.[1] The Apprentice when he was advanced to the degree took an oath never to divulge by mouth or by writing the secret words of the salute. The Masters as well as the Companions were forbidden to divulge to strangers the constitutional statutes of Masonry. It was the duty of every Master of a lodge carefully to preserve the book of the society, so that no one should transcribe any of the regulations. He had the right to judge and punish the Masters, Companions, and Apprentices who belonged to the lodge.

The Apprentice who desired to become a Companion had to be proposed by a Master, who, as his sponsor, bore witness of his life and manners. A Companion was subject to the Master for the time fixed by the statutes, which was from five to seven years. Then he might be admitted as a Master.

Those who did not fulfil their religious duties, who led a life of libertinism, or who were scarcely Christians, or who were known to be unfaithful to their wives, were not received into the society, or were expelled from it, and all Masters and Companions were forbidden to hold intercourse with them.

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[1] In the letter the Abbe says that they took for their motto "liberty," which they sometimes abused by refusing the legitimate authority of the Magistrates.

No Companion could depart from the lodge or speak while in it without permission of the Master.

Every lodge possessed a chest in which the money given by Masters and Companions at their reception was deposited. This money was used for the relief of poor or sick brethren.

The Abbe Grandidier thinks that in these traits we may recognize the Freemasons of modern times. In fact, he says that the analogy is plain, and the allegory exact. There is the same name of lodges for their places of meeting; the same order in their distribution; the same division into Masters, Companions, and Apprentices; both are presided over by a Grand Master; both have particular signs, secret laws, and statutes against profanes—in fine they may say to each other, "my brethren and my companions know me for a Mason."

For so much are we indebted to the letter and to the Essay of the Abbe Grandidier. The Abbe has been supposed to be the first writer who has adverted to the history of the Strasburg Masons as a fraternity. But this is not the fact. Nearly thirty years before the publication in the *Journal de Nancy* of his letter to Madame d'Ormoy, attention had been called to this subject by John Daniel Schoepflin, whose work, entitled *Alsatia Illustrated,* first appeared at Colmer in the year 1751. Schoepflin, who died in 1771, had been for fifty years professor of history in the Protestant University of Strasburg. In the work referred to he gives an account of the Masons of Strasburg, to which Grandidier must have been indebted for much that he has written on the same subject.

From the *Alsatia Illustrated* of Schoepflin, the following fragment is translated, that the reader may compare the two accounts.

"Before dismissing the subject of the government and judicial institutions of the city, some notice must be taken of the singular institution of the Masons of Strasburg, who formerly held not the lowest place in the city, and at this day of all the Masons of Germany occupy the highest. The construction of the magnificent cathedral, and especially of its tower, greatly extended the fame of the Masons of the city and excited an emulation among the other German craftsmen. Vienna and Cologne erected towers after the model of that of Strasburg, and the associations of workmen and the workshops of those cities were pre-eminent. To these Zurich was added, with which Cologne not long after was joined.

"On these principal workshops called *Tabernacles*[1] (lodges) depended from olden time all the rest of the cities of Germany.

"In former times there was a long deliberation at Strasburg, Spire, and other cities on the subject of constituting a common society of all the Stonemasons.

"Finally at Ratisbon, on St. Mark's day (25th of April), 1459, was instituted that great society under the name of a Fraternity, of which the Master of the work of the Cathedral of Strasburg was constituted the perpetual presiding officer.

"This institution having been for a long time neglected the Emperor Maximilian I. confirmed it at Strasburg by a solemn charter in the year 1498. This charter was renewed by Charles V., Ferdinand I. and by others.

"In the lodge tribunal the Masters and their Companions sat and judged causes and pronounced sentences according to the statutes without appeal.

"The authority of this tribunal was acknowledged by the Masons of Saxony, Thuringia, Westphalia, Hesse, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia and all the region of the Moselle.

"The lodge at Vienna, from which those of Styria and Hungary are derived, and of Zurich, under which are those of Switzerland, in all grave and doubtful cases resort to the lodge at Strasburg as to a mother.

"All the members of the sodality have in common a secret watchword. We know that the society of Stonemasons spread throughout Europe has this form and origin. There is the same division of the Order into lodges, Masters of lodges, Companions and Apprentices; there are the same laws and secret words. A Grand Master presides over all.

"The Stonecutters[2] have an aversion to the common tribe of Masons who are enrolled with them, because they think not unjustly

[1] In classical Latinity the word "tabernaculum" denotes, according to Festus, a tent made like a booth or hut with planks with a boarded roof and covered with skins or canvas. The mediæval writers on Masonry have accepted it as the appellation of the "Hutte," which afterward became the "Loge" in German and the "Lodge" in English. The word is thus used in the Charter of Cologne, which may be taken or not, as the reader pleases, for an evidence of the genuineness of that much disputed document.

[2] Schoepflin makes in this passage a distinction which is worthy of notice, between the "lapicida," or stonecutter and the "cæmentarius," or worker in rough stones, such as are used in building walls. The mediæval Germans preserved this distinction, when

that their art of stonecutting is far above the Craft of the Operative Masons.

"The citizens of Strasburg often submitted questions concerning building to the judgment of the lodge, wherefore the Magistracy in the year 1461, committed to it the power of deciding on building matters, and prescribed for this purpose certain laws and regulations. To these officers was added a Scribe skilled in the laws. But as in the course of time this power of adjudication began to be abused, it was taken away in 1620 and committed to a smaller court."[1]

The reader may now compare these two accounts, that of Grandidier with that of Schoepflin. The former was written in the letter in 1778, and in the Essays in 1782. The latter was published in 1751.

Now it is very evident that Grandidier has borrowed almost his very language from Schoepflin, if they did not both borrow from Father Laguille, as I have suggested in a note.[2]

Both were men of learning—both were natives and residents of Strasburg—and both had devoted their minds to the study of the antiquities of that city and of the province of Alsatia. We may, therefore, accept what they have said on the subject of the Masons of Strasburg and their connection with the Cathedral as historically authentic facts. But we shall find that they are further confirmed by other documents, which are in existence, and to which both of these writers have referred.

Grandidier has, however, fallen into one error which Schoepflin had escaped, and which is to be attributed in all probability to the fact of his being a profane and not therefore conversant with the peculiar differences between Operative and Speculative Masonry. He says that while the usages of the two bodies of Masons, with whose existence at Strasburg he was acquainted, show a palpable

they called the higher class of Freemasons, "Steinmetzen" or Stonecutters and the lower class, who were not free of the Guild, "Maurer," or wall-builders. The reader will remember the degrading use of the term "rough-masons," constantly used in the old Constitutions of England.

[1] "Alsatia Illustrated," tome i., p. 338.

[2] It is possible that both have borrowed from the Jesuit Laguille, who published, in 1725, at Strasburg, in two volumes, 8vo, a "Histoire d'Alsace, ancienne et moderne." I can not decide the point because I have not been able to get access to a copy of Laguille's work.

analogy between the Stonemasons of Strasburg whose association he supposes to have been founded in 1459 and the more modern Order that came over from England near the middle of the 18th century, he yet appears to be wholly ignorant of the historical connection that can easily be traced between them. While he gives a greater antiquity to the old association of Strasburg Operative Masons than to the recent one of Speculative Masons, he does not comprehend the fact that the latter was merely a modification of the mediaeval system of the Traveling Freemasons from whom both associations were descended.

It is this error that he who would write a true history of the rise and progress of the German Steinmetzen must carefully avoid.

There have been evidently three distinct periods in the history of Freemasonry in Germany.

The first period beginning with the introduction of architecture into Germany, from Gaul, and from Italy, extends to the 12th century. In this period we have no documentary evidence of the organization of a fraternity. We know, however, from their works, that there were during that time architects and builders of great skill, and we have every right to suppose that the feudal system had the same effect upon the Masons, as it had upon other crafts in giving rise to the formation of protective guilds.

The effect of the feudal system in the Middle Ages was to concentrate power in the hands of the nobles, and to deprive the people of their just rights. The natural result of all oppression is to awaken the oppressed to a sense of the wrong endured long before the oppressor is aware of the injustice he inflicts.

The people therefore combined together by the bond of a common oppression to secure by their combination the undoubted rights which should never have been denied them. Thus it was that "the butchers, the bakers, the brewers of the town met secretly together and swore to one another, on the gospels, to defend their meat, their bread, and their beer."

Doubtless the Masons followed the example of the butchers, the brewers, and the bakers, and although, as Findel very justly remarks, we have no written constitutions to prove the existence of such associations, we can hardly doubt the fact. Those who were free born, of good manners, and skilled in their craft, it is reasonable to suppose, united themselves into associations whose members were

governed by a common obligation and constituted a common brotherhood.

The history of this period in German Freemasonry has already been discussed in the preceding chapter.

The second period begins with the organization of the corporations of Freemasons at the building of the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg. Some writers think at an earlier period.

The third period commences with the introduction of Speculative Freemasonry into Germany in the 18th century under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of England, at London.

The second period alone occupies our attention in the present chapter.

It has been very generally believed that this second period—the period marked by a well-defined organization of the craft—dates its origin from the time when that style of architecture, denominated the Gothic, began to flourish.

In this style the high pitched gable and the pointed arch took the place of the low, flat gable and the semicircular arch, which had hitherto prevailed.

Of this style of architecture much has been written by the ablest professional pens, and much as to its history and its character has been left undetermined. When was it first known, and when did it cease to exist? Who was its inventor? And in what distinct and salient points does it differ specifically from other styles? All these are questions to which no qualified school of architects has yet been able to respond with satisfaction either to the querist or to the respondent.

One thing, however, we do know with very great certainty. And this is that it was the style universally practiced by the Freemasons of the Middle Ages in all countries of Europe, having been introduced about the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century.

We have also the tradition, which is not altogether a tradition, that these Freemasons, wandering from country to country, and planting everywhere the almost divine principles of their symbolic art, were really the inventors of Gothic architecture.

But be that as it may, the memorials of these arts, in the massive buildings which they erected, have so mixed up the history of Gothic Architecture with that of Freemasonry in the Middle Ages, that it

is impossible, in any treatise on the latter subject, to leave the former unnoticed.

"The spirit of the Middle Ages," says Frederic Schlegel, in his *History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, "more especially as it developed itself in Germany, is in nothing so impressively manifested as in that style of architecture which is called the Gothic. . . . The real inventors of this style are unknown to us; yet we may be assured that it did not originally emanate from one single master-mind, or else his name would certainly have been transmitted to us. The Master artificers who produced those astonishing works appear rather to have formed a particular society or corporation, which sent out its members through different countries. Let them, however, have been who they may, they did more than merely rear stone on stone, for in doing so they arrived at expressing bold and mighty thoughts."

Mr. Paley expresses the same exalted opinion when he says that mediaeval architecture, by which he means the Gothic, "was not a mere result of piling together stone and timber by mechanical cunning and ingenious device. It was the visible embodying of the highest feelings of adoration and worship and holy abstraction; the expression of a sense which must have a language of its own, and which could have utterance in no worthier or more significant way."[1]

This symbolic style, in which the Stonecutter became not only the builder of churches, but the preacher to their congregations, and in which there were literally "sermons in stones," was gradually developed by the skill of the Freemasons, and lasted from about the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 16th century.

These are Paley s dates, but Dr. Moller[2] gives the style a more diffused extent and an earlier origin, though he confines the true Gothic within the limits of four centuries prescribed to it by Paley.

He says that the various styles of architecture which appeared in Europe after the decay of Roman architecture, and continued till the 16th century, when they were superseded by the modern Græco-Roman art, were all for a long time comprised under the general name of Gothic architecture. This epithet was afterward

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," chap, i., p. 5.

[2] "Denkmaler der Deutschen Baukund," cap. i., p. 9.

applied to the pointed arch style which predominated in the 13th century.[1]

I have said that the invention of this style, so expressive in all its manipulations of a profound thought, has been attributed to the mediaeval fraternity of Freemasons. And if this hypothesis be correct, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, then that invention was most probably made, or at least perfected, after the Masons had released themselves from ecclesiastical control, and withdrawing from the monks and the monasteries had become an independent Order of laymen.

"If we consider," says Boisserée, "the impetus given in the 13th century by the wealth and the liberty of the cities to commerce, to industry, and to the arts, we will readily comprehend that it is in the class of citizens, and not in that of the clergy, that we are to look for the inventors of that admirable architecture which was consecrated to divine worship. Notwithstanding all the great and useful things that the clergy have done for literature and science, they have been deficient in that liberty which comes from an active life in the world, and which is a necessary element in the elevation of the arts, as well as of poetry."[2]

This new style, the invention of the Freemasons after their separation from ecclesiastical control, prevailed at the same time in all the countries of Europe. In Germany the two most celebrated instances are the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg.

Each of these cities has been claimed by different authors as the birthplace of German Freemasonry in its guild or corporate form.

What has been said by Schoepflin and Grandidier in reference to the pretensions of Strasburg to be the center whence Freemasonry sprung in the 13th century, has been heretofore shown.

Of Cologne the pretensions are equally as strong, although not so demonstratively expressed, nor has it furnished any documents, as Strasburg has done, of its claims to be the Masonic center of Germany. The document known as the "Charter of Cologne," if it had really emanated from the lodge of that city, would un doubtedly have been of great value as testimony in favor of the theory

[1] "Später wurde dieser Name nur auf den im 13 Jahrhundert herrschend werdenden Spitzbogen style angewendet."

[2] "Histoire et description de la Cathedral de Cologne," par Sulpice Boisserée, Munich, 1843, p. 14.

that makes Cologne the seat of German Freemasonry. But, un fortunately, there is now no doubt, among Masonic archaeologists, that that document is spurious.

Boisserée, whose work on the Cologne Cathedral exhibits much research, seeks to remove the difficulty arising from the rivalry of Cologne and Strasburg by proposing a compromise.

He says that as the city of Cologne gave the first example of a fraternity of Masons, the Architect of the Cathedral was considered as the chief of all the Masters and Workmen of Lower Germany, just as the Architect of the Cathedral of Strasburg, which was commenced nineteen years after that of Cologne, was made the Chief of all the Masters and Workmen employed in constructions of the same kind in the countries situated between the Danube and the Moselle. Thus, he says, the lodge of Stonecutters employed at the Cathedral of Cologne, was the seat of the Grand Mastership of Lower Germany, and that of the Cathedral of Strasburg was the seat of the Grand Mastership of Upper Germany.

Afterward there was established, he says, a central Mastership for all Germany, and Strasburg, where the works were continued for a long time, disputed, this pre-eminent position with Cologne as Lubeck did for the Hanseatic league.

It would seem then, that, according to Boisserée, there were at first two Grand Lodges, one at Cologne and one at Strasburg, between which the jurisdiction over Germany was divided; that afterward there was but a single central head for all Germany, which was claimed by both Cologne and Strasburg.

But Boisserée produces no authority to substantiate this statement, and we shall therefore have to be satisfied with looking to Strasburg only as the seat of the first known and recognized head of mediaeval Freemasonry in Germany.

But Cologne must not be passed over in silence. Whatever may have been the authority that its lodge exercised as a Masonic tribunal, it must at least be acknowledged that in its Cathedral, the purely symbolic principles of Gothic architecture, as the peculiar style of the mediæval Masons were developed in a profounder significance than in any other building of the time.

It may be permitted to suspend for a time our researches into the progress of mediaeval Freemasonry and devote, as an episode, a brief chapter to this wonderful Cathedral.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CATHEDRAL OF COLOGNE AND THE STONEMASONS OF GERMANY

BY the general consent of architectural writers, the Cathedral of Cologne has been admitted to be one of the most beautiful religious edifices in the world. It is considered to be a perfect type of the old Germanic or Gothic style of architecture, and it has been deemed a central point around which have gathered the most important historical and artistic researches on the subject of the architecture of the Middle Ages.

So high did it stand in contemporary estimation, and so much were its builders valued for the skill which they had displayed in its construction, that, as Boisserée tells, the Master Masons of Cologne were often sent for to superintend the building of many other churches. Thus the continuation of the steeple of the Cathedral of Strasburg was intrusted to John Hültz, of Cologne. Another John of Cologne, in 1369, built the two churches of Campen, on the shores of the Zuyder Zee; and he adopted as his plan that of the Cologne Cathedral. The Cathedrals of Prague and of Metz were built on the same plan. In 1442 the Bishop of Burgos imported into Spain two stonecutters of Cologne to complete the towers of his cathedral.

To this prominent position of the cathedral and of its builders in the history of mediaeval architecture must we assign the equally prominent position which has been assumed for it in the traditions of modern Freemasonry. The fabrication of that very popular, but altogether supposititious document, known as the "Charter of Cologne," is to be attributed to the fact that at the date assigned to it the Masons of Cologne were considered as the chiefs of the craft, and there was some apparent plausibility in assigning to them the duty of convening a Grand Lodge, whose representatives were brought from every part of Europe.

The present Cathedral is the successor of two others. The first is said to have been founded by St. Maternus, who was Bishop of Cologne in the 4th century. That edifice, if the account of it is not altogether traditional, and perhaps mythical, must have been constructed in the Roman method and by Roman artisans, for the city did not come under the control of the Franks until the 5th century.

The second Cathedral, the history of which is also very imperfect, is said to have been consecrated in the year 873. Of its having been burnt in 1248 there is no doubt. This edifice does not seem to have met the growing needs or the increasing pride and wealth of the church, for before its destruction by fire, Archbishop Conrad is said to have had plans prepared for the construction of a new one, which should surpass all existing churches in magnificence. And Archbishop Engelbert had designed to do the same thing twenty-five years before, but was prevented from carrying out his plan by his assassination in 1225.

The second Cathedral was burnt in the year 1248, and the new one was begun the same year. Larousse and some other writers state that the work was commenced in 1249. But Boisserée, upon whose authority one may securely rely, says that the foundation-stone of the new edifice was laid on the eve of the feast of the Assumption, August 14, 1248, by Archbishop Conrad, in the presence of the Emperor, Frederick II., and a concourse of nobility and ecclesiastics of every grade.

The solemn ceremonies which accompanied this event have been described at length by the historian of the Cathedral, Sulpice Boisserée.

The foundation-stone was deposited in the spot which was destined for the high altar, and where was temporarily erected a wooden cross.

After the preparatory prayers and canticles the Archbishop proceeded, with the assistance of the architect and by means of a chisel and mallet, to engrave the figure of a cross on the four angles of the stone. In the interior of the stone, in an excavation made for the purpose, was deposited an account of the ceremony, some images of saints made in consecrated wax, some coins, and other objects which bore relation more or less to the epoch of time in which the stone was laid.

Afterward the Archbishop blessed the stone, sprinkled it with holy water, and then delivered it to the workmen, who lowered it into the pit which had been prepared for it.

The Archbishop then descended, accompanied by several attendants, and after spreading some mortar with a trowel over the face of the stone, gave it a blow with a hammer and placed a second stone upon the first. The Emperor, the Pope's legate, and several princes and nobles imitated the Archbishop, and the trowel and hammer passed from hand to hand until it came to the architect, while the choir chanted the 87th Psalm, beginning "His foundation is in the holy mountains."[1]

The work was continued until 1509. During that period, the labors were often suspended in consequence of the sanguinary contests which took place in the 13th and 14th centuries between the city and the archbishops. Hence at the beginning of the 16th century, only the choir and the surrounding chapels had been finished. In succeeding wars the building suffered much, and would at length have been pulled down had it not been for the active exertions of a Fleming, Gerhard de Saint Trond, who caused subscriptions to be made and the work was resumed.

The historical question, who was the architect that drew the plans and first presided over their execution has never been satisfactorily settled; while the fame of Erwin Von Steinback has been preserved as the architect of the rival Cathedral of Strasburg, the name of the surpassing artist who was the architect of that of Cologne has been, apparently, irrecoverably lost.

There is a legend in connection with this which if of no value historically, is of some interest as a romance.

The Archbishop had called upon the architects of Germany for plans for the construction of the Cathedral. Many were submitted, but none were satisfactory to the prelate, who rejected them all.

Among the rejected applicants was a young architect, who was so despondent at his want of success, that one day he repaired to the

[1] "Histoire et Description de la Cathedral de Cologne," p. 7.

I have inserted this description to show how the spirit of symbolism was preserved in all things connected with the architecture of those mediæval Masons, a heritage which they have bequeathed to their successors, the Speculative Freemasons. In the modern ritual for the laying of foundation-stones, it will be seen that some of the leading points have a very close resemblance to this Cologne ceremony.

banks of the Rhine and there meditated suicide. But before casting himself into the river, he tried, but in vain, to draw a new plan.

Suddenly the devil appeared before him as a venerable old gentleman, in black, and offered him a plan which he promised him should be accepted, but would not give it to the architect except in exchange for his soul.

The youth daring neither to accept nor to refuse the offer, asked for a day's consideration. To this Satan assented, and they agreed to meet again at the same place on the afternoon of the next day.

In the interval the young architect consulted the Archbishop and the canons of the Chapter, and by their advice he repaired to the rendezvous at the appointed time.

The devil again showed the plan and renewed his offer of an exchange—the parchment with the plan inscribed, for the soul of an architect. The youth snatched the plan out of the devil's hand and placed it in his bosom beneath a relic of St. Ursula.

The devil, enraged, exclaimed: "This is a trick of the rascally priests; but mark me, the Cathedral, the plan of which you have stolen from me, shall never be finished, and your own name shall forever remain unknown."

In the struggle to get possession of the plan, the devil's claws had torn off a corner of the parchment, and thus mutilated the plan.

The young artist having attempted to invent something which should appropriately fill the missing part, and always, after many trials, failing to succeed, at length died of chagrin. His name has passed into oblivion, and the Cathedral, for six hundred years, remained unfinished.

The story of the unknown architect of Cologne and his unhappy fate, told in different ways, has always been a favorite myth with the German poets. Thus Frederick Rückert:

"Der Meister, der's entwarf
Baut es nicht aus, und starb;
Niemand mocht' sich getraun,
Seitdem ihn aufzubau'n,
Den hohen Dom zu Koln."

The Master who designed the plan did not finish it but died; no one since has dared to build it up; the lofty Cathedral of Cologne.

There are but two names that have been proffered as claim-

ants for the honor of being the architect of the Cathedral of Cologne—at least there are only two names whose apparent merits are such as to have secured any sort of consideration. These are the celebrated philosopher, Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, and a distinguished Mason known as Maître Gerard.

Let us first dispose of the claims of the philosopher.

Albertus Magnus was born of an illustrious family at Laevingen in Swabia in the year 1193. At the age of sixteen he entered the Dominican Order, of which afterward he became the Provincial. Pope Alexander VI. appointed him Bishop of Ratisbon; but Albertus, having held the office for only three years, renounced the miter to reassume the cowl and retired to the convent of his Order in Cologne, and employed himself in giving public instructions in philosophy. He died in the year 1280 at the ripe age of eighty-seven.

Albertus's knowledge of the principles of natural science were so far in advance of the times in which he lived, and many of his experiments were of so extraordinary a nature that he obtained, in a credulous and ignorant age, the reputation of being a magician, and many wonderful stories were related of his power in the occult art.

Thus, for example, it was said that he had occupied thirty years in making an entire man of brass, which would answer all sorts of questions and would even perform domestic services. Another legend relates that on a certain occasion he invited William, Earl of Holland and King of the Romans, who was passing through Cologne, to a banquet in the open air. It was in the depth of winter, and the whole face of the earth was covered with snow. The king, however, was no sooner seated at table, than the snow disappeared, the temperature of the air rose to that of summer and the sun burst forth with dazzling splendor. The ground became covered with rich verdure, the trees were suddenly clothed with foliage, with flowers and with fruits; vines presented clusters of luscious grapes to the company. The table was loaded with dishes of exquisite food which was served by a train of gracefully dressed pages, who came, no one knew whence. But as soon as the feast was over, everything disappeared; all became wintry as before; the snow lay upon the ground, and the guests, chilled by the sudden change, gathered up the cloaks and mantles which they had

previously thrown aside, and hurried to the fires in the apartments.

Such an extravagant legend shows what was the reputation of Albertus among his contemporaries, who did not hesitate to ascribe to him the possession of an almost illimitable amount of learning.

It is not surprising therefore that to him in the uncertainty of who was the real architect, should have been ascribed the honor of devising the plans of the Cathedral of Cologne, especially since the erection of that stupendous edifice was commenced during his residence in the city.

To him, too, has by some writers been ascribed the invention of the Gothic style of architecture, of which the Cathedral of Cologne was one of the earliest and most magnificent specimens.

Those who have believed that he invented the plans for the construction of the Cologne Cathedral, have founded their belief on the profound symbolism of the plan, and on the supposition that Albertus was, according to the views of Heidelof,[1] the one who restored the symbolic language of the ancients and applied it to the principles of architecture.

But this seems to be but the exchanging of one conjectural hypothesis for another. It would be as difficult to prove that Albertus was the discoverer of the principles of symbolic architecture, which certainly does constitute, or at least among the mediaeval Masons did constitute the distinguishing element of their style, as it would be to prove that he was the deviser of the plans for the construction of the cathedral.

If either of these hypotheses were satisfactorily proved, it would give much plausibility to the other, but, unfortunately, the required proof is wanting.

Hence Boisserée, who has carefully discussed the question, refuses to adopt the opinion which attributes the plan of the Cathedral to Albertus.[2] He does not believe that ecclesiastics alone were the possessors of symbolic ideas, but he is sure that an architect only could give expression to those ideas.

He therefore supposes that the plans of the Cathedral must have been devised by an architect. But Albertus Magnus, though justly

[1] In his "Bauhütte des Mittelalters," quoted by Findel.
[2] "Histoire et Descrip. de la Cathedral de Cologne," p. 12.

venerated for his vast erudition, never practiced architecture, and could not therefore have made the plans or superintended their execution.

The other person to whom has been ascribed the honor of being the architect of the Cathedral of Cologne is one Maître Gérard, or Master Gerard.

"Historians," says Boisserée, "are silent concerning this Gerard, as they are concerning all other architects of the Cathedral. I, however, consider him as being the first of them and consequently as the author of the admirable plan which is not less bold than it is ingenious. If the plan had been furnished by another architect, we must suppose that he died at the very beginning of the work, and this we have no reason for believing.

"There is still less reason for supposing that the plan was the production of some man of genius, versed in the knowledge of the art but not himself a professional architect; for the plan of an edifice so immense, of a composition so rich and bold, calculated with so much wisdom in its minutest details and with such a due regard to the execution, could have been invented only by an artist who, to great experience, added the most exact knowledge of all technical methods and the certainty of being able to realize in practice his happy conceptions."[1]

Hence it is that he declines to attribute the position of first architect of the Cathedral to Albertus Magnus, and assigns it to Master Gerard.

In the volume of the *prods verbaux,* or reports of cases of the Senate of Cologne, commenced in 1396, there is a list of the founders and benefactors of the Hospital of St. Ursule at Cologne, the name of Master Gerard is found and he is there described as the *Werk-Meister von Dom,* or "Master of the Work of the Cathedral."[2]

The *Livre Copiai* of the Chapter of Cologne is preserved, says Boisserée, in the archives of the city of Darmstadt. On page 92 of this book is a copy of a charter in which the Chapter grants to Master Gerard a spot of ground on which he had erected at his own expense a house built of stone, in consideration of the services performed by him.

[1] Boisserée, ut supra, p. 10.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

In this charter he is styled "a stonecutter, the director of our Cathedral."[1]

As the date of the charter is 1257, which is only eight years after the commencement of the Cathedral, it is, as Boisserée has maintained, not probable that there had been an earlier architect who had died or been dismissed. And as the charter distinctly calls him a *lapicida,* a "stonecutter," and designates him as the *rector fabricæ,* "the director, or ruler of the Cathedral," I think the question may be considered as settled that Gerard was the name of the first architect of the Cathedral of Cologne and that he was a Mason by profession.

As to the influence which this building and the artists engaged in its construction had upon the organization of the fraternity of Stonemasons of Germany, historical records are silent, and we are left mainly to conjecture.

It is said by Winzer that Albertus Magnus altered the constitution of the Fraternity and gave them a new code of laws. But as at the same time, and almost in the same passage, he ascribes to the same person the designing of the plans for the Cathedral, we may be inclined to give no more credit to the one assertion than we do to the other.

But as the Cathedral is one of the grandest and most elaborate of all the works of Gothic architecture, and as that style was, it is admitted, the invention of the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, we arrive at the legitimate conclusion that the workmen who were members of that Fraternity, which came into Germany about the 10th century from Italy, but of the nature of whose organization, of the customs they practiced, and of the laws which they adopted for their government we have no documentary evidence, until the 15th century, when we find the ordinances of the Stonecutters adopted at Strasburg in the year 1459.

We have documentary evidence of the existence of guilds in Germany before the middle of the 12th century. "At that time," says Mr. Fergusson, "all trades and professions were organized in the same manner, and the guild of Masons differed in no essential

[1] Magistro Gerardo, lapicede (says the charter), rectori fabrice nostre, propter meritoriæ obsequia nobis facta, unam aream latiorem et majorem aliis prout ubi jacet, et comprehendit magnam domum lapideam, quam idem Magister Gerardus propriis edificavit sumptibus, duximus concedendam, etc.

particulars from those of the shoemakers or hatters, the tailors or vintners, all had their Masters and Past Masters, their Wardens and other officers, and were recruited from a body of apprentices who were forced to undergo years of probationary servitude before they were admitted to practice their art."[1]

There is no doubt that this statement is substantially correct, although there were some important differences between the guilds of Masons and those of other crafts, to one of which (the nomadic character of the former) he subsequently alludes.

We have a right, therefore, to conclude that at Cologne, during the construction of the Cathedral, the Freemasons who were engaged in that labor were already organized as a corporation and had their regulations, usages, and laws, though they have not been preserved to us in a written form.

But as it has been observed by a writer on this subject,[2] we have no reason to doubt the existence of such associations even before the 12th century, because we have no positive documentary evidence of the fact in the transmission of written constitutions; because it was not until they had succeeded in obtaining formal recognition, and when they were desirous of obtaining some special privilege that the necessity of a written Constitution was felt, so as to give it, as it were, a superior sanction.

Hence, though the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg and some others of less grandeur were begun in the 12th century, the earliest extant written Constitution is that of Strasburg, whose date is about the middle of the 15th century.

Whether these Statutes of the Strasburg Masons were enacted for the first time in 1459, which is wholly improbable, or whether they were only confirmations of other regulations, are questions which will be mooted in a subsequent chapter.

This much, however, I think has been determined as historically plausible, even if not historically demonstrable.

The most important essay of the Freemasons of Germany as a corporate guild, in the development of their peculiar style of architectural symbolism, was the Cathedral of Cologne. This fabric must then at that time have been the central point of German

[1] "History of Architecture in all Countries," vol. i., p. 2. B. II., chap. viii., p. 477.

[2] Winzer, "German Brotherhoods of the Middle Ages," quoted by Findel, "History." p. 57.

mediaeval Masonry. Nineteen years afterward the Cathedral of Strasburg was begun. Then it is probable that the jurisdiction was divided and both Cologne and Strasburg became the separate centers in Lower and in Upper Germany whence other *bauhütten,* guilds or lodges emanated.

In time, however, probably from the suspension of the labors on the Cologne Cathedral in 1509, that Cathedral was shorn of its importance as a Masonic head,[1] and the power and jurisdiction of the Fraternity was concentrated in the *Haupt-Hütte* or Grand Lodge of Strasburg, which in 1549 modified the old regulations and preserved them in the form of a written Constitution which has been handed down to the present day.

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[1] This decadence of Cologne as a Masonic power affords another argument against the genuineness of the Charter said to have been issued in 1535.

CHAPTER XX

CUSTOMS OF THE GERMAN STONEMASONS

HATEVER knowledge we can obtain from existing documents of the customs and regulations of the Stonemasons who wrought at the building of Cathedrals and other religious edifices in Germany during the Middle Ages, will be so much in the way of enabling us to understand the theory which derives the present institution of Speculative Masons from the Operative Masons of that period.

The two most frequently cited authorities among the German writers on the subject of these customs of the Middle Ages are Fallon in his *Mysteries of the Freemasons as well as their only true Foundation and Origin*,[1] and Winzer in his work entitled *The German Brotherhood of the Middle Ages*.[2]

These works contain much interesting matter, and the general conclusion to which the authors have arrived, as to the origin of the institution, are in accordance with the opinions already expressed in this work. But like some of our older English writers on the history of Freemasonry, Fallon especially has indulged in some speculations which are by no means calculated to increase our respect for his accuracy as an historian. Both these authors have, however, been freely and favorably cited by Findel, who is himself conservative and but little inclined to take any theory on trust.

The theory advanced by Fallon and Winzer is that the German Stonemasons were fraternities in possession of secrets which related to the craft or mystery which they exercised. They have sought to prove that the Freemasons of the present day have derived the ritual which they practice from the mediaeval Stonecutters, a point which I do not think that they have successfully maintained in its

[1] "Die Mysterien der Freimaurer, sowie ihr einzig wahrer Grund und Ursprung," Leipsic, 1859.

[2] "Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters," Giessen, 1859.

full extent. There is, however, undoubtedly evidence that certain words and signs have been handed down, but slightly changed, if changed at all, in their transmission, to the Freemasons of this day.

Another point advanced by these authors is that the German Stonecutters borrowed their customs and laws partly from other corporations contemporary with them, and partly from the regulations of the monastic order, which becomes a very plausible theory when we remember the close connection which originally existed between the monks and the architects.

Their last proposition is that the English Stonemasons received their mysteries from the German *Steinmetzen,* a proposition which is, I think, only partly true, as the English Masons undoubtedly were reinforced from time to time by the accession of Continental workmen who came from Italy and France as well as from Germany.

I have always believed that the earliest of the old English Constitutions, that, namely, known as the Halliwell MS., is a translation from a German original, and is a pregnant proof of the introduction in the 14th century of German Stonemasonry into England.

A most invaluable aid to the scholar engaged in researches into the character of the mediaeval Stonemasons, is the work of George Kloss, entitled *Freemasonry in its real meaning as shown by ancient and genuine records of the Stonecutters, Masons and Freemasons.*[1]

In this work we will find details of all the known laws and written Constitutions of the mediaeval Stonemasons of Germany and England chronologically arranged and so collated as to show the progress of the gradual transition from the Operative to the Speculative institution.

Kloss, as the result of his labors, comes to the conclusion that the Freemasonry of the present day is a transition from the Stonemasonry of the Middle Ages, and that no distinction can be maintained between the old Operative and the recent Speculative system, the old laws, usages, and charges being the same with but slight, if any, modern alteration.

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[1] "Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung aus den alten und ächten Urkunden der Steinmetzen, Masonen und Freimaurer, nachgewiesen," Leipsic, 1845.

With some reservations, this hypothesis may perhaps be accepted in its second clause, and unreservedly in its first.

But the great value of the work of Kloss consists in the mediaeval German Constitutions which it contains and from which and from some other sources we may derive a competent knowledge of the usages of the German Stonemasons of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, which is the subject of the present chapter.

The two oldest Constitutions extant of the German Stonemasons are those enacted at Strasburg, in 1459, and those enacted at Torgau, in 1462.

The ancient laws of the brotherhood were first given a permanent form in the code adopted at Ratisbon on Easter day, in the year 1459, by the Masters and Fellows there assembled in the manner of a Chapter.[1] This code of regulations was soon after ratified at Strasburg and then promulgated as the "Ordinances of the Stonecutters of Strasburg." Heldmann published them in the year 1819 in his book entitled *The three most ancient historical Memorials of the German Freemasons' Brotherhood*.[1] They were subsequently published by other writers, but to Heldmann must be attributed the honor of first giving this important document to the public.

Heldmann tells the story of how it came into his possession. All, he says, who have written of the Cathedral of Strasburg speak of the old statutes of the Grand Lodge there, without imparting them to their readers, or, indeed, being able to do so, since they have always been carefully preserved under a triple custody. While passing through Strasburg in the year 1817, he took extraordinary pains to get possession of a copy of these statutes, but in vain. But he afterward obtained a copy of the Statutes of 1459 from an architect, who had caused it to be made during an accidental residence at Strasburg in the beginning of the revolution, and also got possession, through another architect, of a copy of the revised code of 1563. Bro. Osterneth, who was a member of the Grand Lodge of Strasburg, and who had in his possession a copy of the Statutes of

[1] Kapitelsweise is an expression borrowed, says Findel, from the Benedictine monks, whose convent meetings were called "capitula." But the word and the thing were common to all the Monastic Orders. See Forbrooke, "Brit. Monachism," ii., 133.

[2] "Die drei altesten geschietlichen Denkmale der Deutschen Freimaurerbruderschaft," Arau, 1819.

1459, collated it with Heldmann's exemplar and authenticated the latter.

It appears, therefore, that the Statutes of 1459, as published by Heldmann in 1819, have the mark of genuineness and may be accepted as a faithful exposition of the usages of the Craft at the time of their adoption.

The Constitutions of Torgau are the next authentic document in the history of the German Fraternity of the 15th century. Torgau is a town in the Prussian province of Saxony, and has an historical reputation as being the place where the Lutherans and the Elector Frederick concluded a league. The Stonemasons, whose seat was there, had accepted the Statutes of Strasburg when first promulgated, but three years afterward thought it necessary to modify them to some extent, and therefore drew up, in 1462, a code of 112 articles, which are known as the "Constitutions of Torgau."

A duplicate of these Constitutions was deposited in the Stonemasons' lodge, or *Hütte,* at Rochlitz, in 1486. Steiglitz published, in 1829, a copy of these Constitutions in a work written by him *On the church of St. Kunigund at Rochlitz, and on the Stonemasons lodge at the same place.*[1]

These two Constitutions, those of Strasburg and Torgau, are the only authentic statutes of the Stonemasons which are known, and from them only can we derive any reliable information on the subject of the usages of the Craft at that period.

We learn in the first place from these Constitutions that there were in former times unwritten regulations by which the whole Craft had been governed; that these regulations had been much neglected, in consequence of which dissensions and differences had arisen among the workmen, which evils it was the object of these Constitutions to avoid in future by the adoption of statutes for the government of those who should unite in the establishment of a fraternity.

In Germany, therefore, as we have seen, in England, in France, and in other countries, the work of building was carried on by two distinct classes of workmen; one class who were not associated in

[1] "Ueber die Kirche der heiligen kunigunde zu Rochlitz und die Steinmetzhutte daselbst."

a guild, corporation, or society; and another class who, by these Constitutions, had formed themselves into a brotherhood.

In the English Constitutions this distinction of classes is very forcibly expressed, and the Freemason who is a member of the Guild is forbidden to hold any communication with the layer, rough mason, or Cowan, all of which names are used to designate a Stonemason who has not been admitted into the Fraternity.

The German Statutes also show this distinction very clearly. "No craftsman or Master," say the Constitutions of Strasburg, "who does not go to the holy sacrament shall be received into the fraternity," and in repeated places they speak of "Masters and Craftsmen who are of the fraternity," which, of course, involves the contrary proposition, namely, that there were Masters and Craftsmen who were not of the fraternity.

What were the peculiar ceremonies which accompanied the reception into the fraternity, or whether there were any such ceremonies or not, are questions that can never be settled in such a satisfactory way as we should desire all historical problems to be solved.

That there were some ceremonies it is natural to suppose; these *Steinmetzen* had architectural secrets at least, and admission into all secret societies is attended by some form of initiation.

Fallon asserts that it was imitated from the rite of consecration practiced by the Order of Benedictine monks. But we need authority to sustain the assertion.

Findel, in his *History of Freemasonry,* gives a very detailed account of the mediaeval initiation into German Freemasonry. I shall make use of his account of the ceremonies used on that occasion, without admitting that I am satisfied as to the correctness of every detail.

The Fellow Craft, as we style him, the *Gesell* of the Germans, before he could be admitted into the fraternity was required to prove that he was born in wedlock, of respectable parents, and that he himself bore a good reputation, with due mental and physical capacity. He was then presented with his mark, which thenceforward he had to cut into every stone on which he was engaged.

I give the account of the succeeding ceremonies in the words of Findel, as translated by Lyon.

"On the day fixed the candidate went into the house where the assemblies were held, where the Master in the Chair had everything

prepared in due order in the Hall of the Craft; the Brethren were then summoned, of course bearing no weapons of any kind, it being a place dedicated to peace, and the Assembly was opened by the Master, who first acquainted them with the proposed inauguration of the candidate, dispatching a brother to prepare him. The messenger, in imitation of an ancient heathen custom, suggested to his companion that he should assume the demeanor of a suppliant; he was then stripped of all weapons and every thing of metal taken from him; he was divested of half his garments, and with his eyes bound and breast and left foot bare, he stood at the door of the hall, which was opened to him after three distinct knocks. The Junior Warden conducted him to the Master, who made him kneel and repeat a prayer. The candidate was then led three times round the hall of the Guild, halting at last at the door and putting his feet together in the form of a right angle, that he might in three upright steps place himself in front of the Master. Between the two, lying open on the table, was a New Testament, a pair of Compasses, and a Mason's square, over which, in pursuance of an ancient custom, he stretched out his right hand, swearing to be faithful to the duties to which he pledged himself, and to keep secret whatever had been or might be thereafter made known to him in that place. The bandage was then removed from his eyes, the three Great Lights were shown him, a new apron bound round him, the password given him, and his place in the hall of the Guild pointed out to him. The manner of knocking and gripe of the hand were and are the same as those now used by the Apprentices in Freemasonry. After the Master had inquired if any one had anything else to submit to the decision of the Assembly, he closed the proceedings with the usual knocks of the Stonemason's hammer.

"At the banquet which invariably succeeded the reception of the candidate, which feasts were always opened and closed with prayer, the chief Master proposed to drink the health of the newly accepted Brother in the drinking-cup of the Brotherhood called *Willcommen,* to which the Brother replied by drinking to the welfare of the whole Fraternity. At that time, as now, and in all other Guilds, healths were drunk with three times three; the cup was taken hold of with a glove or pocket-handkerchief, the cover lifted off, and lastly it was carried to the lips; the cup was emptied in three separate draughts and replaced on the table in three separate motions."

The minuteness with which these details are given makes them very interesting, but at the same time it makes them very suspicious, and we require to relieve our doubts with the full authentication of the fact, by contemporary documents which shall be just as full and complete in the detail, and this is a want that has not been supplied.

Some points, however, in this described initiation, are supported by satisfactory evidence, beside which we are enabled to draw legitimate conclusions from contemporary authority or relevant and connected circumstances which satisfactorily support and confirm other points.

Thus, that the mediæval Masons, at least from the middle of the 15th century were a secret society, that is to say, an association of craftsmen, who were in possession of certain secrets that were imparted only to those who were members of the fraternity, and were withheld from all other persons, though they might be of the same craft, but who had not been made free of the fraternity or guild, is a fact that is duly substantiated by the ordinances, statutes, or constitutions, French, English, and German of that period.

Thus in the French regulations of Stephen Boileau it is said that Masons may employ as many assistants and servants as they please provided they do not show them any point of their trade.

The Statutes of Strasburg forbid any workman to instruct any one in any part if he be not of the craft.

And the English Charges impress upon the Mason to keep secret the counsels "of Lodge and Chamber and all other Counsels that ought to be kept by way of Masonhood."

Now the fact that there were secrets to be kept by the association, necessarily required that there should be some safeguard imposed upon the members, by which they should be reminded of the importance and necessity of preserving their exclusiveness and their identity as a secret society.

But there could not possibly be a better method of securing such a safeguard than to impart to the admission of each member into the fraternity a deeply impressive character derived from the solemnity of a formal initiation.

That method has been adopted in all ages and in all countries, and the ancient formula: "Depart, ye Profane," has been pronounced whenever secrets, however valueless, were to be communicated to an aspirant.

It may, therefore, be accepted as an undoubted fact, substantiated by direct allusions in the old Statutes that the mediaeval fraternity of Stonemasons or stonecutters was in Germany, as well as in every other country where they had penetrated, a secret society.

What these secrets were, presents an enterprising inquiry, but which must, however, be deferred to a future chapter.

That this initiation was accompanied by an oath or obligation of secrecy is not only a natural conclusion which we are authorized to deduce from the lessons of experience but is a fact thoroughly substantiated by the old statutes and regulations.

Thus in most of the English charges we have this sentence, curiously enough put in Latin, as if the administration of this ceremony was to be concealed under the veil of a dead language. "Then one of the elders shall hold the book so that he or they (the candidate or candidates) shall place his or their hands on the book. and then the charges should be read."[1]

In the *Steinmetzen Ordinances* of 1462 it is provided that when the *Parlirer,* or Warden, is inducted into office he takes an oath to the Saints. But it is very worthy of remark that this oath was not taken as in modern times on the square and compasses, but on the gauge and square.[2] This would impugn the correctness of the description given by Findel that on the table was a New Testament, and on it a square and compass. The gauge and square seem to have been the mediæval symbols which accompanied the book in the solemnity of the obligation.

There is no evidence of the existence in the *Bauhütten,* or lodges, of such a system of government as is found in the lodges of the Modern Freemasons, where as an invariable rule there are a Master and two Wardens.

But the regulations of Strasburg and Torgau describe an officer between the Master of the work and the Fellows or workmen who was called the *Parlirer*.[3]

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[1] Tunc unus ex senioribus teneat librum ut ille vel illi potiat vel potiant manus super librum et tuncex precepta deberent legi. "York MS., No. I." We have the same passage in other manuscripts, but the Latin is no better.

[2] Die eide strebe mit Maszstable und Winkelmas zu den Heyligen, die gebende und dess Meisters Schaden zu bewaren. Ord., 1462, No. 18.

[3] The duties of a Parlirer are elaborately explained on the authority of the Constitutions, by Kloss in his "Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung."

From these regulations it is very evident that the *Parlirer* performed many of the duties which we are accustomed to attribute in English Masonry to the Warden, and which have been figuratively commemorated in the symbolic duties of the Warden of a lodge of Speculative Masons.

Thus the *Parlirer* was to be present in the morning at the opening, and in the evening at the closing of the lodge, and he was with the craft at their noontide meal.

The *Parlirer* paid the craftsmen their wages, which was generally done at sunset of each day.

He is also supposed to have performed the duties of Secretary and Treasurer, that is to say he kept the roll of the members and had charge of the finances of the lodge.

The *Parlirer* was appointed by the Master, but in the appointment he was restricted by certain regulations. Thus the Strasburg Constitutions provide that no Master shall promote one of his apprentices to the office of *Parlirer* who is still in his years of apprenticeship. A similar rule is found in the English charge which says that "no Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow Craft."

Being thus invested with such important functions it may be supposed that the *Parlirer* was inducted into office with impressive ceremonies. We know that his installation was sanctioned by the administration of a solemn oath on the Gospels and on the twenty-four-inch gauge and the square.

In the Stonecutters' *Bauhütten* of Germany, as in the modern Speculative lodges, the office of Master was one of paramount importance.

All the Fellows or journeymen who were employed in the construction of the same building constituted a single lodge and were under the government of the same Master. The Strasburg Constitutions are very express on this point and leave no doubt of the fact. "Two Masters shall not share in the same work or building."[1] An exception is made in the case of a small building which can be finished in the space of a year. In such a work two Masters might engage.

[1] Es sollent auch nit zevey Meister ein Werk oder einen Gebaue gerne in mit einander haben. "Ordnungen der Strassburger Haupthütte," art. 9.

The Master was enjoined to keep his lodge free from all discord and to administer justice in it between the Fellows. For this purpose he was invested with absolute power to rule his lodge, provided only that he governed it according to the ancient usages of the Craft, and did not arbitrarily oppress the brethren.

In every district there was a lodge over which a Master presided, and over all these there was a still higher officer, to whom appeals might be made, where there was complaint of injustice or wrong.

These were the Masters who presided over the work—the *Magistri Operis*,[1] Master of the Work, called in the German Constitutions, the *Werkmeister*. One of these heard both parties and appointed a day when the trial should take place, which was always in the place where the offense had been committed and before the nearest Master who kept the Statutes.[2]

After an Apprentice had been promoted to the rank of Fellow, he was required, or permitted, to travel throughout Germany and to visit the most important towns and cities. The years employed in this pilgrimage were called his *Wanderjahre*—his years of travel.

During his travels the Fellowcraft was always received with kindness and treated with hospitality by every lodge which he visited. A formula of salutation and reception was prescribed by which, with certain signs of recognition and passwords, the stranger could make himself known to his brethren and secure a welcome.

When a traveling Fellow visited a lodge for the first time, in some town where he had arrived, he knocked three times distinctly, and on being admitted approached the Master, or in his absence the *Parlirer,* with three regular steps, all the brethren standing around.

The salutations of the traveling craftsman were such phrases as these: "God guide you," or "God reward you, Master, *Parlirer,* and all good Companions." The Master or *Parlirer* having returned thanks, the Fellowcraft was submitted to an examination,[3] which

[1] This title of "Magister Operis," or Master of the Work, came to the Stonemasons from the monks, and is a relic of the original ecclesiastical control of architecture. Ducange (Glossarium) says that it was "officium monasticum"—a monastic office, exercised by one who had the charge of public work. In the Masonic usage of the Middle Ages, it was synonymous with the architect or Chief Builder of an edifice.

[2] "Statutes of Strasburg," article 17.

[3] The examination given in the Constitutions-Buch of the lodge Archimedes and which will be found in Krause, Fallon, Findel and other German writers, does not, I think, bear internal evidence of a date so early as the 13th or even the 14th century.

proving satisfactory he received such assistance as he needed, either in work, or if work could not, then and there, be obtained, in money sufficient to supply his immediate wants and to send him on to the next lodge.

The regulations that relate to Apprentices are very explicit in the Strasburg Constitutions, much more so indeed than those of the English or Scottish Masons.

In the first place, no bastard could be accepted as an Apprentice, and the Master is directed to inquire earnestly whether the parents were duly united in lawful wedlock.

An Apprentice could not be made a *Parlirer.* On the same principle the English Statutes required a Warden to have passed the grade of Fellowcraft.

Apprentices, after they had served their years of apprenticeship, were required to travel for at least one year.

If one had served with a *Maurer,* that is to say with a common Mason who was not of the guild, and desired to learn still more of his profession of a Freemason he was required to serve three years as an Apprentice.

The term of apprenticeship was not to be less than five years.

An Apprentice who left his Master without sufficient reason, before serving out his full term of service, was put under the ban. No other Master was to receive him nor was any fellow to work with him, until he had returned and completed his time, giving satisfaction to his Master.

An Apprentice wishing to marry must obtain the consent of his Master.

Apprentices do not appear to have met with the same consideration in the German regulations as they did in the English and in the Scottish, where they are spoken of as constituting a part of the great body of the Craft, and seem to have been intrusted with many of the mysteries of the trade, since they are warned not to divulge them.

An Apprentice who believed that he had not been justly dealt with might appeal for redress to the Masters and Fellows of the district in which his lodge was situated.

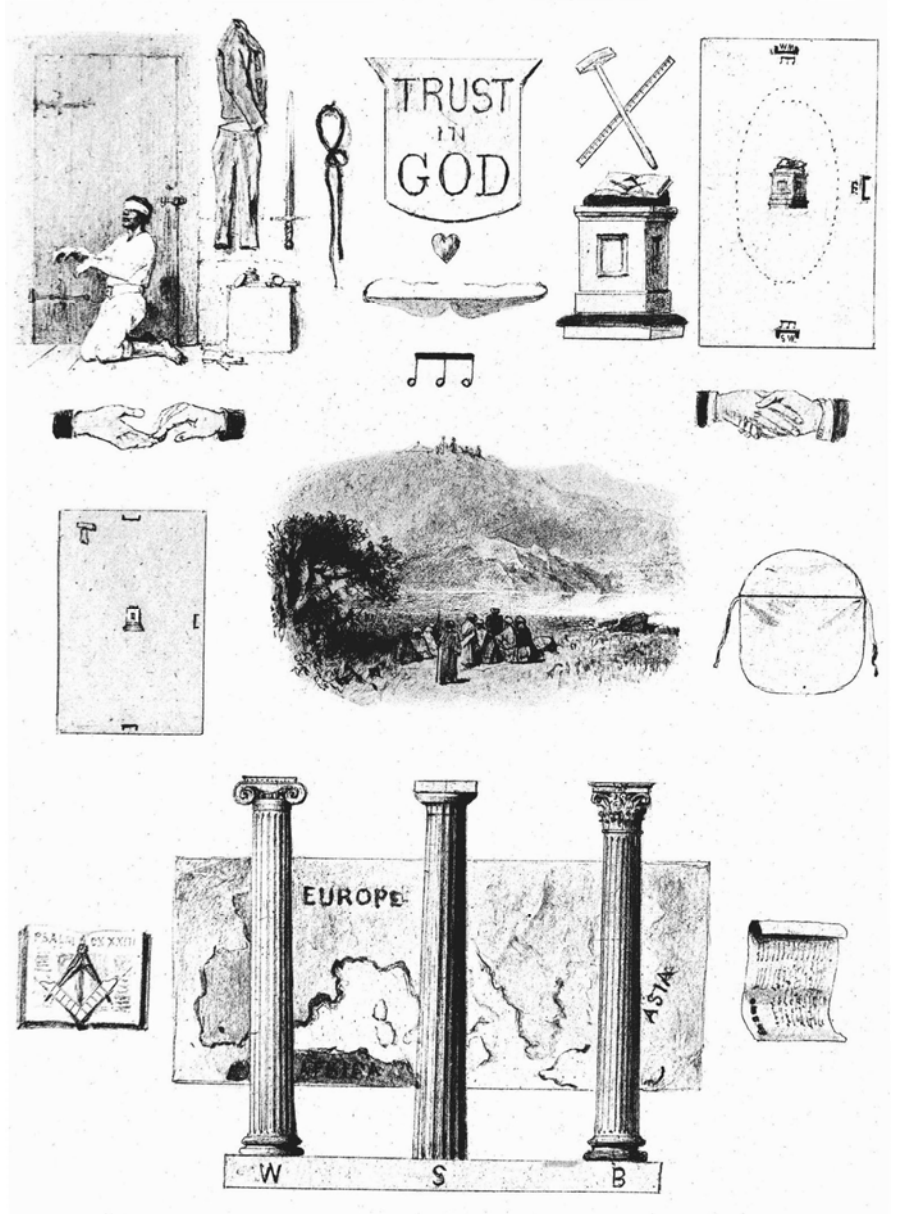
But no one can correctly understand the usages and customs of the mediæval Masons of Germany unless he has made himself acquainted with the Statutes enacted by the Assembly held in 1459 at

Strasburg and modified by statutes subsequently enacted at other places and by various confirmations of the German Emperors.

Of all these laws, the Constitutions of Strasburg are the foundation, as they were the earliest written Constitutions. Like the old English Charges they were probably, for the most part, the committal to writing of usages which had prevailed long before. Their similarity to the English Constitutions, to the Scottish Statutes and to the French Regulations, prove, very conclusively, that all these laws were at one time peculiar to a Fraternity of Builders who existed at a much earlier period and from whom the Guilds or Corporations of Freemasons in all these various countries sprang as from a common stock.

As the reader has already been put in possession of the English, Scottish, end French Constitutions, it is proper, for a thorough comprehension of the subject of the connection existing between all these bodies of Freemasons that he should be able to compare those laws with those which prevailed among the German *Steinmetzen.*

I devote therefore the next chapter to a translation of the Constitutions of Strasburg, appending such marginal remarks as may be necessary for their elucidation.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CHAPTER XXI

THE SECRETS OF THE MEDIÆVAL MASONS

HAT the Stonemasons of the Middle Ages had in their possession certain very important secrets, which they religiously abstained from communicating to any other Masons who were not of the fraternity, is a fact of which there cannot be a doubt. But to discover what these secrets were is a task that has puzzled the brains of more than one investigator.

We have seen that there were passwords, signs, and other methods of recognition which were established to enable the members of the Craft to make themselves known in strange places and to strange brethren, and which were simply matters of convenience forming the part of a system not peculiar to the Masons, but which has, in all ages, been practiced by every association of men who desired to preserve an exclusive organization.

But these modes of recognition did not constitute the secrets of the Freemasons, which bound them together as a united sodality having in every country the same aims and objects. Such secrets were of far more value and importance than any arbitrary code of signals adopted as a means of communication and mutual recognition.

The evidence is very patent, in all the old Constitutions and Regulations, that the Freemasons were in possession of secrets which the members of the fraternity were strictly forbidden to communicate to outsiders. Thus the Strasburg Constitution forbid any Master or Fellow Craft to instruct anyone who is not of the Craft in any part belong-ing to Masonry.

There was in the lodge a certain book which was kept by the Master under an oath that he would permit no part of it to be copied. It is evident that this book must have contained something besides the Statutes, because a book of mere regulations would hardly have been invested with such a character of sanctity.

But the earliest of the English Constitutions, that known as the Halliwell MS., is still more explicit on this subject. The third point — *tercius peonctus* — is an admonition to Apprentices to keep the secrets of the Craft which have been entrusted to them. He was to keep close the counsel of his Master and his Fellows; he was to reveal to no man matters which had been privately discussed (the prevystye of the chamber), nor what had been done in the lodge.

"The thrydde poynt most be severele,
With the prentes knowe hyt wele.
Hys Mayster cownsel he kepe and close
And hys felows by hys goode purpose;
The prevystye of the chamber tell he no man,
Ny yn the logge whatsever they done;
Whatsever thou heryst or syste hem do,
Telle hyt no mon, whersever thou go;
The cownsel of halle and yeke of boure,
Kepe hyt wel to gret honoure
Lest hyt wolde torne thyself to blame,
And brynge the craft ynto gret shame."[1]

It seems scarcely capable of a doubt that these secrets were of an architectural nature. The architects and builders who invented the Gothic style of architecture, and built all the religious edifices of the Middle Ages, and who, as Mr. Hope says, whatever might be the locality in which they were placed, either north, south, east, or west, derived their science from a central school, must have been in possession of certain principles of their art, which they kept exclusively to themselves. From the most distant points whither these "Traveling Freemasons" might have wandered, they maintained, with their brethren of the Craft, a constant correspondence, and communicated to each other the minutest improvement in their art.[2]

It was in the 10th century that the science of geometry is supposed to have first given its aid to architecture by the learned Gerbert, who from the archbishopric of Ravenna had been advanced, in

[1] "Halliwell MS.," t. 275-286.

[2] Hope, "Historical Essay on Architecture," p. 238. The whole object of this part of Mr. Hope's work is to show that the Masons who issued from Lombardy and spread over Europe after the 10th century were in possession of rules of construction which constituted the secrets of the great Fraternity which they formed.

the year 999, to the papacy, under the name of Sylvester II. Mosheim says of him that his genius was extensive and sublime, embracing all the branches of literature, but more particularly mathematics. His studies in geometry were so far beyond the attainments of the age in which he lived that his geometrical figures were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and he himself considered as a magician and a disciple of Satan.

To him Europe is said to have been indebted for the introduction of the Arabic numerals, which he brought from Cordova, in Spain, where he spent several years in acquiring the language and the learning of the Arabians.

I am not ready to subscribe to the opinion of some writers who suppose that the builders of the 10th century were placed in possession of the method of applying geometric science to the secrets of architecture. But I think it highly probable that by his learning as a mathematician he gave the first impetus to the study of geometry by the monkish and the lay architects of his times. This led to the application of the principles of that science at a little later period to the art of building, so as to develop into the system of geometrical secrets, which distinguished the builders of the Gothic style, or the Freemasons of the Middle Ages.

Lord Lindsay, in his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art,* significantly alludes to this possession of architectural secrets as an important element in the strength of these mediaeval Masons. His language is well worth quotation.

Speaking of the symbolic style of architecture—an architecture in which everything was made subservient to the expression of religious ideas by means of symbolism, which, beginning in Lombardy, had been diffused over all Europe, both north and south of the Alps —Lord Lindsay assigns the following as the cause of that diffusion:

"What chiefly contributed to its diffusion over Europe, was the exclusive monopoly in Christian architecture, conceded by the Popes toward the close of the 8th century, to the Masons of Como, then, and for ages afterward, when the title of *Magistri Comacini* had long been absorbed in that of 'Free and Accepted Masons,' associated as a craft or brotherhood in art and friendship. A distinct and powerful body, composed eventually of all nations, concentrating the talent of each successive generation, with all the advantages of accumulated experience and constant mutual communication — im-

bued, moreover, in that age of faith, with the deepest Christian reverence, and retaining their advantages unchallenged till their proscription in the 15th and 16th centuries—we cannot wonder that the Freemasons should have carried their art to a pitch, which now that their secrets are lost, it may be considered hopeless to attempt to rival."[1]

Mr. Paley, in his *Manual of Gothic Architecture,* touches rather tenderly on this subject, for he thinks that little or nothing has ever transpired of the secret system which the Freemasons adopted in building, nor of the organization of their body, except that it was ecclesiastical and under the jurisdiction and benediction of the Pope. He supposes, however, that there was some central school whence emanated all the rules which were developed in a positive identity of architectural details in the minutest points; or if there were no such school, that the Master Masons went about like missionaries teaching these principles.[2]

Elsewhere, in the same work, he becomes more explicit in respect to these secrets, and thinks that they consisted in an application of the principles of geometry to architecture. It is, he says, certain that geometry lent its aid in the planning and designing of buildings, and the methods of application were, he thinks, evidently "profound secrets in the keeping of the Freemasons."[3]

He expatiates on this theory and supposes that the equilateral triangle was probably the basis of most formations, as it is exhibited in a majority of pointed arches as well as in the *vesica piscis,* a prominent mystic symbol of the mediaeval Masons.

And this theory is greatly strengthened by the fact—which was probably not known to Mr. Paley, or at least he does not refer to it—that the equilateral triangle is one of the most important and significant of the symbols of the Speculative Masons, who indeed have founded most of their symbolism on geometrical principles borrowed from or suggested by the practices of the mediaeval Operative Masons, who were their predecessors.

Michelet, in his *History of France,*[4] has some very profound re-

[1] "Sketches of the History of Christian Art," ii., p. 14.

[2] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," chap. vi., p. 210. [3] Ibid., chap. iii., p. 78.

[4] "Histoire de France," par M. Michelet. Bruxelles, 1840. The same views had been previously announced by Boisserée in his description of the Cathedral of Cologne, and Michelet acknowledges his indebtedness to that writer.

marks on this subject of the secret of the mediæval Masons. He shows that it was geometrical and consisted in an application of the science of numbers, used in a mystical sense to the art of building according to the principles of Gothic architecture, which was the peculiar style of the Freemasons.

He illustrates this view from examples furnished by cathedrals built by the fraternity from the 11th century onward. His views are worth consideration.

He says that this geometry of beauty, as he calls it, is conspicuous in the type of Gothic architecture as exhibited in the Cathedral of Cologne. This is a regular body which has grown in its appropriate proportions with a regularity equal to that of the formation of crystals. The cross of this church is strictly deduced from the figure by which Euclid constructs the equilateral triangle. The numbers 10 and 12, with their divisors and their multiples, were the numbers which guided and controlled all the measures of the edifice.

Of these, 10 was the human number, because it was that of the fingers; 12 was the divine number, being astronomical in its relations. To these 7 were added as the number of the planets. The inferior parts of the building are modeled on the square, and subdivided into the octagon; the superior are modeled on the triangle and are developed in the hexagon and the lodecagon.

The arcade, thrown from one pillar to another, is fifty feet wide. and this number is repeated throughout the building in some of its multiples. Thus the side-aisles are 25 feet, or one-half the width of the arcade; the façade is thrice its width, or 150 feet. The entire length of the church is three times its entire breadth, or nine times the width of the arcade. The breadth of the whole church is equal to the length of the choir, of the nave, and to the height of the middle of the roof.

The proportion of the length to the height is as 2 is to 5. Finally, the numbers of the arcade and the side-aisles are repeated externally in the counter-foils and buttresses. There are seven chapels of the choir, which is the number of the gifts of the Holy Ghost and of the Sacraments, according to the Catholic Church, and the choir is supported by twice seven columns.

This predilection for mystical numbers occurs in all the churches of the mediæval period. Thus the Cathedral of Rheims has 7

entrances, and both it and the Cathedral of Chartres have 7 chapels around the choir. The choir of Notre Dame, at Paris, has 7 arcades. The cross-aisle is 144 feet long, which is 16 times 9, and 42 feet wide, which is 6 times 7. The towers of Notre Dame are 204 feet high, which is 17 times 12, the astronomical number. The length of the church of Notre Dame at Rheims is 408 feet, or 34 times 12. The Cathedral of Notre Dame has 297 columns; but 297 divided by 3 gives 99, and this divided by 3 again produces 33. The naves of St. Ouen. at Rouen, and of the Cathedrals of Strasburg and Chartres, are of the same length, or 244 feet. The Saint Chapelle, at Paris, is 110 feet long and 27 feet wide, but 110 is 10 times 11, and 27 is 3 times 9.

In these few examples we have developed the numbers 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12, all of which have been retained in the mystical system of the Speculative Freemasons, and their appearance among the mediæval Masons could have been neither by an accident nor a coincidence, but must have arisen from a predetermined selection.

"To whom, then," says Michelet, "belonged this science of numbers, this divine mathematics? To no mortal man, but to the Church of God." Under the shadow of the Church, in chapters and in monasteries, the secret was transmitted together with instruction in the mysteries of Christianity. The Church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture. She would often summon a whole people to complete a monument. A hundred thousand men labored at once on that of Strasburg, and such was their zeal that they did not suffer night to interrupt their labors, but continued them by the light of torches. The Church would often expend centuries on the slow accomplishment of a perfect work. Renaud de Montauban, for instance, bore stones for the building of the Cathedral of Cologne, and to this day it is still in process of erection.[1]

Michelet has found, in the geometrical proportions observed in the construction of religious edifices, a conformity to the principles of art laid down by Vitruvius and by Pliny, and thus in the Gothic style of architecture the Freemasons have preserved the traditions of antiquity.[2] Here, then, we see apparently another link in the chain which connects the Middle Age Corporations of Craftsmen with the Roman builders of the *Collegia Artificum.*

[1] "Histoire de France," liv. iv., chap. ix., p. 369. (The Cathedral of Cologne has since been completed.)

[2] Ut supra.

in defining the secret or secrets of the mediæval Masons to have consisted in an application of the principles of geometry to the processes of building, M. Michelet has taken that view of the subject which is now very generally accepted by Masonic and archæological writers.

Findel says that the secrets of the Stonemasons consisted of instruction in architecture and in mystical numbers; of these he says that 3, 5, 7 and 9 were especially sacred. But Michelet has shown that while the numbers mentioned by Findel were venerated, the numbers 10 and 12, or the human and divine numbers, were deemed the most important, and were the most used in symbolization. He says, also, that the colors gold or yellow, blue and white, were sacred as having especial allusions to the art.

The symbolization of colors, as well as of the implements of the Craft, which have been described by Findel and some other German writers, did not constitute any part of those secrets of the Craft the knowledge of which distinguished the members of the Guild or Fraternity of Freemasons from the common workmen, to whom these secrets were never communicated, and to whom they never could be imparted except by a positive violation of the Guild law.

It is therefore a matter of but very little importance—in fact of none at all—whether M. Michelet is or is not correct in assigning to the Church the office of inventing the architectural symbolism which pervaded all the religious edifices of the Middle Ages. It is true that the Christian Church had scarcely emerged from the chrysalis state in which it had existed during the apostolic age, when dogmas were taught without figurative illustration, before it began to impress its religious instructions upon its disciples by means of symbols.[1]

But as early as the 12th century, at least, the Freemasons had begun to cut adrift from their monastic and ecclesiastic connections, and had established themselves as an independent body of Craftsmen. It would be safe to suppose, as Boisserée contends, that both geometrical architecture and architectural symbolism were the invention rather of skilled professional architects than of monks or

[1] This is not the place to discuss the question of how much the Freemasons were indebted to the Church for their symbolism. It will be hereafter treated on a more appropriate occasion.

prelates who were not practical Masons. The Church, however, must have undoubtedly exercised some influence in early times in moulding the system.

At first, in the earliest periods of the rise of ecclesiastical architecture, the abbots and bishops, taking, as Fergusson says, some former building as a model, made their designs and verbally corrected its mistakes or suggested their improvements to the builder.[1]

But afterward the professional architects and Masons usurped to themselves the task of designing as well as erecting the churches and other buildings. The methods of geometrical and mathematical construction became *arcana,* to be confined to the members of the Guild of Freemasons and to constitute those secrets, so often spoken of, which were lost at the dissolution of the fraternity.

The gradual disseverance of the professional Masons from their ecclesiastical relations, and the improvement in the science of architecture which—of course, developed that geometrical system which the wiser craftsmen kept to themselves—has been described by Mr. Whittington in his *Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France;* and though what he says has direct reference to that kingdom, it can, with perfect correctness, be applied to Germany.

The ancient writers often mention instances of an abbot giving a plan which his convent assisted in carrying into execution, and this was certainly the case in the beginning of the revival of learning after the decadence of the Roman Empire, when the arts were almost exclusively cultivated by the clergy.

But it is equally certain that the ecclesiastics patronized the professors of the arts among the laity, and especially in the arts of building there were men of superior skill and intelligence who, being brought from distant places by the liberality of the prelates, were added to the common Masons and carpenters who were found in the different cities, and whose mere manual labor was made use of by the monks in the construction of religious edifices. This association, elevated by the intermixture of the superior intelligence of the more skilled workmen, and patronized by the authority of the Church, secured employment and protection. The members gradually increased in numbers and improved in science until, at length, they produced the most able artificers among themselves.

[1] "History of Architecture in all Countries," i., p. 480.

Thus it was that the builders were, about the 12th century, enabled to withdraw altogether from their dependence on, and from their connection with, the ecclesiastics. They formed that fraternity of Freemasons who were distinguished in every country where they appeared, from the common herd of craftsmen—the *Maurer* of the Germans and the "rough Masons"[1] of the English—by the possession of important secrets connected with the art of building.

"So studiously," says Mr. Halliwell, "did they conceal their secrets, that it may be fairly questioned whether even some of those who were admitted into the Society of Freemasons were wholly skilled in all the mysterious portions of the art."[2]

Doubtless in this, as in every association of men, must have been a diversity of skill and talent. But the fraternal spirit of the Craft led to a willingness on the part of the best instructed to supply the needs of their less informed brethren. Thus in one of the earliest of the old English Constitutions it is provided that if a Mason be wiser and more subtile than his fellow working with him in his lodge or any other place, and he perceives that he must leave the stone upon which he is working for want of skill, and he can teach him how to work the stone better, he shall instruct him and help him, that the more love may increase among them, and that the work of the Lord be not lost.[3] A similar regulation will be found in the Constitutions of Strasburg.

Thus, though there were of course some workmen more skilled than others, and though they were strictly exclusive in confining their knowledge of the secrets of their art to their own fraternity, yet those secrets were freely imparted to every member who desired the knowledge.

The theory that the secret of the mediæval Freemasons consisted in an application of the principles of geometry to architecture enables us to explain many things otherwise inexplicable in the old records of the Operative Masons and in the modern rituals of the Speculative Free and Accepted Masons. We are thus enabled to understand all the allusions made to geometry as the most important of the sciences and as the synonym of Masonry. Dr. Anderson, most probably with some old manuscript before him, the suggestions of

[1] Called also "roughlayers."

[2] "Archæologia," vol. xxviii., p. 445.

[3] Cooke MS., line 888.

which he followed, commenced the *Book of Constitution* with a eulogium, not on Masonry, but on Geometry, which he declared was the foundation of Masonry and Architecture.

In the second edition of the *Constitutions* he says that the Masons always had a book in manuscript which, besides the Charges and Regulations, contained the history of architecture, in order to show the antiquity of the Craft or Art, "and how it gradually arose upon its solid foundation, the noble science of Geometry."[1] The discovery since his time of many copies of this manuscript book of *Constitutions* confirms what he here says of the connection of Geometry with Masonry.

Elsewhere he writes in the same strain of Geometry and Masonry as identical arts. Thus he says: "No doubt Adam taught his sons Geometry," and "Seth took equal care to teach Geometry and Masonry to his offspring." But the best illustration in the work of Anderson, of the theory that the secret of the Freemasons consisted in the application of the principles of Geometry to Architecture, is his statement that Noah's ark "was certainly fabricated by Geometry and according to the rules of Architecture."

All the old English manuscript Constitutions maintain the same idea of the very close connection, and, indeed, identity, of Geometry and Masonry.

Thus in the earliest of them, the Halliwell MS., whose date is supposed to be about the year 1390, it is said:

> "In that time through good Geometry,
> The honest craft of good Masonry
> Was ordained and made in this manner."

In the Cooke MS., whose date is about a hundred years later, we are told that "Isidore saith in his *Etymologies,* that Euclid calleth the craft geometry." In the York MS., of the date of 1600, we are still more distinctly told that "Euclid was the first that gave it the name of Geometry, the which is now called Masonry."

But it is hardly necessary to multiply the instances in which the

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," second edition, 1738, p. vii. Krause says ("Kunsturkunden," i., 23) that Geometry is to be here taken in a double sense: I, as the foundation of architecture, and, 2, as the social design of the brotherhood of Freemasons. But this appears to be really a "distinction without a difference." Architecture and the design of the Masons are, in the present view of the subject, one and the same thing.

old Constitutions have referred to Geometry as the foundation of Masonry, or as an art indeed identical with it. All of these references to Geometry are but corroborating proofs of what has been already said, that the great secret of the mediæval Masons consisted in the application of the principles of Geometry to the art of building by methods known only to themselves, and which they developed in the Gothic style of architecture which they invented. This secret perished with the dissolution of the Operative Fraternity, or by its transmission into the Speculative Association.

Yet this Speculative Association, the Free and Accepted Masons of the present day, have retained the memory of their descent from these Operative Masons of the Middle Ages by a sacred preservation in their ritual of a reference to Geometry as the "fifth and noblest of the sciences and the one on which the superstructure of Masonry is founded."

The retention in the ritual of the letter G, the earliest and the most extensively propagated of all the symbols of Speculative Masonry, is an ever-present and a loudly speaking testimony in every lodge that the brethren there congregated have not forgotten that the great secret of their predecessors was a geometrical one.

Indeed, if there were no other proof that the mediaeval Freemasons did all their work according to certain principles of Geometry, the method of applying which was known only to themselves, and that therefore the science of Geometry was to them a most important and indispensable part of their Craft, and which entitled it peculiarly to the appellation of a "mystery," a word applied indifferently to designate a trade or a secret.[1]

But the very fact that these Freemasons were possessed of important secrets in reference to the art and practice of building, and to preserve their own pre-eminence, it became necessary that they should have some method of securing these secrets to themselves and of preventing the intrusion of strangers and workmen who were not of their guild or fraternity into a community of

[1] There is doubt among philologists whether "Mystery" is derived from the French "mestier," a trade, or from the Latin "mysterium," a secret. The word has always been used in both senses. Thus Chaucer says the reeve had learned "a good mester, he was a well good wright a carpenter" ("Canterbury Tales," Pro. 613), and Wiclif speaks of "the mysterie whych was kepte secrete since the worlde beganne." The legal term, at this day, for an art, trade, or occupation is "Mystery."

labor with them and the acquisition of any part of their mystical knowledge.

Now the only method by which these ends could be attained was that of a code or system of signs and words by which any one of these Freemasons could make himself known to the others, when he might be in a strange place, and thus secure to himself a participation in the benefits of the association. A form of reception or initiation would also, probably, be adopted, either for further security or for the purpose of giving solemnity to the admission of new members.

We have the best historical records to prove that modes of recognition were adopted for the purpose named by the mediaeval Freemasons, and that they had a form of initiation, though what that form precisely was I am disposed to think we are ignorant of, notwithstanding the authority of recent German writers, some of whom have pretended to give it in full.

The English and Scottish authorities—that is to say, the contemporary manuscript records—certainly supply us with no information on that subject, save that there was some formula of reception for an Apprentice, a Fellow, and a Master, the authorities indicating that the same formula was used on each occasion, or perhaps that one form of reception only was used, and on only one occasion. There is a great amount of obscurity on this subject which can be removed only by future investigations and by the discovery of more explicit manuscripts, which, if any such exist, have not yet been brought to light.

The German writers, however, have furnished from documents in their possession many almost minute details of the usages of the Traveling Freemasons of that country and which in the course of time must have extended into other lands.

In the *Book of Constitutions* of the Lodge Archimedes, at Altenburg, is contained an examination of a German *Steinmetzen,* which has been copied by Krause, by Findel, and by other writers, and which is declared by all of them to be a genuine document. I do not see any reason to doubt its genuineness and I give it as it has been published in Findel's *History of Freemasonry,* with a few alterations or amendments, on the authority of Krause's copy of the same document.

When a Fellow, traveling in his "Wander Year," or at any time

in search of employment, arrived at a strange *Hütte* or Lodge, he approached, says Findel, by three regular steps, and knocking three times was admitted, when, the brethren all standing around, their feet placed at right angles, he saluted the Master, or in his absence, the *Parlirer* or Warden, with the following salutations, which were, "God greet you—God guide you—God reward you—Master, *Parlirer* and Fellows." After some other mutual courteous greetings, the examination proceeded as follows:

Q. Worthy Fellow-craftsmen, are you a letter Mason (*ein Briefer*) or a salute Mason (*ein Grüsser*)?

A. I am a salute Mason.

Q. How shall I know you to be such?

A. By my salute and the words of my mouth.

Q. Who has sent you?

A. My worshipful Master, the worshipful townsmen, and the worshipful Craft of Masons at N.N.

Q. For what purpose?

A. For honorable advancement, instruction, and honesty.

Q. What are instruction and honesty?

A. The customs and usages of the Craft.

Q. When do they begin?

A. As soon as I have honestly and faithfully finished my Apprenticeship.

Q. When do they end?

A. When death breaks my heart.

Q. How shall we know a Mason?

A. By his honesty.

Q. What kind of a Mason are you?

A. A Mouth-mason (*ein Mund-Maurer*).

Q. How shall we know that?

A. By my salute and mouth speech.

Q. Where was the worshipful Craft of Masonry in Germany instituted?

A. In Magdeburg, at the Cathedral.[1]

[1] It was a tradition of the German Masons that they were first formed into a brotherhood at the building of the Cathedral of Magdeburg, which was commenced about the year 1211. Bishop Lucy, a few years before, in 1202, created a company of builders for the construction of the Cathedral of Winchester. Hence Findel suggests that they were most probably the founders of the Fraternity of Freemasons in England. We have no positive authority for this, but the coincidence of time is, at least, remarkable.

Q. Under what monarch?

A. Under the Emperor Charles II., in the year 876.

Q. How long did that Emperor reign?

A. Three years.

Q. How was the first Mason called?

A. Anton Hieronymus, and the working tool was invented by Walkan.

Q. How many words has a Mason?

A. Seven.

Q. What are for the Words?

A. *Riganische, Riganse, Rigaische.*

Q. How do they run?

A. God bless honesty.

God bless honorable wisdom.

God bless a worshipful Craft of Masons.

God bless a worshipful Master.

God bless a worshipful *Partirer* (or warden),

God bless a worshipful Society.

God bless an honorable advancement here and there and everywhere, on the water and on the land.

Q. What is secrecy in itself?

A. Earth, fire, air, and snow, through which to a Worshipful Master's advancement I go.

Q. What do you carry under your hat?

A. A praiseworthy wisdom.

Q. What do you carry under your tongue?

A. A praiseworthy truth.

Q. Why do you wear an apron?

A. To do honor to the Worshipful Craft and for my profit.

Q. What is the strength of our Craft?

A. That which fire and water cannot destroy.

Q. What is the best for a Mason?[1]

A. Water.

Such was according to the *Konstitutions Buch* of the Altenburg

[1] Findel gives this last question and answer thus: "Q. What is the best part of a wall? A. Union." There is certainly more sense apparently in this than in the formula as I have given it. Yet it is the language of Krause, who quotes the "Konstitutions Buch" in his "Drei Altesten Kunsturkenden," and it is from him that I have made my translation.

Lodge of "Archimedes of the three Tracing Boards," the catechism or examination of a Freemason in the Middle Ages in Germany.

It is very evident that its only design was to establish a system of questions, the capacity of giving the correct answers to which were to prove the just claim of the person questioned to be a member of the guild. In this respect this catechism resembles that which was in use among the English Masons at the time of the organization of Speculative Masonry.

One of the answers in this mediæval catechism presents the doggerel form of verse which is so common in the early English catechisms, and hence we find another resemblance. In the original German catechism we find this answer:

> "*Was ist Heimlichkeit an sich selbst?*
> *Erde, Feur, Luft, und Schnee,*
> *Wodunt ich auf eines Ehrbaren Meisters Beforderung geh.*"

Which may be translated:

> "What is Secrecy in itself?
> Earth, Fire, Air, and Snow,
> Through which to a worshipful Master's advancement I go."

This must strongly remind us of the doggerel verses in the English catechisms. So common indeed was this practice of doggerel versification in all the old rituals that its presence may be deemed a proof of relative antiquity, as its absence would be a proof of want of genuineness. The long ritual of the Royal Order of Scotland, which is among the oldest of the High Degrees, is made up almost entirely from beginning to end of doggerel verses, which even for doggerel are for the most part very inferior in structure.

The secret words in this catechism are also worthy of remark. Of *Riganse,* with its variations, it is impossible to trace the origin. The supposition in the Constitution Book that it is a corruption of the English "wriggle," is too puerile for consideration. It is said that the number of the letters being seven is significant, and hence Krause, who admits that this is a mutilated word, thinks the letters may be composed of the initials of the names of the seven liberal arts and sciences. But this hypothesis is, I think, wholly untenable, and it must remain as another instance of the numerous irreparable corruptions of the old Masonic manuscripts.

Not so, however, with the other words in this catechism, *Adon*

Hieronymus and *Walkan.* The former, evidently, is a corruption of Adonhiram, who, Krause says, has been confounded with either Hiram, the King of Tyre, or with Hiram Abif; I think most probably the latter, because the person described by that name in the Books of Kings and Chronicles is called "Adon" in some of the English Constitutions.

The word *Walkan,* evidently, is a corruption of Tubal Cain. Mossdorf thinks it was meant for Vulcan. But this is untenable. Vulcan is never mentioned in any of the old Masonic records, and it is not probable that the Freemasons were at all acquainted with this pagan god of blacksmiths. On the other hand, the old Constitutions had made them familiar with the name of Tubal Cain, whom the *Legend of the Craft* had placed with the other children of Lamech as the founders of Masonry.

We see, therefore, the close connection between the *Steinmetzen* of Germany and the Freemasons of England. They were both, evidently, branches of the same common body of artists, and had, if we may judge from these two words, the same legend.

The Altenburg Constitution Book asserts, indeed, that the forms of initiation and the ritual used by the German Stonemasons came originally from England.

This may have been so, though we have no direct or distinct proof of the fact. If it were so it would not militate with the fact that the other and greater secret of the Craft, that of building in the Gothic style and on geometric principles, came to both England and to Germany from the school of Lombardy and the Masters of Como.

We have thus seen that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages—the *Steinmetzen,* Stonecutters or Stonemasons, as they have been indifferently called, were in possession of and were distinguished by two classes of secrets.

One of these classes consisted in the possession of certain methods of recognition by which one Mason might know another, as the modern rituals say, "in the dark as well as in the light."

Now this class of secrets is not of any historical importance, nor was it peculiar to the fraternity of Masons. At all times and in all countries, men, when they unite into a brotherhood for the pursuit of any special object, certain details of which they desire to conceal from the world, protect their exclusiveness and their secrecy by

some method of signs or pass-words which will secure them from the intrusion of those who are not of their sodality, and are therefore to them as profanes. We have ample proof that those who practiced the Pagan Mysteries of antiquity had this secret method of protecting their ceremonies and the dogmas which they taught from the uninitiated.

"Every trade, art, and occupation," said Harris, "has its secrets, which are not to be indiscriminately communicated to all who seek to obtain them without having undergone the necessary probation, and have not thus become members of the sodality, guild, or craft."

The Freemasons of the Middle Ages did not, therefore, differ in this respect from other associations of a similar kind. Their possession of signs and words, by which they made themselves known to each other, is of no special importance in the history of the Craft, except insomuch as that if there can be shown to be any similarity or analogy between those used by the Freemasons of the present day and those which were practiced by the mediaeval Masons, we should have another proof of the descent of the former as a fraternity from the latter.

Such a similarity or analogy has, I think, been already shown in the course of our present investigations. The use among the German Stonemasons of such words as *Walkan* and *Adon Hieronymus,* which are evidently corruptions of "Tubal Cain" and "Adon Hiram" or "Adoniram," together with some similar analogies among the English and the Scotch Stonemasons, render it very probable that the secret methods of recognition which were in use among the Stonemasons or Masonic Corporations of the Middle Ages, have for the most part been preserved, and are to this day employed by their successors, the Speculative Freemasons.

But the real secrets of the mediæval Masons were those whose loss are still deplored, and whose importance is testified to by the fact universally admitted, that from the knowledge of them, and from their practical application, have resulted the magnificent architectural works of the Middle Ages, some of which, as the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg, still remain, while of others, though time-worn and dilapidated, the ruins still attest the skill and the taste (unsurpassed in modern times) of their builders.

These secrets, which were the application of Geometry to the art of building, intimately connect the history of Freemasonry with

the history of Gothic architecture, and thus they acquire an importance far surpassing that of the former class, or the methods of recognition.

The use by the Masons of the Middle Ages of Geometry in the practice of their profession as architects gave rise to geometrical symbols, the preservation of many of which by the Speculative Freemasons of our day is another proof of the succession of the later from the older society, and is in this way again of great historical importance in the history of the institution.

The geometrical symbols which are found in the ritual of modern or Speculative Freemasonry, such as the triangle, the square, the right angle, and the forty-seventh problem, may be considered as the débris of the "lost secrets" of the mediæval Stonemasons. As these founded their operative art on the application to architecture of the principles of Geometry, of which they were wont to say that "there is no handycraft that is wrought by man's hand but it is wrought by Geometry," so the modern Freemasons, imitating them in their reverence for that science (though not possessing the same knowledge of its principles), have drawn from it their most impressive symbols.

Thus we may easily explain the origin and the meaning of the phrase, "Geometrical Masons," which was applied in the beginning of the 18th century to the Speculative Freemasons, who thus claimed to be considered as the successors of the Masonic Guilds of the Middle Ages, who had called themselves Freemasons and whose secrets were of a geometric character.

This claim, too often rejected or laid aside for the sake of seeking a more ancient but wholly mythical origin of Freemasonry, either from the Pagan Mysteries or from the Temple of Solomon, is rapidly gaining ground among the Fraternity.

It is evident that the Speculative Freemasons of the last century sought to strengthen the claim by applying to themselves the title of "Geometrical Masons," by which they intended to distinguish themselves from the Operative Masons of their own time, just as the old Freemasons of the Middle Ages distinguished themselves, by the possession of geometrical secrets, from the "rough layers" or "rough Masons"—workmen who were not entitled to be called, and who were not called, "Freemasons" because they were not freemen of the Guild, were not in possession of those geo-

metrical secrets, and were not therefore admitted into the brotherhood.

There are, however, between the Speculative Masons, who date their organization from the year 1717, and the Freemasons of the Middle Ages some very significant differences and some equally significant resemblances.

The consideration of these differences and of these resemblances will come into view when treating, in another chapter, of the transition of Operative into Speculative Masonry.

CHAPTER XXII

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND THE FREEMASONS

FROM what has been heretofore said, the reader will readily perceive that there was a very close connection between the Freemasons of the Middle Ages and that system of architecture which has been called the Gothic style.

It is not my intention to enter into any elaborate discussion of the character and the origin of that style. Such a discussion would be irrelevant to the design of the present work, which is a history not of architecture but of Freemasonry.

But as it has been, by general consent, admitted that the Gothic style, if not absolutely invented by the mediæval Freemasons, was exclusively cultivated by them as the style of the ecclesiastical buildings which they erected in every country of western Europe, during the period of from four to five centuries or perhaps more, in which they flourished as a well-organized fraternity.

Gothic architecture has, therefore, very justly been called the architecture of the Freemasons.

It has, however, received other names, some of which have less appropriateness, whether we look to the character of the style or to the history of its origin and its progress.

Sir Christopher Wren, indulging in the hypothesis that this style was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, called it the Saracenic style.

He maintains his theory with great ingenuity, and I shall quote the passage from the *Parentalia,* at the expense of some repetition, because, whatever may be thought of the Saracen origin attributed to the Gothic style, we have the important testimony of this great architect to the guild or corporation character of the Stonemasons of the Middle Ages. We find the following passages in the *Parentalia;*

"The Holy War gave the Christians who had been there an idea of the Saracen works; which were afterward by them imitated in the West; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among which were some Greek refugees), and with them Frenchmen, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects; procuring Papal bulls for their encouragement and particular privileges; they styled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one nation to another, as they found churches to be built."[1]

Britton, an architect of much reputation, rejecting the Saracenic theory of Wren, uses the term "Christian Architecture" in preference to Gothic, as more analogous, more correct, and more historical. He defines this phrase, "Christian Architecture," as one "applied to all the classes of buildings which were invented and erected by the Christians, and which essentially varied from the Pagan architecture of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It includes all the varieties of designs used in churches and monasteries, from the 6th to the end of the 16th century."[2]

Mr. T. G. Jackson, a professional architect, who has written a very readable little work on *Modern Gothic Architecture,* dissents from this view. He asserts that Gothic architecture was not exclusively connected with the system of the Christian Church, nor intended by its forms to symbolize Christian doctrine.

Gothic architecture is not, he says, the creation of any religious creed or doctrine. It is the offspring of modern European civilization. It is Christian, only because modern Europe is Christian. It is connected with the Church only so far as the Church enters into the composition of our social state as one among many elements.[3]

But a previous admission of the author contradicts the theory which he has here advanced that Gothic architecture was not Christian architecture, except incidentally, and that its forms did not symbolize Christian doctrine.

"It is true," he says, "that this style was at first nurtured in the Church," and he assigns as a reason for this fact that "amid the turmoil and confusion of society during the 11th and 12th centu-

[1] Wren's "Parentalia," p. 304.

[2] Britton, "Dictionary of the Architecture and Archæology of the Middle Ages," in voce.

[3] "Modern Gothic Architecture," by T. G. Jackson, Architect, London, 1873, p. 103.

ries it was only in the kindly shelter of the cloister that learning and the peaceful arts were able to live and grow; but it did not develop itself into a perfect style, it never shook off the traditions of that classic art from which it was derived, it never merged into an independent, energizing life, till the 13th century, when it passed from the hands of the clergy into those of the laity. Till then, all those great architects were clerks; since then they have mostly been laymen."[1]

Now this admission is all that the most zealous advocates of the close relation borne by the Freemasons to Gothic architecture could require. It is not denied that in the earlier periods of the revival of art, the monastic institutions and the prelates of the Church, in whose hands were deposited all the seeds of learning, and who were the architects of that period, cultivated, almost as a necessity, the classic style which they borrowed from the Roman artificers.

But neither the Gothic style nor the corporations of Freemasons existed. They both sprung into active life at the same time. Paley, in his classification, traces Gothic architecture in its different styles from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 16th century.[2] This embraces the very period in which the Freemasons of the Middle Ages present themselves as guilds or a fraternity.

It was then that architecture passed out of its classic form, whether you call that form Roman, Byzantine, Norman or what you please, and assumed that more symbolic form which has received the name of the Gothic.

This style, coming into existence at the very time that the lay builders had emerged from the control of the clergy, and established themselves as an independent body of architects with the organization of a guild and under the name of Freemasons, was, it can not be doubted, from the coincidence of time and circumstances, the invention of that Fraternity.

It may therefore be accepted as an historical fact, capable of demonstration, that the Gothic style of architecture was the invention of the mediaeval Freemasons.

And this style, so full of high art, developed in the profoundest symbolism, was that peculiar characteristic of the Freemasons of

[1] "Modern Gothic Architecture," by T. G. Jackson, Architect, London, 1873, p. 99.

[2] Paley, "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 29.

the Middle Ages, which distinguished them from the artisans of every other trade or profession, and in time when as a body of operatives they were dissolved, enabled them to transmute themselves into a Speculative association founded on the teaching of moral and religious doctrines by architectural and geometrical symbols.

We can not properly or fairly appreciate this mediaeval architecture if we confound it with the mere practice of building by laying one stone on another. The Freemasons, justly appreciative of the high aims of their profession, held themselves proudly aloof from the ordinary rough masons, who could do no more than build a wall or construct a house.

"Mediæval architecture," says Paley, "was the visible embodying of the highest feelings of adoration and worship, and holy abstraction; the expression of a sense which must have a language of its own and which could have utterance in no worthier or more significant way."[1]

So these Freemasons became the preservers and the teachers of the doctrines of their religious faith, and gave a moral in every sculptured form. Among their works, the moralizing Jacques might have well said that he could find "sermons in stones."

The Freemasons of the Middle Ages, coming originally from Lombardy and extending over Europe in the 12th and succeeding centuries, thus applied to their works the taste and skill and spirit of symbolism which they had originally learned from their Masters on the borders of the Lake of Como. Congregating in the *bauhütten,* the hut or lodge which they had erected near the building about to be constructed by their skill, they devised the plans for the future edifice, which in almost every instance was one intended for religious purposes, for to nothing secular or profane would they devote their art.

Hence arose the monasteries, the churches, and cathedrals, which although now for the most part in ruins, present, even in wreck, such wonderful evidence of architectural beauty as to excite the admiration of every spectator, as well as the envy of modern artists, who have sought in vain to rival or even to imitate these old builders.

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 5.

Speaking of them as the inventors of the system of architectural symbolism, Lord Lindsay calls the humble lodges in which they held their consultations and produced their designs, "parliaments of genius."[1]

They were possessed of wondrous skill in art, and were actuated purely by elevated religious thought. Yet have they passed away unknown save as component parts of that vast association which had spread over all civilized countries, and who labored at the great works in which they were engaged with a noble abnegation of self. Of the wholly disinterested zeal with which they worked, Michelet cites one striking proof. "Ascend," he says, "to the topmost points of those aerial spires which they were constructing, to heights which only the slater mounts with fear and trembling, and you will often find some masterpiece of sculpture, on which the pious workman had perhaps consumed his life, without the remotest expectation that the eye of man would ever behold its delicate, artistic tracing. On it there is no name, not a mark or a letter. He had worked not for human praise, but only for the glory of God and the health of his soul."[2]

An English historian has thus expressed a similar view of the self-abnegation of these old builders:

"The elaborate and costly ornaments which were lavished on architecture were meant to do God honor, though spending their beauties perhaps on some remote and secluded wilderness, to be witnessed only by the rude peasants of the neighborhood and the birds that hovered about the pinnacle."[3]

Mr. Paley has been led to say, with great truth, that these ancient builders, working as a body and not as individuals, cared less about personal profit or celebrity than about the good of the Church, and hence he concludes that if they had intended only to please the eye of man they would not have let their finest works stand alone in the midst of the marsh and the moor.[4]

The name of Gothic Architecture, applied to the style of building adopted by the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, is by no means suggestive of its true origin or character. The opinion once enter-

[1] "Sketches of Christian Art."
[2] Michelet, "Histoire de France," p. 370.
[3] Rev. T. T. Blunt, "Sketch of the Reformation in England," p. 76.
[4] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 82.

tained that it was the invention of the Goths, has long since been exploded; and notwithstanding the various hypotheses that have been advanced at different times, it is now generally conceded that this distinct style was the system of building applied by the mediaeval Freemasons to the erection of cathedrals and other religious edifices.

Of this style, the distinguishing features are the pointed arch, long lancet windows, clustered columns, and a general tendency to vertical and ascending lines. Comparing it with the preceding styles, we see the whole contour and composition of building changed from the horizontal to the perpendicular, "we might almost say," to borrow the words of Paley, "from earthly to heavenly, from Pagan to Christian."[1]

It began to make its appearance toward the close of the 12th century, and having been adopted, or more properly speaking invented, by the association of Freemasons spread from Italy into France, into Germany, and into England, as well as every other country of Europe where these architects and builders penetrated.

Governor Pownall, toward the close of the last century, wrote a very able article containing *Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Free Masons, Supposed to be the Establishers of it as a Regular Order*,[2] in which he admits that William of Sens had used the same style a century before in the reconstruction of the Cathedral of Canterbury, yet he asserts that the Corporations of Freemasons "were the first architects who reduced it to and introduced it as a regular order."

He further asserts that the Corporation which existed in England was instituted by a similar corporation from abroad, and that all these corporations had been created by the Pope, by bull, diploma, or charter, about the close of the 12th or the commencement of the 13th century. This statement of the existence of a Papal bull bestowing certain privileges on the Freemasons has been repeatedly made since the date of Governor Pownall's article, by other writers, who most probably borrowed his authority for the statement.

I think that it will be admitted that the Freemasons, who were at first exclusively ecclesiastics, and whose schools of architecture

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 76.

[2] Published in the "Archæologia," vol. ix., pp. 110-126.

were originally established in the monasteries, were under the protection and patronage of the Church. But that any especial bull in their favor was ever issued, though not at all improbable, has never yet been established as an historical fact. Governor Pownall, anxious to prove the truth of his statement, caused application to be made to the librarian of the Vatican, and the Pope himself is said to have ordered a minute search to be made.

The search was a vain one. The official report was that "not the least traces of any such documents could be found." Pownall, however, persistently believed that some record or copy of this charter or diploma must be somewhere buried at Rome amid forgotten and unknown bundles or rolls of manuscripts—a circumstance that he says had frequently occurred in relation to important English records.

Unfortunately, therefore, for the settlement of the historic question, it by no means follows, because the Roman Catholic librarian of the Vatican, a few centuries ago, could not find a bull granting special indulgences to an association which the Popes had at a later period denounced, that no such document is in existence. Besides the too common result of an unsuccessful search for old manuscripts which has occurred, and is continually occurring, to investigators, we have in this particular case the other factor to contend with, the policy of the Roman Church. That policy has always overruled all principles of historic accuracy. Hence in subjects over which that Church has had control, suppressed documents are of no uncommon occurrence.

This question of a Papal charter, therefore, still remains *sub lite.* Krause, for instance, on the supposed authority of a statement of Ashmole, which had been communicated by Dr. Knipe to the author of the life of that antiquary, admits the fact of Papal indulgences, while Steiglitz, accepting the unsuccessful result of the application of Pownall as conclusive evidence, contends for the absurdity of any such claim.

But whether there is or is not in existence such a charter, diploma, or bull, it is very evident from history that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages first enjoyed the protection and afterward the patronage of the Church extended to them by ecclesiastical chiefs.

CHAPTER XXIII

TWO CLASSES OF WORKMEN, OR THE FREEMASONS AND THE ROUGH MASONS

HE art of building in the Middle Ages is pre« sented to us by authentic history as being practiced by two distinct classes of workmen; first, the association of builders who have already been repeatedly described under the name of "Freemasons;" and, secondly, another class of workmen who were not members of the fraternity, though they were often in the cities incorporated as independent bodies.

Thus we find that in London in the 14th century, during the reign of Edward III., there was an incorporated Company of Masons who sent four delegates to the Common Council, and a Company of Freemasons, which being a smaller, and probably a more select body, sent only two.[1]

The Strasburg Constitutions prohibited those who had been admitted as members of the Fraternity of Freemasons from working with any other craftsmen,[2] evidently referring to other Masons whether incorporated or not, and who had not been made free of the Guild or Fraternity.

The old English Charges furnish the evidence that the same distinction of workmen existed in England as in Germany. For instance the "Mason, allowed," that is, he who had been accepted by the Fraternity, is forbidden to instruct the "layer" by furnishing him with moulds or patterns for work. "Also," says the York MS., "that no Master or Fellow make any mould, rule, or square of any layer nor set any layer (within the Lodge) or without to hew any mould stones."

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[1] Herbert, "History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies," vol. i., p. 34.

[2] "Strasburg Ordinances," No. 2, mit keinem Antwerk dienent: thus interpreted by Krause—daher sollen sie auch mit keinem andern Handwerke dienen.

The date of the York MS. is about the close of the 16th century. But the same regulation is found in all the subsequent manuscripts. In the Landsdowne MS., however, as well as in the Antiquity MS., which appears to be only a copy of the Landsdowne, the word is Lowen. This is evidently a blunder of a careless or an ignorant copyist, who has retained the initial capital, because in it there could have been no chance of confounding it for C, but has changed the rest of the word layer, badly written most probably in the exemplar from which he copied, into Lowen.

The correct word is, therefore, layer; and from this regulation we learn that the division of the builders in the Middle Ages was into two classes: a superior one, who are always designated in the English manuscript Constitutions and Charges as Masons, and an inferior class called layers, and sometimes, as in the Alnwick MS., rough layers. In contemporary works of the same period, not Masonic Constitutions, we also find the distinction of free mason and rough mason, being no doubt the same thing as a stone layer in contradistinction to a brick layer, a craft which belonged no more than the carpenter to the great body of Masons.[1]

Now what is the meaning of this word layer, which is to be classed among "the lost beauties of the English language," being retained only in the compound bricklayer?

There can be no difficulty in answering this question. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum,* the oldest dictionary of our language extant, which was compiled in the year 1440 by a Dominican Friar of Norfolk, and the latest edition of which was published in 1865 by the Camden Society, with copious and learned annotations by the late Mr. Albert Way, is the following:

"*Leyare,* or werkare wythe stone and mortere." And the Latin equivalent given for it is *Cæmentarius.*

In classical Latinity, as well as in the Low Latin of the Middle Ages, a *cæmentarius* was a builder of walls, who handled the *cæmenta* or rough stones as they came from the quarries. St. Jerome, in one of his Epistles (53), defines a *cæmentarius* as one who builds rough walls of *cæmenta,* or unhewn stones. A layer or stonelayer

[1] In a work published in 1559, entitled "The Booke for a Justice of the Peace," is the following passage: "None artificer, nor labourer hereafter named, take no more nor greater wages than hereafter is limited . . . that is to say, a free mason, master carpenter, rough mason, bricklayer," etc., fol. 17.

(the word "stone" being understood), which the *Promptorium* Latinizes by *cœmentarius,* was a rough mason whose business was simply to follow the plan of the architect, and in the erection of the walls of an edifice to lay one stone upon another, just as the bricklayer does at the present day with bricks.

Mr. Way has this interesting note on the word Leyare and its definition in the *Promptorium Parvitlorum:*

"In the account of works at the palace of Westminster and Tower during the 14th century, preserved among the miscellaneous records of the Queen's Remembrancer, mention is made continually of *cubatores,*[1] or stone layers. See also the abstract of accounts relating to the erection of St. Stephen's Chapel in the reign of Edward III., printed in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster.* In this contract for building Fotheringhay Church, the chief mason undertakes neither to 'set more nor fewer freemasons, rogh setters ne leye(r)s' upon the work but as the appointed overseer shall ordain."

The same distinction between the two classes is preserved in a statute passed in the reign of Edward VI., anno 1548. It is then enacted "that noe person or persons shall at anye tyme after the firste daye of Aprille next comynge, interrupte, denye, lett or disturbe any Freemason, rough mason, carpenter, bricklayer, playsterer," etc.[2]

The appellation of rough masons, rough setters, or rough layers bestowed upon these workmen of an inferior class was derived from the German. In the Strasburg Ordinances *ruh* or *roh* is applied to an unskilled or ignorant apprentice. In the German rituals *rohenstein* is the rough ashlar. Richardson defines the word rough as meaning "coarse, unpolished, savage, rude, uncivil." When the English Charges speak of a "rough mason," they mean one whose work is coarse and unpolished, and who has not the skill in stonecutting possessed by the members of the fraternity of Freemasons.

To the Freemasons, who were a brotherhood devoted to the erection principally of cathedrals and other religious edifices, every other Mason was looked upon with a species almost of contempt

[1] To make "cubator" signify a man who lays stone, a layer, because a poet in the iron age of the Latin language, Plotinus, of Nola, had used the same word to designate a man who lies down (that is to denote a lier and a layer by the same word), is a travesty well calculated to astound an etymologist. But the Low Latinists were not purists.

[2] "Statutes of the Realm," vol. iv., p. 59.

as rude and ignorant; he was called a rough Mason, and they refused to work with him or to impart to him any information which would assist him in his own work.

Now as to the higher class, called by historians the "Freemasons," but who in the English Constitutions are always designated as "Masons."

But in other documents of the Middle Ages we frequently meet with the word "Freemason," used in a sense evidently denoting a particular class of artisans.

As early as the year 1350, in the reign of Edward III., of England, an act of Parliament was passed in which the wages of a Master Freemason are fixed at 4 pence and that of other Masons at 3 pence. This is the earliest date for the use of the word, but it was subsequently used in other statutes, in monumental inscriptions, and in old records, and always so as to indicate that the Freemason was of a class differing from other Masons.

Whence then comes the term, from what is it derived, and what was in former times its exact meaning? These are questions that have greatly exercised the minds of Masonic etymologists who have arrived at three very different conclusions.

The first of these conclusions, namely, that free in the word Freemason was originally *Frère* or Brother, which was prefixed by the workmen who used the French language to the word Mason, so as to make the word *Frère* Mason or Brother Mason, which was afterward corrupted into Free Mason, is mere etymological fancy hardly worth a serious refutation.

Paley says, quite dogmatically: "The name Freemasons is a corruption of *Frères Maçons,* or fraternity," and he quotes Dallaway as his authority for the opinion.[1]

But Dallaway, in his *Historical Account of Master and Freemason,* has expressed an opinion the reverse of this. He admits that a passage in the Leland MS. authorizes the conjecture that the denomination of Freemasons in England was merely a corruption of *Frère Maçons,* but immediately afterward he says, "but I am not borne out by their appellations on the continent," and he gives their appellations such as *Franc-Maçon* in French, *Frei Maurer* in German, and *Libero Muratore* in Italian.[2] None of these titles could

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 211.

[2] Dallaway, "Master and Freemason," p. 434.

of course have been translations of *Frère,* but must have been intended to convey, in each of these languages, the idea conveyed in English by the word Free.

It is strange, too, that Dallaway should have laid any stress on the Leland MS. as authorizing even a conjecture (admitted afterward to be unplausible) that Freemason was originally *Frère Maçon.*

Now the word *Frère Maçon* does not occur in the Leland MS. Only once do we meet with *frères,* in its usual sense of brothers or members of a *confrerie* or confraternity, a sense in which it is still employed. The word invariably used is Masons, or rather Maconnes and Maconrye. There is no mention of either Freemasons or *Frère Maçons,* and nothing can be learned from it of the derivation or original meaning of the word Free.

But in fact the Leland MS. is now very generally admitted to be of no value as an historical document. Purporting to have been written in the reign of Henry VI., and by the king himself, it is now known to have been a forgery in the middle of the last century.

I think we may dismiss the attempted derivation of Free from *Frère,* as one of those allusions to which etymologists are unfortunately too often addicted.

Again it has been supposed that Freemasons were so called because they worked in Freestone, and because they were thus distinguished from other Masons, who were called Rough Masons, because they worked in rough stones. But for several reasons I cannot accept this derivation, although it is not as objectionable as the preceding one.

In the first place, if the name of the class was derived from the character of the stone worked, the proper words would be Free Stone Mason and Rough Stone Mason, and Free Mason and Rough Mason.

Again, Free Stone is not the apposite or antithesis of Rough Stone. There is no relation, contradictory or otherwise, between them.

Free Stone is any stone composed of sand or grit, which, on account of its softness, is easily cut or wrought.

Rough Stone is any stone, no matter what may be its geological character, that is still in its native state, and has not been formed or polished by the hands of the workmen. A stone may be at the same time free stone and rough stone. The word *ruh* or *roh*—

English rough—is used in the German Constitutions to signify unskilled or unpolished. An Apprentice is spoken of in them as being taken "from his rough state" (*von Ruhem auff*), which Krause interprets as "one still wholly ignorant."[1] And so, also, the unpolished stone which we call the rough Ashlar, the German rituals name *das rohen Stein.*

By a "rough Mason" or a "rough layer," the old English Masons meant a Mason who had not been thoroughly educated in the art, one who was ignorant of the principles and geometrical secrets which were possessed by the higher fraternity.

The etymology is, therefore, I think, not tenable, which would derive the two appellations Free-Mason and Rough Mason from the different geological nature of the stones on which the two classes worked. The Rough Mason often used free stone in building his walls, but he did not thereby become a Free Mason.

It must be observed that the word Free Mason is never employed in the English, German, or French Constitutions or Regulations of the Craft. There the simple word Mason or its equivalent is used. The appellation is to be found only in statutes and contracts.

But it is not to be supposed that the framers of these were acquainted with the fact that there was a distinction between the two classes founded on the possession of certain secrets. They simply intended, by the words "Free Mason" and "Rough Mason," to recognize the fact that there were two classes of workmen, one of superior skill and superior station to the other.

But though the word "Free Mason" is not to be found in the Masonic Constitutions, it is evident that the Masons themselves had recognized it as a distinguishing title as early as the 14th century, because in the year 1377 we meet with the Company of Freemasons and the Company of Masons in the Catalogue of those which were authorized to send delegates to the Common Council of London.[2]

It is then evident that the word "Free" was employed, no matter what was its original meaning, to designate a superior class. I think it may justly be considered as referring to the fact that the persons called "Freemasons" were men of superior abilities, who, by being accepted into the fraternity, had become free of the guild or corporation. Masons who were not possessed of this amount of skill, and

[1] Als einen noch ganz Unwissenden Krause, "Kunsturkunden," ii., 284.

[2] Herbert, "History of Livery Companies," i., 34.

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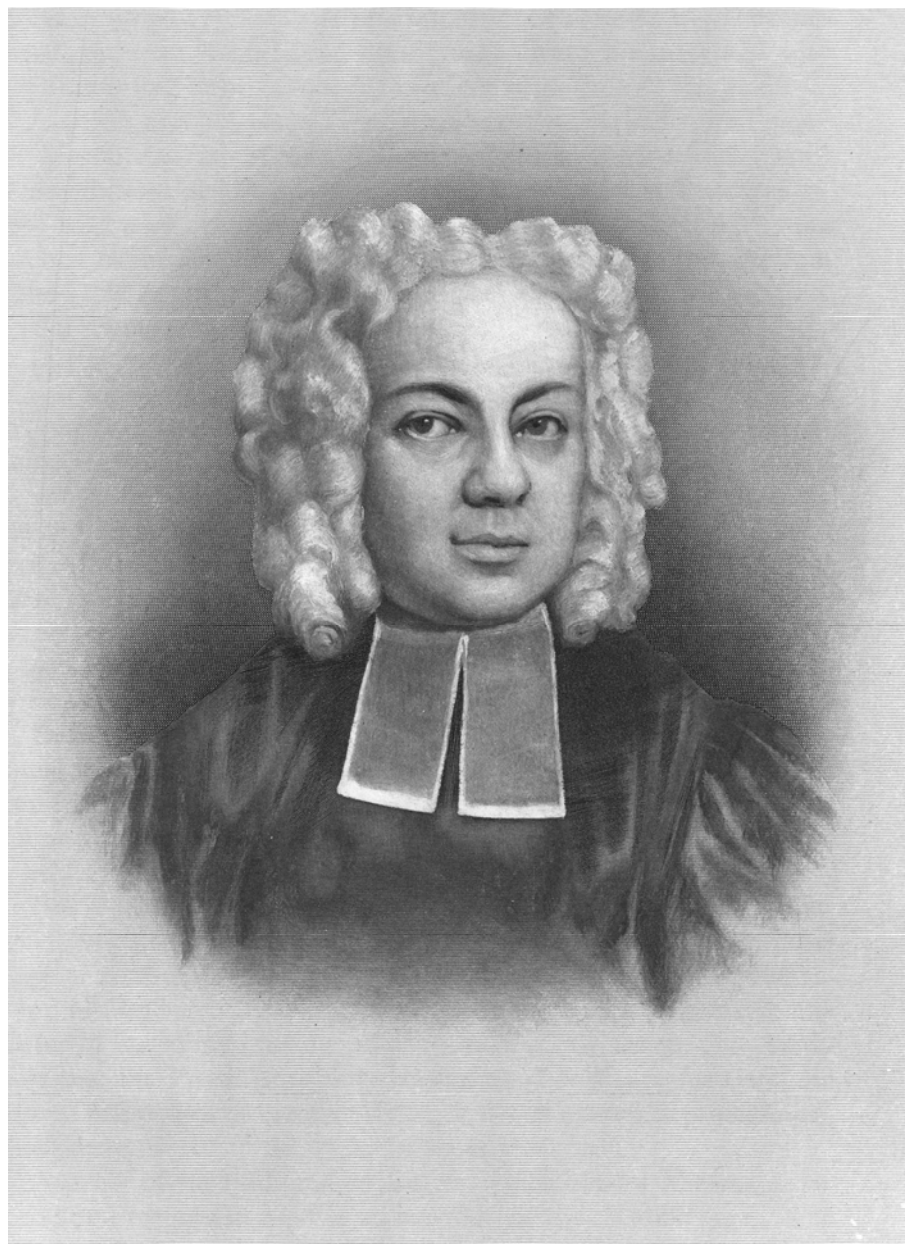

who were employed in labors of a less artistic character, were not permitted to work with these Freemasons—were not accepted into their fraternity; in other words, were not made free of the guild.

A writer in the *London Freemason* says: "Originally the Operative Mason was free of his guild, and probably we have in the word a remembrance of emancipation through honest labor in towns of those who were originally *villani adscripti glebæ*"—serfs who were attached to the soil, and who could not be admitted to the freedom of the guild because the lord who owned them might at any time reclaim them.

In the earliest periods of the feudal system, before the municipalities began to assert their rights, the handicrafts were for the most part pursued by slaves. At a later period freemen also practiced the trades, but there was always a distinction between the free and the servile craftsman—a distinction which the Masons apparently retained after the cause had ceased. Krause says that these Masons were called Free because they possessed certain municipal privileges.[1] These privileges, according to Hope, Pownall, and many other writers, consisted in the monopoly of building churches, cathedrals, and other religious edifices, and in certain franchises granted them by Popes and other sovereigns.

Dallaway, it is true, denies, at least so far as England is concerned, that any such privileges existed. "No proof," he says, "has been as yet adduced from any chronicle or history of this country that as a fraternity or guild the Freemasons in England possessed or held by patent any exclusive privilege whatever."[2]

But if there is no positive testimony extant of patents or charters granting such privileges, the whole course of history, the phraseology of contract between Masons and their employers, the distinction made between the Freemasons and the Rough Masons in the matter of wages and many other incidental circumstances, clearly show that the Freemasons were looked upon as a superior class, and were in possession of certain privileges, social as well as professional, which were denied to the lower order of workmen.

A proof of the rank and estimation which Master Masons, Architects, or Freemasons held in society during the Middle Ages is to be found in the contract made in the year 1439 between the Abbot

[1] Krause, "Kunsturkunden," i., p. 74.

[2] "Master and Freemasons," p. 425.

of St. Edmundsbury and John Wood, "Masoun," for the repairs and restoration of the great towers "in all manner of things that longe to Freemasonry."

In this contract, Wood, the Master Mason, is allowed "borde for himself as a gentilman and his servant as a yeoman, and thereto two robys, one for himselfe after a gentilman's livery."[1]

Though in the English Constitutions we do not meet, as I have already said, with the word "Freemason," yet its equivalent is found in the constant use of the phrase "Mason allowed" to designate one who had become a member of the fraternity; that is, who had been made "free of the guild." But I have heretofore shown that the meaning of "allowed" is "accepted," and therefore a Freemason was a Mason who had been accepted into the Fraternity.

The founders of Speculative Masonry, who in the year 1717 seceded from the operative branch of the Institution and formed the Grand Lodge of England, seemed to be aware of this signification of the word "Free," as designating one who had been "allowed" or "accepted" into the fraternity, for they assumed for themselves the title of "Free and Accepted Masons." In this way they meant to put forward the claim that they were Freemasons who had been Accepted into the Fraternity. "Free and Accepted Masons" now denoted Speculative Masons, and by this title they distinguished themselves from the lower class of Operative Masons.

Just in the same way, when they were all Operatives, the higher class were called "Freemasons" to distinguish themselves from the lower class, who were known as "Rough Masons."

Toward a perfect understanding of the true organization of the mediæval Masons, it is not necessary that we should know the correct derivation of the word Free. It is not material to this purpose that we know whether it comes from the French *frère,* and consequently that the word "Freemason" signifies a Brother Mason; or from freestone, and that it means a Mason who works on that material; or lastly that it is derived from freeman and denotes one who had been made free of the fraternity.

All that is really material to be known on this subject is that there was always a division of the mediæval builders into two

[1] "Anthologia," vol. xxiii., p. 331.

classes, distinctly separate the one from the other; and that the Freemasons occupied the superior place, superior in skill, superior in the possession of certain privileges, and therefore superior in social standing.

There are, however, two points worthy of notice in connection with this subject.

In the first place, the word "Freemason" was confined as a descriptive term to the workmen of England. Neither this nor any equivalent of it is to be found in the Masonic documents of France or Germany. The words *Franc-Maçon* and *Frei Maurer,* now so common in these languages, were not known until after the organization of Speculative Masonry in England and its propagation in those countries by the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons" established in 1717 in London.

The words *Franc-Maçon* and *Frei Maurer* were never applied in any document, Masonic or non-Masonic, to any of the builders of the Middle Ages in France or Germany, as Freemason was in England.

The growth of those words in those languages appears to have been in this way. There were in England, as early as the 14th century, a class of skillful builders who excluded from their companionship all other builders whose standard of knowledge and skill was lower than theirs.

This exclusive and more skillful class were recognized in the statutes of the realm, in contracts made with them, in sepulchral inscriptions, in church registers,[1] and in some other documents by the title of "Freemasons."

In the 17th century, at least, if not before, the word began to be used by the Masons themselves as a distinctive appellation. Thus in 1646 Ashmole wrote that he had been "made a Freemason at Warrington," and he calls those who had been just received into the fraternity, "new Accepted Masons."[2]

In 1717, when the Speculative Institution was established, the founders adopted both the words "Free" and "Accepted," and called themselves "Free and Accepted Masons." In the "Charges

[1] Thus in the church register of the parish of Astbury are the following entries:
"1685. Smallwod, Jos. fils Jos. Henshaw Freemason bapt. 3 die Nov.
"1697. Jos. fils Jos. Henshaw, Freemason, buried 7 April."

[2] Ashmole's "Diary," October 16, 1646, and March 11, 1682.

of a Free-Mason," published in 1723 in the first edition of the *Constitutions,* the word "Freemason" is adopted as the recognized title of the members of the Fraternity, being there adopted in place of the simple word "Mason," which was used in all the Old Charges. Thus the Old Charge which forbade "Masons to work within or without the Lodge with rough layers," reads in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 that "Freemasons shall not work with those that are not Free."

The title "Freemason" afterward came quite commonly into use. In 1734 a book was published called the "*Free Masons Vade Mecum*" and it is several times employed in Masonic publications of that period. "Free and Accepted Masons" and "Freemasons" were then, as it appears from contemporary publications, terms adopted by and in common use immediately after what has been called the Revival, in the beginning of the 18th century.

Now when deputations began to be "sent beyond sea" to establish lodges in foreign countries—beginning with the Deputation granted in 1728 by the Earl of Inchiquin, Grand Master, "to some Brothers in Spain to constitute a lodge at Gibraltar," succeeded very rapidly by others in Germany, Holland, France, and other countries—the title of "Freemasons," which had been adopted by the Speculative Masons of England to distinguish themselves from the purely Operative Masons, from whom they had separated, was carried into these foreign countries by those who had been appointed under the various deputations to disseminate the system.

Necessarily the English word was in each of these countries translated by those who entered the Order into an equivalent word in their own language.

So "Freemason" became in Germany "*Freimaurer*," in France "*Franc-Maçon*" in Italy "*Libero Muratore*" and so on. In all of these it will be seen that the expression "Free" has been translated by a word that has no relation either to *frère,* brother, or to freestone.

Freimaurer, in German, and *Franc-Maçon,* in French, like Freemason in English, conveys the idea of a freeman, who is a Mason; originally indicating a freeman of the guild, and afterward, and now, a man of a superior class.

For example, in the 17th century a Freemason was a Mason of great skill, engaged in the designing and erecting of cathedrals, as

distinguished from the common workman, who only built walls and laid or set stones.

In the 18th century a Freemason was a Speculative Mason, engaged in the erection of a spiritual temple, as distinguished from the purely Operative Masons, who labored without symbolism or philosophy at the construction of material edifices.

This same distinction into two classes was still more explicitly marked in the mediæval Masonry of Germany.

If, for instance, we refer to the Strasburg Ordinances, we find a very distinct reference to two classes of Masons under various names.

The fraternity of Masons who were united together for the construction of Cathedrals and other religious and important edifices, was called the Craft of Stonework.[1] Each member of this body is denominated in the ordinances either a *Meister,* Master, a *Gesell,* Companion or Fellow, or a *Werkmann*,[2] Workman, or, as it has been generally translated, a Craftsman. The word *Maurer* (in the old German, *Murer*) is the name given to those Masons of the lower class who in the English Constitutions are designated as rough layers. They were permitted to work only on inferior tasks, in cases of necessity.

Thus one of the ordinances of Strasburg provides as follows: If there be a need of Masons (*Murer*) to hew or set stone, the Master may employ them, so that the employers' work may not be hindered, and the men so employed shall not be subject, except with their own free will, to the regulations of the Craft.[3]

But the exclusive position maintained by this higher class is distinctly expressed in the second of the Strasburg Constitutions in the following words:

"Whosoever wishes to be received into this fraternity as a member, according to these regulations as they are written in this book, must promise to keep all the points and articles of our Craft of Stonework, which consists only of Masters (*Meyster*) who are skilled in constructing costly buildings and works which they have

[1] Das handwerk der Steinwerk. "Strasburg Ordinances."

[2] In that old English dictionary of the 15th century, the "Promptorium Pavulorum," Masone is defined to be a werkemann with the Latin equivalent lathomus.

[3] Wer es auch das man der Murer, es were Stein zu bauwen oder zu muren . . . die mag ein Meister wol furdern, u. s. w. "Strasburg Ordinances," No. 8.

been made free[1] (have the privilege to erect). They shall not work with the men of any other Craft."

The distinction between the *Werkmann,* or Freemason, and the *Murer* (*Maurer*), or Wall Builder, is expressly made in one of the Strasburg regulations which relates to Apprentices. It is there said that "if any one who has served with a *Murer* comes to a *Werkmann* to learn of him, the *Werkmann* can not receive him as an Apprentice unless he consent to serve for three years."[2]

But the Freemasons of Germany had another and a still more significant method of distinguishing themselves from the lower class of rough Masons; while these latter were known as *Maurer,* literally wall builders (for the German for wall is *maurer*), the higher class, the Freemasons, the men who invented and practiced Gothic architecture, called themselves *Steinmetzen.*

Now in German the verb *metzen* signifies to cut with a knife, a chisel,[3] or any other cutting instrument.

A *Steinmetz* is, therefore, a Stonecutter—one who with the chisel cuts the stone into various forms or decorates it with objects in relief. On the other hand, a *Maurer* is a builder of walls—a mason who roughly sets or lays one stone upon another, without any reference to beauty of design or skill of art.

The *Steinmetz,* or Stonecutter, was the Freemason; the *Maurer,* or wall builder, was the rough mason or rough layer.

Now the adoption of this word *Steinmetzen,* or Stonecutters, by the Masons who invented Gothic architecture in the Middle Ages, throws a flood of light upon the history of Masonry at that period.

A Master Stonecutter was an honorable term, and whoever wished to become an architect had to begin by learning to cut stone.[4]

The cutting of stone ornaments was not used before the 12th century. In the early Norman work, says Parker, the chisel was very little employed. Most of the ornaments in the churches ante-

[1] Uffgefreyget, befreiheitel, made free, that is, as Krause interprets it, authorized and privileged to do these things; and such, I think, is the true meaning of the word free in the word Freemason.

[2] Wer es auch das einer vor einem Murer gedient und hun zu einem Werkmann kummen, u. s. w. "Strasburg Ordinances."

[3] Thus a knife is messer, a chisel meisel, and a butcher one who cuts flesh, a metzger.

[4] Boisserée, "Histoire de la Cathedral de la Cologne," p. 14.

rior to that period are such as could have been readily wrought by the axe, and could have been readily produced by stone hewers. Whatever sculpture there is appears to have been executed afterward, for it was a general practice to execute sculptured work after the stones were placed in position.[1]

We do not find that the chisel was used, as it must have been, for deep cutting, and especially under-cutting, in any buildings of ascertained date before the year 1120.[2] Carving in stone occurred in Italy and the south of France at an earlier period; later in northern France and Germany, and still later in England.

This gradual extension northwardly of the art of stonecutting—the Freemasons' art—confirms the theory maintained by Mr. Hope and other writers, that the Freemasonry of the Middle Ages arose in Lombardy and spread thence over the rest of Europe.

The monk Gervase, in his description of the reconstruction of the Cathedral of Canterbury,[3] tells us that in the old work there was no deep sculpture with the chisel. He says that in the old Cathedral, "the arches and everything else were plain or sculptured with an axe and not with a chisel."

But when with their geometrical system of building the Freemasons had introduced the art of deep stonecutting with the chisel, they reveled in the art and the profusion of sculptured ornaments; most of them having a symbolic meaning, became wonderful in the churches and cathedrals which they erected.

Rightly, therefore, did the Freemasons of Germany, the builders of the great Cathedrals of Magdeburg, of Cologne, and of Strasburg assume the title of Stonecutters, and held themselves above the mere wall builders, who only hewed stone.

The *Steinmetz,* or Stonecutter in Germany, like the Mason or the Freemason of England, was of a higher class than the *Maurer* or builder of walls, the rough Mason or the rough layer.

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[1] Parker, Introduction to the "Study of Gothic Architecture," p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

[3] The work of the monk Gervasius Dorobornensis, or Gervase of Canterbury, is contained in the collection of the "Decem Scriptures Angliæ."

CHAPTER XXIV

MASONS' MARKS

THE subject of Marks forms an interesting episode in the history of Masonry, both Operative and Speculative.

A Mason's Mark is a monogram, a symbol, or some other arbitrary figure chiseled by a mason on the surface of a stone for the purpose of identifying his own work and distinguishing it from that of other workmen.

Mr. Godwin, in an article "On Masons' Marks observable on Buildings of the Middle Ages," published some years ago,[1] has given, perhaps, the best definition that we possess of the true character of these Sculptural figures.

He says that it can perhaps hardly be doubted that these marks "were made chiefly to distinguish the work of different individuals. At the present time the man who works a stone (being different from the man who sets it) makes his mark on the bed or other internal face of it so that it may be identified. The fact, however, that in the ancient buildings it is only a certain number of stones which bear symbols—that marks found in different countries (although the variety is great) are in many cases identical, and in all have a singular accordance in character—seems to show that the men who employed them did so by system, and that the system, if not the same in England, Germany, and France, was closely analogous in one country to that of the others."

He adds that many of these signs are evidently religious and symbolical, "and agree fully with our notions of the body of men known as the Freemasons."

That there should be a purpose of identification so that the particular work of every Mason might, by a simple inspection, be recognized by his Fellows and the Lord or Master of the Works might

[1] In the "Archæologia," vol. xxx.

be enabled to attribute any defect or any excellence to its proper source, was essentially necessary to constitute a Masonic Mark.

By observing this distinction we avoid the error committed by several writers of calling every device found upon a stone a mark, and thereby giving to the system of marks a greater antiquity than really belongs to it.

Thus it has been said by one writer that "Masonic Marks have been discovered on the Pyramids of Egypt, on the ruined buildings in Herculaneum, Pompeii, Greece, and Rome, and on the ancient cathedrals, castles, etc., that are to be found in almost every country of Europe."[1]

But the fact is that the inscriptions and devices found on stones in buildings of antiquity were most probably mythological, symbolical, or historical, being a brief record of or allusion to some important event that had occurred. If any of them were proprietary—that is, intended to identify the work or the ownership of some particular person—there is no evidence that any well-organized system of proprietary marks existed in that very early period.

Lord Lindsay, in his *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land,* inserts a description of a square building or monumental chamber, near Baalbeck, given to him by Mr. Farren, Consul-General in Syria, which was covered with small marks, on which Mr. Farren makes the following remarks:

"It is very remarkable that the faces of this monument are covered with small marks cut on the stones—hieroglyphics I can not call them—they are too numerous to be accidental. I was convinced that they were not from the mere process of chiseling."[2]

On this statement, Mr. Godwin remarks: "Whether or not they were analogous to the marks under consideration (Masons Marks) I do not pretend to say."[3]

I can not myself doubt that they were not. The fact that innumerable monuments of the ancient East have been found covered with devices and hieroglyphics which the comparatively recent labors of learned mentalists and antiquaries have deciphered and shown to be mythological or symbolical, and very often historical,

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," chap. ix., p. 67.

[2] Lord Lindsay, "Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land," vol. ii., p. 361.

[3] Two letters to Mr. Ellis on Masonic Marks, by George Godwin, in the "Archiæîogia," vol. xxx., p. 120.

would lead us to infer that those on the monument near Baalbeck were of the same character.

The sculptures on the Pyramids, which Lyon refers to as "Masonic Marks," are really inscriptions, mostly.

Thus Mr. Ainsworth tells us that in the ruins of Al-Hadhr, in Mesopotamia, "every stone, not only in the chief building, but in the walls and bastions and other public monuments when not defaced by time, is marked with a character, which is for the most part either a Chaldean letter or numeral. Some of the letters resemble the Roman A, and others were apparently astronomical signs, among which the ancient mirror and handle ♀ were very common."[1]

Ainsworth's description is too meager to supply the foundation for an hypothesis, but we are hardly warranted in ascribing to the Chaldean letters and astronomical signs the character of proprietary marks, such as those practiced by the Freemasons of the Middle Ages.

The sculptures on the Pyramids which Mr. Lyon refers to as "Masonic marks," are, as we have reason for believing, inscriptions, mostly in the cursive character generally recording the names of the different kings in whose reigns they were constructed.

Again, the Messrs. Waller, in a work on *Monumental Brasses?* describe a monument to Sir John de Creke and Lady Alyne, his wife, at Wesley Waterless, in Cambridgeshire, about 1325, which is inscribed with a monogram or device consisting of the letter N, with a half moon on one side, and a star, or more probably the sun, on the other, and a mallet above. This is supposed to have been the device of the artist. But the same is found on a seal attached to a deed dated 1272, wherein Walter Dixi, called *Cœmentarius de Bernewelle,* conveys certain lands to his son Lawrence. The seal has for its legend the words, *S. Walter: Le: Massune.*

Messrs. Waller think that the occurrence of a similar device in two instances seems to show that it was not an individual mark, but that it may have been the badge of some guild of Masons. On the contrary, the use of it as a seal on a deed of conveyance proves that

[1] Ainsworth's "Travels," vol. ii., p. 167.

[2] "A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century," by J. G. and L. A. B. Waller.

it was a family device. It is probable that the monumental brass referred to above was the work of the son or grandson of the *Cæmentarius* or Mason who conveyed the land fifty-three years before, and whose family seal as well as his profession was retained by his descendant.

Mr. Godwin gives from the Gloucester Cathedral a mark or device in the form of a seal, consisting of a mallet between a half moon and a sun. This will give some show of probability to the hypothesis that this device was the badge of some early Masonic guild. But the interpolation of the letter would also tend to show that Walter Dixi had adopted the guild device with the addition of the letter, to form his own private seal, which he also used as his mark.

If this be so, then this would be a very early specimen of a proprietary mark. While, however, it presents the characteristic of a mark used to designate the personality of a workman who constructed the brass, it differs in its complicated form from the more simple marks used by the mediaeval Masons. The Messrs. Waller. whose theory was that it was the badge of a guild of Masons, say that this will suggest "that the same minds that designed the architectural structures of the Middle Ages also designed the sepulchral monuments." Without accepting the truth of the premises there can be no doubt of the correctness of the conclusion. The same artistic skill and taste that were displayed in the exterior construction of churches and cathedrals was also employed in their interior decorations, sepulchral and otherwise, and the same class of artists were engaged in both tasks.

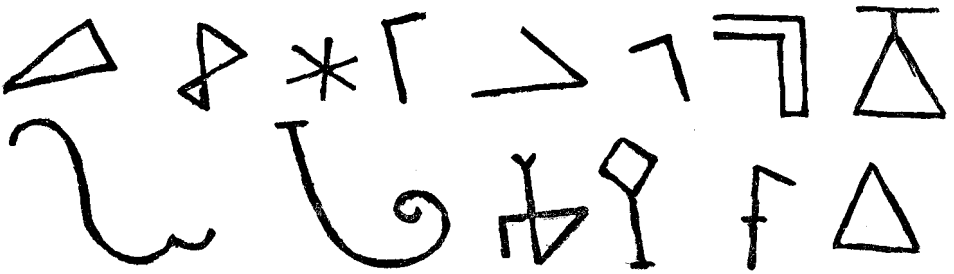
If the profession and the "seal of Walter the Mason" were retained, as we may well suppose, by his descendant, then we have the very best evidence that the sepulchral brass of Sir John de Creke and his wife were designed and constructed by a Mason, who used his family seal as his proprietary mark.

Letters, as initials of the names of the workmen, are repeatedly found among the mediaeval Masons' marks. This letter N is met with on stones in the Church of St. Rudegonde, at Poitiers, in France, and in different churches in Scotland.

Mr. Lyon gives, from the Minute Book of the Lodge of Edinburgh, and Mr. Godwin, from personal observation of stones in the churches of England and the continent of Europe, many marks

consisting only of letters, single and double, of which the following are specimens:

Besides this class of what may be called literal marks, being evidently the initials of the names of the workmen who inscribed them, there was a second class of marks which were geometrical, consisting of angles, curves, circles, and other mathematical figures. These were far more common than the literal, and have been found in great variety. The following are a few specimens taken from English, Scottish, and Continental churches:



The great prevalence of these marks, composed of mathematical lines, is a strong confirmation of the truth of the opinion entertained by Paley, Lindsay, and many other writers, that the secret of the mediaeval Freemasons was the application of the principles of geometry to the art of building. This secret, the magnificent results of which were exhibited in the great Cathedrals and other massive edifices erected during the Middle Ages in the Gothic style, has been lost to the professional or Operative Masons of the present day. But its influence is still felt by the Speculative Freemasons, who succeeded the Operative Lodges as organized bodies,

and who, when they abandoned the operative art, or rather transmuted it into a science, still retained, so far as they possibly could, the relics of the older institution.

Hence we find these Speculative, or, as they called themselves, "Free and Accepted Masons," made "right angles, horizontals, and perpendiculars" the basis of all their manual modes of recognition, and declared that "geometry was the foundation of Masonry."

A third class of marks may be designated as the symbolical. And here I am compelled to dissent from the views of Bro. Lyon, who says that "there is no ground for believing that in the choice of their marks the 16th century Masons were guided by any consideration of their symbolical quality or of their relation to the propositions of Euclid."[1]

Symbolism, as a means of giving a language and a spiritual meaning to their labor, was a science thoroughly understood and practiced by the Masons who invented the Gothic style. Findel says that they symbolized their working tools, a custom in which they have been closely imitated by their Speculative successors.

The symbolism of the Gothic architects has already been sufficiently discussed in a previous chapter, and it is now necessary to advert to it only in reference to the fact that the symbols used by the builders in the ornamentation of the churches furnished them. also with a fertile supply of marks.

We must not, therefore, confound the more complicated decorations used as symbols on the exterior and in the interior of churches, such as gargoyles, rose windows, cathedral wheels, etc., with the simpler forms of some of these symbols which were adopted by the builders as proprietary marks.

As these symbolic marks presupposed that those who adopted them to designate their work must have understood their meaning, it would not be a very bold assumption to believe that the use of them for that purpose was confined to the more intellectual portion of the workmen. The adoption of a symbol for a mark would, in general, indicate that the person who adopted it was one who had extended his studies to the highest principles of his art and had made himself conversant with the science of symbolism.

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[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 68.

If this reasoning were accepted, we should then recognize another class lower in culture than the former and less familiar with the occult elements of their profession, though perhaps equally skillful in all its practical operations. Being therefore familiar with the method of applying geometry to the art of building, these workmen would be likely to select mathematical figures for marks.

Pursuing the same train of reasoning we would find a third and still lower class, far inferior to either of the two preceding classes in intellectual culture and having sluggish minds wholly uninspired by anything that was not purely practical in their profession. As they would be compelled, by the regulations of the guild or as they were guided by their own inclination, to distinguish the stones which they had wrought from those of other workmen, we might suppose that they would be content to achieve that object by using the simplest method that could present itself, which, of course, would be the initial letter of their name.

We would thus have, if we accepted this theory, an easy method of detecting when we inspected the stones of a mediaeval edifice constructed by the old Gothic Freemasons, not only the practical skill in architecture of the builders whose works have been individualized by their proprietary marks, but also the intellectual cultivation of each workman. This one we might say was high in art, for he had cultivated the symbolism which was its highest development; this one had not aspired so high, but had confined himself to its geometric formula; but this one was low in intellectual cultivation, with little if any identity or imagination, for he had contented himself with no more ingenious device to designate his labor than the simple sculpture of a letter of his name.

The acceptance of such a theory as this would, I confess, very readily relieve the antiquary from all the embarrassments which he encounters, in the attempt to explain the reason of this diversity in the character of the Masonic marks of the Middle Ages, and would enable him to explain why they are not all of one kind—not all monogrammatic, or all geometrical, or all symbolic.

Unfortunately, however, for the easy solution of the problem« another theory has been proposed by M. Didron, to which further reference will be directly made, which ascribes the monogrammatic marks to the higher class of workmen or overseers, and the symbolic and mathematical to the inferior class of masons.

This theory is not untenable, because it is based upon the well-known fact that in the Middle Ages the art of writing was not so generally diffused as it is now. Many persons of high station were unable to sign their names, and there are instances where kings have affixed the sign of the cross to charters, assigning as a reason *pro ignorantia literarum* in consequence of their ignorance of writing. Now, it is not to be supposed that the lower order of Masons were any better instructed, and as the use of initials would indicate a knowledge of letters, it may be inferred that only the more educated part of the fraternity used this method of making their proprietary mark, while crosses, angles, shoes, triangles, and other similar figures would be adopted by those who were unacquainted with the use of letters.

But reasonable and plausible as this theory may at first glance appear, neither it nor the former are sustained by the facts that are within our knowledge.

In Mr. Lyon's most valuable work on the Edinburgh Lodge we will find several fac-similes of minutes of the lodge, in which are the signatures of the officers and members. Now, a careful inspection of these marks does not reveal any such arraignment as is indicated in either of the two theories, and, therefore, supports neither.

Let us take, for instance, a minute of the lodge in June, 1600. Here there are thirteen signatures and thirteen marks. Of these but one, that of the Warden, Thomas Vier, or Weir, is a monogram; the twelve others, all of them *Maisteris,* or Masters, are mathematical, or symbolical. Here we might infer that the chief officer alone used a monogram, which would, to some extent, sustain M. Didron's theory.

But on the inspection of another minute of the year 1634 we find that the Deacon and Warden use initial letters for their marks, while Anthony Alexander, the highest Masonic officer in the kingdom, being the King's Master of the Work, adopts a symbolic mark, a practice that was imitated by Sir Alexander Strachan, who had just been admitted as a Fellow Craft.

There is so much contradiction in these records, in reference to any appropriation of marks of a particular kind to distinctive classes of workmen, that we are compelled to leave the whole question "under advisement."

It is, perhaps, a plausible solution to suppose that the choice of

a mark being left entirely to each workman it became a mere matter of taste, and that while some were contented with a monogram or merely an initial letter, others, more imaginative, would select a symbol, or, if they were peculiarly mathematical in their notions, would take a geometrical figure.

It was probably only to one of the first class that could be truthfully assigned the title borne by that skillful architect, who had been summoned from Germany by Ludovic Sforza to complete the Cathedral of Milan, and who, doubtless for his skill in symbolic architecture by which he gave to stones an instructive voice, was called *Magister de vivis lapidibus* — "Master of living stones."

Four of these symbolic marks, which are of comparatively frequent occurrence, are the pentalpha, the double triangle, the fylfot, and the *vesica piscis,* which are delineated in that order in the following cut:

It is worthy of note that not one of these four marks here de. lineated are of purely Masonic origin. The first, which is the Pen talpha, is derived from the Greek, and was, in the school of Pythagoras, a symbol of health. Among the Orientalists it was deemed to be a talisman against evil, and is often seen on old coins of Britain and Gaul, where it is supposed to have been a symbol of Deity. It was finally adopted by the early Christians, who referred its five points to the five wounds of Jesus, and it is probable that through this character as an ecclesiastical symbol it passed over to the Freemasons, whose organization, as we have seen, was at first purely ecclesiastical.

The second is a Hebrew symbol and known as the shield of David, and sometimes as the seal of Solomon, and was considered by the ancient Jews as a talisman of great efficacy, because it had a recondite allusion to the Tetragrammaton or four-lettered, incommunicable name of God. The early Christians adopted it and made the two intersecting triangles symbols of the two natures of Christ,

the divine and human. Thence it became a favorite decoration of the Gothic architects and is to be found in most of the mediaeval churches.

The third mark, here delineated, is what is known as the Fylfot, or Mystic cross of the Buddhists. It is found in Egypt, in Etruria, on the Scandinavian Runic stones, and on British and Gaulish coins.

The fourth of these marks is known as the *Vesica Piscis.* The fish was universally accepted among the early Christians as a symbol of Jesus, and is found constantly inscribed on the tombs in the Catacombs. The fish was adopted as an emblem of Jesus, because the letters of the Greek word for fish form the initials of the words in the same language which signify "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour." At first, as it appears in the Catacombs, it presented the correct, though rudely drawn, shape of a fish. It afterward assumed the abbreviated form of an oval. In this latter form it was frequently employed by the Freemasons of the Middle Ages as a symbolic decoration, and the seals of all religious communities and ecclesiastical persons were made of the same shape.

Albert Dürer, who was a distinguished architect of the 15th century, wrote a work on Geometry in which he says that the *vesica piscis* is formed by two intersecting circles which produce two pointed arches, one above and one below. It is probable that it was in reference to this idea, which was not confined to Albert Dürer, that the pointed arch, the peculiar characteristic of the Gothic style, was suggested by the intersection of the two circles which also form the *vesica piscis,* that the Freemasons adopted it as a mark, though its early religious origin would also sufficiently account for the introduction of it into church or Gothic architecture.

But the further discussion of these symbolic marks appertains more properly to a subsequent portion of this work which is to be specially devoted to the investigation and interpretation of Masonic symbolism.

Various other classifications of these marks have been made by different writers who have investigated this interesting subject.

M. Didron, who collected a great many of these marks in France, thought that they were divided into two classes, namely, those of the overseers of the works, the *magistri operum,* and the men who wrought the stones. The marks of the first class, he says, consist

generally of monogrammatic characters and are placed separately on the stones; while those of the second class partake more of the nature of symbols, such as shoes, trowels, mallets, and other objects of a similar kind.

Other writers have divided these marks into three classes, and suppose that some were peculiar to the Apprentices, others to the Fellows, and others again to the Masters.

There is abundant historical evidence, especially in the Ordinances of the German Masons, that Apprentices were sometimes invested with a mark, particularly when, for certain reasons, they were permitted to travel, before the expiration of their time, in search of employment.

But I do not find any authentic means by which we can distinguish from the appearance of any mark, or from any other cause, the marks which were peculiar to any grade, or by which we can authoritatively distinguish the mark of an Apprentice from that of a Fellow or Master.

Speaking of the traditional arrangement of marks into distinctive classes for each of the three grades of Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices, Mr. Lyon says that "the practice of the Lodge of Edinburgh, or that of Kilwinning, as far as can be learned from their records, was never in harmony with the teachings of tradition on that point."[1]

What is thus said of the Scottish Masons may, I think, be said with equal correctness of those of Germany and England. Indeed if, as will hardly be denied, the system of proprietary marks was originally derived from the German Masons, who perfected, if they did not invent, it at Strasburg, it is reasonable to suppose that the same or very similar regulations must have prevailed in every country into which the system was introduced. There might have been some modifications to suit local circumstances, but there would have been no radical changes.

We must, therefore, reject the theory that there was any distinction of marks appropriated to the three ranks of workmen. Certainly, at the present day, we have no authority for recognizing any such distinction.

There are, however, outside of any question as to the classifica-

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 69.

tion of the marks many circumstances and conditions connected with them which are of a highly interesting character.

In the first place, the antiquity of the custom among architects and builders of placing marks upon stones is worthy of notice. But in treating this question of the early origin and use of marks by builders, we must not forget the distinction, which has already been referred to, between such marks as were used simply as symbols, and intended to express some religious idea, and those which were adopted by builders to designate and claim the proprietorship in a stone, and which have hence been called proprietary marks.

There is the very best evidence, that of the stones themselves, to prove that symbols were sometimes represented by hieroglyphics, and sometimes by pictured representations of objects. The hieroglyphical inscriptions on the monuments of ancient Egypt and the emblems sculptured in profusion on the topes or Buddhist towers of Central India,[1] though often resembling the more modern Masonic marks, are known to have been used only as the expressions of religious ideas. They were symbols and not marks.[2]

The proprietary marks may, however, be traced as far back as the end of the 10th century, and are to be found upon the walls of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice. As this edifice was constructed after the Byzantine method and by Greek architects brought to Venice by the government for that purpose, we may safely adopt the conclusion of Mr. Fort, that Masonic proprietary marks were first introduced into western Europe by the corporations of Byzantine Masons.[3]

It is very probable that the use of Masonic marks at that period was regulated by a system similar to that which prevailed at a later time among the German Masons. But this can be only a matter of conjecture. No regulations on the subject have been preserved, if any such existed. All that we can presume from the testimony of the stones themselves, is that as the design of these marks was to

[1] See Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship; or, Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India," passim.

[2] Belzoni, in his narrative of his operations in opening the second pyramid, had said that he got a clew to the entrance by certain marks on the exterior stones, and this has been fancifully accepted as a proof that proprietary marks were used by the pyramid builders, although it is very evident that those marks were only hieroglyphic inscriptions.

[3] Fort, "Early History and Antiquities of Masonry," ii., p. 325.

afford the means of distinguishing the work of each artisan, each mark must have been the exclusive property of the mason who used it.

It is not until the organization of the fraternity of Freemasons, which took place at Strasburg Cathedral in the 15th century, and the adoption of their Ordinances, that we obtain any documentary information of the mode in which the proprietary marks of the mediaeval builders were regulated.

The universality of these marks is another point in their history that is worthy of notice. By their universality is meant their prevalence in every country into which the Freemasons penetrated, and into which they extended their peculiar system of architecture. From the northern parts of Scotland to the island of Malta, we will meet with these marks sculptured on the stones of buildings which had been constructed by this brotherhood of builders. It is curious says Mr. Godwin, to find these marks exactly the same in different countries, and descending from early times to the present day.[1]

The fact that in a great many instances identical marks have been found in countries widely separated, proves, as Mr. Godwin claims, in a passage already quoted, that the men who employed them did so by a system which must have prevailed in all essential points in all those countries.

M. Didron gives the following illustration of this fact. He found stones marked in the Cathedral of Rheims with a certain monogrammatic character, and the outline of the sole of a shoe; other stones with the same monogram and the outline of two soles, and others again with the same character and the outline of three soles.

The use of the same monogram would indicate a close connection, perhaps in the same guild or lodge, while the variation in the number of soles would indicate that each of the marks belonged to a different person.

This mark M. Didron calls the shoe mark—a very proper designation. As he found the same shoe mark at Strasburg, and in no other place, he accounts very reasonably for that fact by supposing

[1] "History in Ruins; a Handbook of Architecture for the Unlearned," by George Godwin, F.R.S., London, 1858.

that certain of the workmen at Rheims had been brought from Strasburg.

Dr. Krause has given in his great work a plate of marks found in the church of Batalha in Portugal, and which he says are similar to marks found in a church near Jena in Germany.[1] One of them of a rather complicated form is also to be seen among the marks recorded in the minute book of the Lodge of Edinburgh, copies of which are contained in Mr. Lyon's History of that lodge.

Amid the immense variety of marks suggested to the mind of the Mason, by an unlimited number of objects, it is very likely that sometimes two stonecutters, living at remote distances from each other, might, by a mere accident of caprice, select the same object for the mark of each. This especially might happen in the case of figures well known, from some religious or symbolic use to which they had been applied. Such, for instance, were the pentalpha, the mystical *vesica piscis*, or fish, the shield of David, the square and compass, and others of a like import, which were familiarly known in the Middle Ages as religious symbols.

Hence the fact that any one of these figures is found to be inscribed on stones in two or more places, would not necessarily indicate that the same workman had migrated from one of these places to the others and carried with him his own peculiar mark. Two, three, or more Masons, living in different places and who had never seen each other, might each have selected, without reference to the others, so familiar a figure as the pentalpha or the fish,[2] for his proprietary mark. And this undoubtedly did occur, for we find these figures used as marks in buildings very remotely distant from each other, and sculptured at such different epochs as to make it impossible that they could all have been the work of one and the same man.

But, as a general rule, when we meet with the same mark in two

[1] "Drei altest. Kunsturkunden," iii., 311.

[2] The vesica piscis, at first in the form of a fish, was placed by the early Christians on the tombs in the Catacombs of Rome, as a symbol of salvation by the waters of baptism. It was adopted, afterward, as a symbol in Christian art of the Saviour, and was so used by the Freemasons in the decoration of churches. Then some of the workmen, impressed with a religious feeling, took it as a proprietary mark, and it is found as such on stones of many mediaeval buildings.

places, between which there may have been a possible connection, and at times not far separated, it is a legitimate presumption that the marks belonged to the same person, and that he had migrated from one place to the other and had carried his skill and the mark of his skill with him.

The method by which these marks were obtained by the workmen or bestowed upon them is perhaps the most important and the most interesting part of their history.

The knowledge of the Regulations of the Strasburg Masons and of the customs of the same fraternity in Scotland has been transmitted to us, and we are at no loss to describe the method of bestowing marks which was practiced in Germany and Scotland.[1]

It is, however, singular that neither in the Regulations of Etienne Boileau in France, nor in any of the old Constitutions in England, is there the slightest reference to the subject of Masonic proprietary marks.

We learn, however, from the inspection of buildings still remaining, that the custom of using proprietary marks was practiced by the Masons in both those countries, and we may justly presume that the same or analogous regulations as to their government existed among the French and English Masons as did among the German and Scottish.

Among the German Freemasons of the Middle Ages, when an Apprentice had served his time he became a Fellow, and on being admitted into the Fraternity he received a mark, which he was to carve on the stones which he wrought, so as to identify his work.

The peculiar form of the mark may, we suppose, have been selected by the workman, though the statutes speak of it as having been "granted and conceded to him by the craft or corporation," and having been once selected or granted, he was never, as we learn from a clause in the Strasburg Ordinances of 1563,[2] permitted afterward to change it—wherever, in the course of his nomadic life as

[1] It is very true that the existence of marks is recognized only in a single passage of the Ordinances of Strasburg, but we have ample information as to the regulations on the subject in the writings of Steiglitz, Fallon, Winzer, and other German authors who have thoroughly investigated the subject.

[2] Es soll auch keiner sein ehrenzeichen, das irne von einem Handtwerck verlichen und vergont worden ist, für sich selbs und eigens gewaltz nicht endern "Ordnung der Steinmetz," anno 1462, art. 73.

a wandering artisan, he might travel—into whatsoever region he might go in search of work, however distant it might be, he was bound to use the same mark in designating the materials which he had wrought.

Hence it is that we account, in a great many instances, for the repetition of the same mark in various places widely separated. Sometimes it might happen that, by a casual coincidence, two masons, in different places and wholly unknown to each other, would choose the same figure for a mark, but, as a general rule, especially where the mark was at all complicated or peculiar in shape, it would be right to infer that the stone so marked in two places must have been the work of the same artisan who had immigrated from one place to the other.

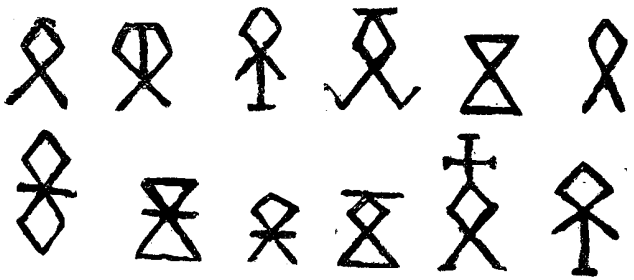
Thus, as it has already been shown, the "shoe marks," as they have been called, which are very peculiar and complex, accompanied as each is by a monogram, having been found in the Cathedral of Strasburg and also in that of Rheims, it has been justly assumed by M. Didron that they were the proprietary marks of certain Masons of Strasburg who had been brought to Rheims and who continued to use there those marks of proprietorship which they had originally adopted at the former place.

From this necessity of identification, so that the stones wrought by one Mason might be easily distinguished from those which were worked by all the others, it followed that no two workmen who were attached to the same sodality or lodge ever selected precisely the same mark. There were some forms, such as angles, crosses, squares, and triangles, which, being familiar to these geometric Masons, would naturally be suggested to the mind as appropriate figures for marks, and such figures were, accordingly, often selected. But in every case some modification of the original form has been made, which, however minute, has been sufficient to show a distinct difference, so as to easily enable every inspector to recognize it.

Thus of ninety-one proprietary marks copied by Mr. Lyon in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* from the minute-book of that lodge, no two can be found which are precisely alike. Yet it will be also found that certain forms seem to have been suggested to different minds, but, as has been already said, the original form has always been adopted, with some addition or change necessary to preserve its character and usefulness as a token of proprietorship.

Thus the figure of a lozenge with two sides extended inferiorly, which I am inclined to think was at first suggested by the *vesica piscis* given in a preceding page of this work, with the circle changed into straight lines for the greater facility of being carved on stone, appears to have been a favorite mark.

Of this mark I have found no less than eleven variations, all of them completely distinct, each from the others, and yet every one preserving evident traces of the original type. Of these marks the following copies are here inserted, taken from the two plates in Bro. Lyon's work. The first is the original type, and it will be readily seen, by inspection, how much and yet how little all the others differ from it.



This is a very striking instance of the manner in which these old Masons often fabricated their proprietary marks. One would select some popular and well-known symbol, and several others of less inventive genius would copy his design with some slight modification, or, in the language of the heralds, each would bear his mark "with a difference."

And as the heralds invented and used these "differences" in coat armor, to indicate a descent of all the bearers from one common ancestor, so might we not, with the aid of a very little romance, suppose that the owners of these similar marks bore some close affinity by relationship or friendship and intimacy to the owner of the original type.

But this thought is scarcely worth pursuing, though the results of an investigation on this point would be very interesting if we had any authentic method of making it.

As a general rule, Masters and Fellows only were entitled to use marks. But in Germany there were certain circumstances under which the privilege was extended to Apprentices. Thus according

to the Statutes of 1462, when a Master had no employment for his Apprentice, he permitted him to go forth in search of work, and on such occasions a mark was assigned to him.[1]

But this was only a temporary loan to be used by the Apprentice while away. It was still the Master's mark. Apprentices in Germany were not invested with marks during their *Lehrjaren* or time of apprenticeship.

This appears from the next statute in the same Ordinances, where it is expressly stated that "no Master shall be permitted to bestow a mark upon his Apprentice until he had served out his time."[2]

It will be noted that in the former of these regulations which have just been cited, the verb to lend," *verleihen,* is used, and in the latter the verb is "to grant or bestow," *verschenken.* The Apprentice might get the temporary loan of a mark for a special purpose, but under no circumstances could he be permanently invested with one. That prerogative belonged only to the Masters and Fellows.

It was different with the Scottish Freemasons. The Schaw Statutes, promulgated by William Schaw, Master of Work in 1598 and in 1599, had the same authority with the Masons in Scotland as the "Old Charges" had in England, the Ordinances of Strasburg and Torgau had in Germany, or the Regulations of Etienne Boileau had in France.

Accepting the authority of these Statutes we can be at no loss on the subject of marks. They say nothing about the marks of Apprentices, but they direct that on the reception into the fraternity of a Master or Fellow, his name and mark shall be inserted in a book kept for the purpose, together with the date of his reception.

But the minutes of Mary's Chapel Lodge and of Kilwinning Lodge furnish ample evidence that the privilege of the mark was sometimes extended to Apprentices, that their marks were also registered, and that they paid a fee for the registration.

It is probable that a satisfactory reason may be assigned why the Apprentices in Scotland received the privilege of marks which, as far as can be learned, was not conferred upon them in other countries.

Apprentices elsewhere were always under the immediate control of their Masters, and did no work independently and for which they

[1] "Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Jahre, 1462," No. 30.

[2] Ibid., No. 31.

were responsible to the owners, the Masters of course assuming all responsibility for the acts of their Apprentices.

But in Scotland, Apprentices were sometimes permitted to undertake work for themselves, and thus for a time they became as Masters, and were therefore, like them, required to have a proprietary mark.

Thus in the Schaw Statutes for 1598 we meet with this clause, which is here, however, transferred from the archaic Scottish idiom of the original to our modern intelligible vernacular:

"Item, it shall not be lawful for an Entered Apprentice to take in hand any greater task or work than will extend to the sum of ten pounds, under the penalty aforesaid, namely twenty pounds, and that task being done, he shall undertake no more without the license of the Masters or Warden where they dwell."

Here the position of the Scotch Apprentice was similar to that occupied by the German, when the Master, having no work for him, permitted him to travel in search of employment and at the same time loaned him his mark; that is, gave him permission to use it and to inscribe it on the stones which he finished.

But the Scotch Apprentice was more liberally treated. His mark became a permanent possession, and like those of the Masters and Fellows was registered in the book of the lodge.

As to the formality with which the Mason was invested with his mark, the custom varied in Scotland and in Germany. What it was in England and France we can not tell, as no records touching this subject are extant.

In Scotland the registering of the mark as well as the name of the Fellow Craft appears from the Schaw Statutes to have been a necessary part of the form of reception. But it does not follow that he was at that time invested with it, for he may have selected it while an Apprentice, for the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh show that any Apprentice might have a mark if he was willing to pay for it.[1] There is no evidence that any especial ceremony beyond that of registration accompanied what in Scottish phraseology was called the giving, choosing, taking or receiving of a mark. In none of the Scottish records, says Bro. Lyon, is there anything pointing to a special ceremony in connection with their adoption.[2]

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 68.

[2] Ibid., p. 74.

The custom was otherwise in Germany. Findel describes the ceremony of reception, which resembled, in many respects, the modern form of initiation into the First degree. Of this rather impressive ceremony the investment with a peculiar mark constituted a preliminary part.[1]

The Ordinances of 1462 prescribed that when a mark is presented there shall be a banquet given by the Master of the Lodge, to which a few ecclesiastics and not more than ten Fellows shall be invited. The cost of this feast was to be very moderate, and if the workman who received the mark, and in whose honor it was given, desired to have a larger provision, it was to be provided at his expense.[2]

Dr. Krause, in commenting on this article of the 1563 Ordinances, says that everyone who was to be admitted a Fellow received at the time a mark which was to be peculiar to himself. consisting of straight lines and curves joined together in the form of angles.[3]

According to Heldmann this mark was called the *Ehrenzeichen,* or distinctive mark of a Fellow, and that a copy of it was appended to the margin of the register or record of his admission.[4]

Krause calls it also "*Namenchiffer*" the cipher of the name, and adds, that with it the Fellow marked all stones in the making of which superior skill was employed.

"Hence we find," he says, "in every country of Europe in the buildings which were constructed by Gothic art on single stones, and also on the outside of the edifice, such name, ciphers, or marks."

Krause also says that at the time of giving the Fellow his mark, he probably also received a particular name.

But of this circumstance, which, after all, Krause relates as only a probability, I have met with no substantiating testimony in any other authority.

I am inclined to believe, contrary to the opinion of some writers, that there was but little or indeed no ceremony of any secret nature accompanying the bestowal of the mark. The only formality appears to have consisted in the giving by the lodge of a banquet

[1] "History of Freemasonry" (Lyon's Translation), p. 65.

[2] "Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Jahre, 1563."

[3] "Kunsturkunden," iii., p. 311.

[4] "Die drei ältesten geschichtlichen Denkmale der Deutschen Freimaurerbrüder» Schaft," Aman, 1819, s. 282.

But that there were exoteric ceremonies accompanying this is to be inferred from the fact that a few ecclesiastics were admitted among the guests.

The giving of a banquet by the lodge was also prescribed by the Schaw Statutes of 1599 to be given by and in the lodge on the entry of Apprentices and the admission of Fellow Crafts.[1] But Mr. Lyon thinks that the custom was afterward abolished and the feast compounded for by a sum of money paid by the entrant to the lodge.[2]

The Masons often made use of their marks as seals, and Steiglitz has given, in his work on *Old German Architecture*,[3] several specimens of marks used as seals. We have already seen, in a preceding part of this chapter, that the mark of Walter Dixi, the English Mason, was adopted by him as a family seal and affixed as such to a deed of conveyance in the 14th century.

Lastly we have to inquire whether proprietary marks were hereditary. We have no evidence that there was any statute or Ordinance regulating this matter, but there can hardly be any doubt that in many instances the son voluntarily adopted the mark of his father. The case of the family of Dixi, just referred to, is an instance in point where a mark appears to have descended through at least three generations.

But a circumstance occurred during the Session of the Archaeological Association at Canterbury in September, 1844, which it would seem ought to set this question of the descent of marks by voluntary inheritance completely at rest.

It is stated in the *Archæological Journal* that a member of the Association, believing that marks were quite arbitrary on the part of the workmen and had no connection either one with another or with Freemasonry, requested Mr. Godwin to accompany him to the Mason's yard which was attached to the Cathedral. When there he called one of the elder men and asked him to make his mark upon a piece of stone. The man complied, and being asked why he made that particular form, said that it was his father's mark

[1] All bankattis for entrie of prenteis or fallow of craftis to be maid within the said Lodge of Kilwinning, Schaw Statutes, 1599.

[2] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 44.

[3] "Von altdeutscher Baukunst." C. S. Steiglitz, Leipzig, 1820.

and his grandfather's mark, and that his grandfather had received it from the lodge.[1]

Doubtless if the inquiry had been continued it would have been found that many other marks had passed from father to son. Indeed, nothing is more natural where the latter has pursued the profession of the former.

Our investigations have led to the following conclusions:

1. The existence of proprietary marks on European buildings may be traced as far back as the 10th century, and they were probably brought over at that time by the Greek artists who introduced the Byzantine style of architecture, for which the Freemasons afterward substituted the Gothic.

2. But it was not until the 15th century that we were furnished with any historical evidence that there was an organized system of laws by which the imparting, owning, and using of these marks was regulated. Doubtless such a system had been in existence long before, but its practice was regulated by oral and traditional usages, until old customs, having begun to be neglected or forgotten, it was found necessary to renew them by written Constitutions.

Hence it is in the German Ordinances of 1462 that we are to look for the first written laws regulating the subject of proprietary marks.

If we have no authentic documents which refer to this subject anterior to the 15th century, it is not because a system of giving and receiving marks, and a prescribed method of using them, did not exist anterior to that period, but because, to use the language of Bro. Findel,[2] it was only when the ancient forms had begun to fall into disuse, when the taste for forming leagues and confederacies was on the wane, and when the true comprehension of the signification of the ancient ritual, usages, and discipline was beginning to disappear, that the Masons felt the necessity of reviving the ancient landmarks and of giving them authority by written Constitutions.

Of these "ancient landmarks" not the least important was the

[1] "Archæological Journal," vol. i., p. 383, note, cited by Mr. Pryor in the "Freema-Sons' Quarterly Review," 1845, p. 441.

[2] "History of Freemasonry" (Lyon's Translation), p. 73.

use by Stonemasons of proprietary marks, and hence we find that regulations for their government were not revived or re-established, but transferred from oral tradition to a written document, so that there might be no defense or palliation of a disobedience or infringement of them.

3. As we find this system of marks prevailing in Germany, in France, in England, and in Scotland, as well as in many other places, we have a right to infer that as the marks were often of the same form, the same system of regulations prevailed in all those countries.

4. The marks were not arbitrarily selected, and liable to be changed at the fancy or caprice of the owner, but were only obtained after laborious study of the principles of the Gothic art and adequate proofs of skill; and having been bestowed with some formal ceremony, however brief, the proprietor was not permitted at any time or for any cause to change the form or character of the mark, but was obliged always after its acceptance to retain it and to affix it to all stones which he fabricated with superior skill and care.

5. These marks were sometimes monogrammatic, sometimes geometrical, and sometimes symbolic, but, notwithstanding some few writers have entertained a contrary opinion, there is no authentic evidence that the choice of the character of the mark was governed by any rules which bestowed the marks with either of these characteristics upon different classes or ranks of the workmen. Yet it is not improbable that some such rules may have prevailed, though there is no documentary evidence extant of their existence. It must, however, be confessed that the fact that in Germany Apprentices were permitted, under certain circumstances, to employ the marks of their Masters, would seem to indicate that there could not have been any difference in the character of the marks used by different ranks of Masons.

6. In some cases proprietary marks were hereditary, and there are instances known where the son or the grandson has assumed the mark of his father or grandfather. But there does not seem to have been any law making such hereditary transmission obligatory. If the son adopted the mark of his father it was because he chose to do so, and he might, with perfect propriety, and most frequently did, select a different mark. All Statutes and Ordinances are silent on the subject.

Very intimately connected with this subject of proprietary marks is that of the Mark degree, which, whatever was the date and the place of its origin, was undoubtedly founded on and to be traced to the usages of the Operative Masons.

The fact of the existence of this degree, which continues the usage of marks in modern rituals, is another important link in the chain which connects the Operative Masonry of the Middle Ages with the Speculative Masonry of the present day.

As such it is entitled to due investigation, and it will therefore be made the subject of the succeeding chapter, though the continuity of our researches into the progress of mediaeval Masonry will, by this course, be to some extent interrupted.

But I know no better plan than to let the history of Speculative Mark Masonry immediately and continuously follow that of Operative Mark Masonry. It is but the transfer from the treatment of a cause to that of its effect.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MARK DEGREE

THERE is no stronger or more convincing proof of the connection between the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages and those of the present day, and of the regular descent of the one from the other, than that furnished by the existence in the modern rituals of a degree the ceremonies of which have been evidently founded on the system of proprietary marks which prevailed among the Stonemasons of Germany, and which passed from them into all the other countries of Europe.

If all the other authentic testimonies of the fact that about the beginning of the 18th century there was a transmutation of an Operative Art into a Speculative Science, were expunged from the record, the apparently extraordinary phenomenon that there exists in the latter, and in the latter only, a peculiar and extraordinary system, which also prevailed in the former, and in the former only, would be sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there must have been a very intimate relation between the two associations with which this system was connected.

Therefore, as a connecting link of that great chain which, beginning with the Roman Colleges of Artificers, extended to the early Masons of Gaul and Britain, to the Traveling Freemasons of Lombardy and Germany, and finally terminated in the Free and Accepted Masons of modern times, a thorough consideration of the rise and progress of the Mark degree must be deemed essential to the completeness of any work on the history of Freemasonry.

In pursuing this investigation it will be necessary to inquire, firstly, what is the position of the Mark degree in the modern rituals; secondly, what is its character and legendary history; and, thirdly, what was its real historical origin as distinguished from the mythical account of its fabrication, as it is given in its legends.

EXECUTION OF JAMES DE MOLAY

At Paris, March l1, 1314

To an investigation of these important and, to the student of Masonic Antiquities, interesting, points, the present chapter will be devoted.

The Mark degree, or to define it more accurately according to the received phraseology, the degree of Mark Master, constitutes the fourth degree or the first of what are called the capitular degrees in the American Rite as it is practiced in the United States. In Scotland and Ireland it is a degree recognized under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter. In England it is not recognized by the Grand Lodge. The articles of Union, adopted in 1813, defined Ancient Craft Masonry to consist only of the first three degrees, including the Royal Arch. Hence, there being no place provided for the Mark degree, it was ignored in English Masonry until its introduction a few years ago, when it was placed under an independent jurisdiction called the Mark Grand Lodge, a body which was established in 1856.

On the Continent of Europe and in all countries the Freemasonry of which is not derived immediately from and is in intimate connection with the Masonry of England and America, the Mark degree is entirely unknown. There is not in any of the German, French, Italian, or Spanish rituals the slightest allusion to it.

In the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite the Mark degree at one time held a distinct position, though it has ever since the beginning of this century or the close of the last, been stricken from its ritual. Of this fact there is undeniable proof.

I have in my possession an original Warrant or charter, granted in the year 1804 by the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem to American Eagle Master Mark Masons' Lodge No. 1, in Charleston, South Carolina, and there is in the archives of the Supreme Council for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, the ritual of the degree as at the time conferred, which appears to have been only on Past Master Masons of the Scottish Rite who were recognized by the possession of Scottish degrees as Past Masters.[1]

There is no evidence, however, that other lodges were established

[1] That is, on Master Masons who had received the preliminary degrees of the Scottish Rite, who were assumed in their own Rite to be Past Masters. In the Circular of the Charleston Supreme Council, issued in 1802, it is said that "throughout the Continent of Europe, England, Ireland, and the West Indies, every Sublime Mason is recognized as a lawful Past Master."

by the same authority. At least no other Charters have to my knowledge been discovered.[1]

At the time of the establishment of the Supreme Council at Charleston, in 1801, the jurisdiction over the degree had probably been assumed by the Scottish Rite Masons, for the Warrant just mentioned was granted by the Council of Princes of Jerusalem, which was a body subordinate to the Supreme Council.

At the present time the Mark degree constitutes a part of the Rite practiced in the United States, and is under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter, being the fourth of the capitular degrees.

Up to nearly the middle of the present century the degree was conferred sometimes in a lodge working under the Warrant granted by the Grand Chapter to a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, and sometimes in a Mark Masters' lodge working under a special and distinct charter from the Grand Chapter. But in 1853 this system was abolished by the General Grand Chapter, and independent Mark Masters' lodges no longer exist in America.

In Scotland, after the transition of Operative into Speculative Masonry, the Mark degree was worked originally by a few lodges under their Craft Warrant, and it was then conferred as an appendage to the Fellow-Craft degree. This was done as late as 1860, by a lodge at Glasgow, which action, however, attracted the notice of the Grand Chapter, and having in conference with the Grand Lodge thoroughly investigated the subject, the following report was made, which as giving a summary of the rise and progress of the degree in Scotland, and of the changes of position to which it was subjected, is well worthy of quotation.

In this report it was unanimously agreed by the Committee of Conference "that what is generally known under the name of the Mark Master's degree was wrought by the Operative lodges of St. John's Masonry[2] in connection with the Fellow-Craft degree before the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. That since that date it has continued to be wrought in the Old Operative lodges, but in what may be called the Speculative lodges, it was never worked at all—or at all events only in a very few. That this

[1] The American Eagle Master Mark Masons' Lodge was in existence at least as late as 1807, and a list of its officers is given in the register published in that year by J. J. Negrin, and appended to his "Free Masons' Vocal Assistant," page 25.

[2] By St. John's Masonry is meant in Scotland the three symbolic degrees.

degree being, with the exception of the Old Operative lodges above mentioned, entirely abandoned by the lodges of St. John's Masonry, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter assumed the management of it as the Fourth degree of Masonry, in order to complete the instruction of their candidates in the preliminary degrees, before admitting them to the Royal Arch. And, finally, that this degree, whether viewed as a second part of the Fellow-Craft degree or as a separate degree, has never been recognized or worked in England, Ireland, or the Continent, or in America, as a part of St. John's Masonry."

It was also stated by a delegate of the Grand Lodge of Scotland at a conference on the subject of the Mark degree, held at London in 1871, that long anterior to the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland two classes of lodges existed in that kingdom; namely, those which worked only the First and Second degrees and of which the Mark Master or Overseer was Master, and those which worked the First, Second, and Third degrees, over which the Master Mason presided.

In both of these statements there are errors in respect to the Mark degree, which have been corrected by subsequent investigations. Bro. Lyon, whose authority on this subject is unquestionable, says that the statements in regard to an organization for conferring the Mark under Mark Masters or Overseers are unsupported by any existing records. The lodges previous to the 18th century "knew nothing of the degrees of Mark Men, Mark Master, or Master Mason."[1]

As a degree of Masonry, in the sense which we give to the word degree, the system of Mark Masonry was wholly unknown to the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages. It has been shown that in Germany every Apprentice who had served his time, on being admitted as a Fellow Craft received a Mark, which was to be his unchangeably during his life. The reception of this was generally accompanied by a banquet, furnished to a certain extent of expenditure by the lodge which admitted him; but there is not the slightest allusion in any document extant to the fact that the bestowal of the mark was accompanied by esoteric ceremonies which would give it the slightest resemblance to a degree.

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 71.

In Scotland the Statutes of William Schaw required all Fellows, and sometimes Apprentices, to select their marks, which were to be recorded, and a fee was paid for their registration; but as Bro. Lyon says, there is not anything in the records of the period which points to a special ceremony in connection with their adoption.

In England preceding the middle of the 18th century we have nothing in reference to marks in the Old Charges or to the Mark degree in the minutes of lodges, either in Operative or Speculative Masonry.

We are indebted to Bro. Hughan, that indefatigable investigator, for the earliest authentic record we possess of the existence of the Mark degree in Scotland. It is contained in an extract from the minutes of the Operative lodge at Banff, the date of which is January 7, 1778. The minute is in the following words:

"That in time coming all members that shall hereafter raise to the degree of Mark Mason, shall pay one mark Scots, but not to obtain the degree of Mark Mason before they are passed Fellow-Craft. And those that shall take the degree of Mark Master Masons shall pay one shilling and sixpence sterling into the Treasurer for behoofe of the lodge. None to attain to the degree of Mark Master Mason until they are raised Master."

From this record we learn that at that time there were two degrees in connection with the mark—one called "Mark Mason," probably the same which was distinguished elsewhere as "Mark Man," to which degree Fellows were eligible, and another called "Mark Master Mason," which was conferred only on Master Masons.

We are not, however, to ascribe the year 1778, the date of the record, as the date of the institution of either of the degrees. The minutes only prove that the degrees were then in existence, and show the regulation by which they were governed.

Their fabrication must have taken place at an earlier period, but how much earlier we are unable to say. But I imagine that we would be safe in saying that neither of the degrees was fabricated anterior to the middle of the 18th century. If earlier, some notice of them would occur in the minutes of the Lodges of Mary's Chapel and Kilwinning. But those minutes have been thoroughly digested by Bro. Lyon, and no such notice has been met with,

The earliest mention of the two Mark degrees in England is

found in the Minute Books of St. Thomas Lodge No. 142 in London.

The minutes of the lodge in connection with this subject were transcribed by Bro. H. C. Levander, Secretary of the lodge, and are contained in a letter from Bro. T. B. Whytehead, Past Master of York Mark Lodge, which was inserted in the Report of the Committee on Correspondence to the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania, and published in the proceedings of that body for the year 1879. From the minutes of the lodge, of August 14, 1777, we are put in possession of important facts bearing on this subject. The minute is as follows:

"August 14, 1777.

"Regular Lodge night, the W. M., the Wardens, the Secretary, and Treasurer present worked in the First and Second degrees, made the following brothers Mark Masons and also Mark Master Masons, opened at 6 o'clock."

From this and from other minutes of the lodge of subsequent date but of the same purport, we glean the facts that in 1777, and no doubt earlier (the lodge was warranted in 1775), the two degrees of Mark Man and Mark Master were worked in the South of England as an appendage to the Fellow-Craft's degree.

The Lodge of St. Thomas received its Warrant from the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," or Athol Grand Lodge, which held close and amicable relations with the Grand Lodge of Scotland. But there is also evidence that at a later period, the Mark degree was worked by an English lodge holding its Warrant from the Grand Lodge of "Moderns," or the legitimate Grand Lodge of England, though that body religiously repudiated all degrees except the three symbolic degrees.

Bro. Whytehead, in the article before referred to, supplies us with an extract from the minutes of the Imperial George Lodge of Middleton in Lancashire, which had been warranted in 1752 by the Grand Lodge of "Moderns." The minute is dated March 9, 1809, and is in these words:

"This lodge was opened in due form at 8 o'clock, in peace and good harmony.

"When the following Brethren were made Mark Masons."

Bro. Whytehead also cites the Directory of Minerva Lodge

No. 250 at Hull, as showing that in the year 1802 that lodge conferred, besides several other degrees, those of "Ark, Mark, and Link."

Though there was no regular book of the Mark Lodge, yet the Secretary, Bro. M. C. Peck, states that the marks were entered in the Craft minute book.

In Kenning's *Masonic Cyclopædia,* Bro. Woodford says: "It is undoubtedly true that in Scotland the 'Falows of Craft' took up their marks, but we are not aware, so far, of any corresponding use in England."[1]

But the records of St. Thomas Lodge of Lancashire in 1775 and of Minerva Lodge of Yorkshire in 1809, marks were regularly selected and recorded by brethren when they received the Mark degree. The mark was always appended to the name of the brother.

So that if, by the expression "Taking up their marks," of which, he says, there was no "corresponding use in England," he means that the English Mark Masons did not select and register their marks, just as they did in Scotland, these records show that he is clearly in error.

Bro. Woodford also says, in the same article, "Mark Man, in our humble opinion, is historically synonymous with Mark Mason."

But the same records prove that in 1775 the degree of Mark Man was distinct from that of Mark Master, though in 1809 the Minerva Lodge does not appear to have practiced the former.

Whether we call the first of these degrees Mark Man or Mark Mason, and the latter Mark Mason or Mark Master Mason, the words Mark Man and Mark Mason, in the meaning given to them at the present day, are not synonymous, and never could have been, because they indicate two distinct things.

These minutes also show that in the 18th century the Mark degree was worked independently by certain Blue lodges under their Grand Lodge Warrants. It was, however, rejected as a degree, or rather not recognized by the United Grand Lodge, in the articles of union adopted in 1813. It has, however, always been recognized in Scotland and in Ireland as a part of Speculative Masonry necessarily preparatory to the Royal Arch.

The Mark degree was introduced into the United States at a

[1] Kenning's "Cyclopædia," in voce. Mark Man, p. 453.

time subsequent to the middle of the last century. In the sparseness of authentic documents, it is impossible to affix the precise date of the introduction of the Mark degree into America, but it would be, I think, more correct to place that date at about the close rather than immediately after the middle of the century. "Independent Mark Lodges," says Bro. Hughan,[1] "were scattered throughout the United States of America during the latter part of the last century and early in the present one." This, I have no doubt, as the result of my own investigations, is the proper date of the introduction of the degree in this country.

The late Bro. F. G. Tisdall, who was the Master of St. John's Lodge No. 1 in the city of New York, asserted in an address delivered at the Centennial of the lodge, in 1857, that the lodge received its original Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1757, under the Grand Mastership of Lord Aberdour, and that to its Warrant was "annexed a Warrant with power to make Mark Masons."

If this assertion were true it would establish two important historical facts: first, that the Mark degree was recognized in the middle of the last century by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), and secondly, that it was practiced at the same period in the United States.

Unfortunately, Bro. Tisdall has verified neither of these statements by authentic documents, and we are compelled to relegate them to the regions of the mythical, where so many hundreds of hap-hazard statements of Masonic history have found at last a quiet resting-place.[2]

He has, however, cited an extract from the minutes which shows that in the year 1796 there was a Mark lodge, connected in some way with the Craft Lodge, St. John, and that at that time the Mark degree was conferred by it.[3]

It must be admitted as a well-proven historical fact that Mark

[1] Mackey's "National Freemason," February, 1873, vol. ii., p. 348.

[2] In the article just cited from Mackey's "National Freemason," Bro. Hughan has written an able criticism on the address of Bro. Tisdall as well as some Essays on the same subject published by Tisdall in Pomeroy's "Democrat." Hughan has very conclusively proved that the claims of Tisdall for so early an existence in America of the Mark degree have no historical foundation.

[3] The minute reads as follows: "The accounts of St. John's Mark Lodge No. I, made up to December 23, 1796, show a balance due to the treasury of £3 18s."

lodges existed in America and that the Mark Master's degree was conferred at the earliest about the close of the last century.

It was most probably introduced from Scotland or from the Athol Grand Lodge of England. St. John's Lodge of New York, already mentioned, though it was originally warranted by the Grand Lodge of "Moderns," afterward attached itself to the Grand Lodge of New York which was established by the "Ancients" under the Duke of Athol in 1781. It will be remarked, as has been proven by Bro. Hughan, that notwithstanding the assertion of Tisdall, there is no mention in the records of a Mark lodge or of the Mark degree in the records, until after it became connected with the "Ancients."

Though it is probable that in America, as in Scotland and in England, the Mark Master's degree was conferred in connection with Craft lodges, we learn by authentic testimonies that it was about the beginning of the present century, perhaps a few years earlier, conferred in Mark lodges, which seem to have been under the charge of Chapters.

Webb, in the 1812 edition of his *Freemasons Monitor,* records two Mark lodges as existing in Rhode Island and seventeen in New York. The Grand Chapters of both of these states were organized in 1798. But there were Royal Arch Chapters in existence before this date, and Mark lodges also.

The first constitution adopted in 1798 by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States of America, which body afterward became the General Grand Chapter of the United States, recognized the Mark Master Mason's degree as a part of its system of degrees. The Constitutions adopted in 1799 expressly provided for the granting of warrants to hold Mark Master Masons' Lodges separately.

For a long time afterward Mark lodges were held generally in the bosom of the Chapters and under Chapter Warrants, and sometimes in distinct lodges under Warrants issued by the State Grand Chapters. Perhaps the last of these was St. John's Mark Lodge No. 1, in the city of Charleston, South Carolina.

But in the year 1856 the General Grand Chapter abolished independent Mark lodges, and ever since the degree has been conferred in a lodge working in the bosom of a Chapter and under the Chapter Warrant.

The theory entertained by some that the Mark degree was introduced into America by the Masons of the Scottish Rite, founded on the isolated fact that in the year 1803 a Mark lodge had been warranted in the city of Charleston by the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, is wholly untenable. It is more probable that the jurisdiction over the degree was assumed in that case by the Council, the degree having existed long before in this country, whither it had been brought from Scotland and England through Charters issued for the establishment of subordinate lodges of Craft Masons.

The Mark degree appears, indeed, to have been something of a waif floating on the waters—a sort of flotsam and jetsam—without any lawful owner, and claimed and seized sometimes by Royal Arch Chapters, sometimes by Craft lodges, sometimes by independent Mark lodges, and lastly by the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. The degree was traveling about during the close of the last and the beginning of the present century like Marryat's "Japhet," in search of a father. Fortunately, it has at last found a parent in Scotland, Ireland, and this country, in the Grand Chapter, which has assumed the paternity. In England, maternal relations are exercised by the Grand Mark Lodge, which is nursing the bantling until such time as the Grand Chapter shall acknowledge a fatherhood.

From this indicative sketch of the position occupied by Mark Masonry in the series of Masonic grades, we pass to a consideration of its legend—that mythical history fabricated at the time of its adoption, as a part of the system of Speculative Masonry.

In pursuing our further investigations in this way we necessarily abandon the functions of the historian and assume those of the fabulist. Yet the investigation is of great importance, for the fact of the direct descent of Speculative Masonry from the Operative art practiced by the mediaeval builders, is by no circumstance more clearly and positively proved than by the modification of the system of Marks peculiar to the latter, which was invented by the former.

This modification was, however, a very important one. The practice of using proprietary Marks, which was in use among the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages, and which lasted longer in Scotland than in any other country, undoubtedly suggested to the Speculative Masons the thought which resulted in the fabrication of

the Mark degree. At first the idea of a proprietary mark may have occurred to the inventors of the different legends. If so, it gradually became obsolescent, and at this day the Mark of a Speculative Mark Master bears in its accepted character and use a much nearer resemblance to the *tessera hospitalis* of the Ancients than to the proprietary mark of an Operative Mason of the Middle Ages. To this particular point I shall have occasion hereafter to revert.

As the government of the Mark degree differed in different countries and at different times, so the legend seems also to have varied, and we find several forms of it in the rituals of the degree.

In the middle of the last century, or a little later, when in Scotland and in England the Mark system was divided into two grades or ranks, that of Mark Man and that of Mark Master, the design of the Mark was supposed to be very different from that of indicating a proprietorship.

The duty of the Mark Men is said in the ritual to have been to examine the materials as they came out of the hands of the workmen, and then to place a Mark upon them so as to enable them to be put together with greater facility and precision when brought from the quarries, the forest, and the clay-grounds to the city of Jerusalem. These marks were mathematical figures, name squares, levels, and perpendiculars which were used by command of King Solomon.

The Mark Masters were to examine the materials when they were brought to the Temple to see that every part duly corresponded, and thus to prevent confusion and mistake in fitting the respective parts to their proper places.

In doing this they were, of course, guided by the marks which had been placed upon the stones and other materials by the Mark Men. The Mark Masters then placed an additional Mark upon them to show that they approved the work which had been previously examined by the Mark Men.

In all this there is not the slightest notion of a proprietorship. The stones were marked by the mediæval Mason, so that the work of each man might be identified and he be made responsible for its imperfection or receive due credit for its merit.

But the stones and timbers were not according to this legend marked for any such purpose by the workmen, who "hewed, cut, and squared" them. The Mark was placed upon them by the Mark

Masters, who superintended the Masons and carpenters in the quarries and the forests, and who placed a Mark on each stone and timber so that when transported to Jerusalem, the Mark Masters would find no difficulty, when guided by these Marks, in placing those materials together which were intended to be in juxtaposition.

Such a system prevails at the present day among stonemasons, carpenters, and joiners, so as to point out precisely the positions to be occupied by the different parts of the work upon which they are engaged when they are to be put together.

But this is altogether different from the system of proprietary Marks which was pursued by the Operative Masons of the Middle Ages.

There was another legend introduced at a later period, for the preliminary degree of Mark Man appears to have been omitted by that time from the system. It was most probably the ritual practiced in this country before the close of the last century. It is that which was used by the Mark lodge in Charleston, which had been chartered in 1804 by the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem. We have every reason to believe that this was the ritual used at that time by the Mark lodges in America, from whom the Charleston Mark lodge must have received it, as there is no other source known from which it could have been derived.

The legend in this ritual differs very materially from the former, which has been just described. There is no longer a pretension that the Mark was used as a means of indicating that two distinct pieces of material were when brought together to be put in juxtaposition. That idea has now been entirely eliminated from the degree.

In this more modern legend, the Mark is said to have been used for two purposes. In the first place, Hiram Abif, seeing that it was impossible to superintend so large a number of workmen as were employed in the building of the Temple, appointed overseers to the different classes. He was careful to select only men of irreproachable character for this responsible office.

He was particularly attached to the Giblemites or Stonecutters, whom he formed into a body, whose duty it was, as overseers, to procure from the Treasurer-General such sums of money as were necessary to pay off the workmen over whom they presided, which was done at a particular time and in a particular place.

To expedite the task of payment, and to prevent confusion and imposition among the workmen, the Giblemites were ordered to provide for themselves a particular Mark by which they and the amount due to each one were easily recognized; and presenting this Mark in a particular manner, each Mark Master received at once the wages due to him.

But the Mark thus selected was to be used not on the stone as a proof of who was the cutter of the stone, but only as a jewel to be employed at the hour of paying wages, so that the paymaster might commit no error in the payment.

But the Mark was used also for another purpose. This purpose was one utterly unknown to the Operative Masons or to the Speculative Masons who first founded the degree.

A Mark Master being in distress or danger, has a talisman for relief in his Mark. He sends it, says the ritual, to a Mark Mason, who instantly obeys the summons and flies to his relief with a heart warmed with the impulse of brotherly love.

The Mark might also be put in pledge if the owner was "in the utmost distress;" and he was to redeem it as soon as it should be in his power.

In this way the Mark of the Speculative Masons began to cease to bear any analogy to that of the Operative Stonecutters whence it was originally derived. It was no longer a device placed by a builder upon the stone which he had wrought, and the proprietorship of which he by this token claimed—not a proprietorship in the material, but in the workmanship with which his skill had fitted it for the building.

In the first ritual of the Mark degree, adopted at the time, most probably, of its institution, though this design of a proprietary Mark was not exactly observed, still the Speculative Mark referred to an architectural purpose, that of indicating the proper position of the materials.

There was enough of analogy to the Operative preserved by the Speculative Mark to indicate and to clearly prove the one was the outcome of the other.

But now all analogy or resemblance to the operative art was obliterated, and the more recent Mark Masters began to look outside of the Craft of Operative Masons for characteristics to apply to the Mark. It became to him, as it is called in the ritual quoted

above, a "talisman," a means of obtaining relief, either by summoning with it a brother Mark Master to his assistance, or by pledging it to obtain the loan of money.

In plain words it ceased to have any relation to the proprietary mark of the Cologne and Strasburg Masons, and found its true analogy in the *tessera hospitalis* of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The *tessera hospitalis,* or "hospitable die," was a piece of bone, of stone, or ivory, or any other material. It was a custom among the ancients that when two persons became allied as friends, they took such a die, which they divided into two parts, each one inscribing his name upon one of the halves, which were then interchanged. The Scholiast on Euripides says that if at any future period either needed assistance, on showing his broken half of the die to the other the required aid was, if possible, granted.

Plautus, the Roman dramatist, gives an interesting instance of the use of the *tessera* in the interview between Agorastocles and his unknown uncle, Hanno, described in the play of "Pœnulus."

"Hanno. Hail, my countryman.

"Agorastocles. Whosoever thou art, I hail thee also in the name of Pollux. If thou needest anything, speak, I beseech thee, and ask it for the sake of thy country.

"Hanno. I thank thee, but I have a lodging here. Show me, if you know him, Agorastocles, the son of Antedamas. Knowest thou here a certain youth called Agorastocles?

"Agorastocles. If thou art looking for the adopted son of Antedamas, I am the one thou art seeking.

"Hanno. Ha! what do I hear?

"Agorastocles. That I am the son of Antedamas.

"Hanno. If this be so, compare with me, if thou pleasest, the hospitable die (*tessera hospitalis*); here it is, I have brought it with me.

"Agorastocles. Come then, let me see it; it is the exact counterpart of that which I have at home.

"Hanno. Much I greet thee, oh, my friend! for thy father, Antidamas, thy father, I say, was bound to me by the ties of hospitality. This hospitable die (*tessera hospitalis*) was in common with him and me.

"Agorastocles. Therefore thou shalt lodge with me. For I

deny neither the rights of hospitality nor Carthage where I was born."[1]

The early Christians also had their *tesseræ,* which they carried about in their journeys from one place to another as a means of introduction to their fellow-Christians whom they might meet. Dr. Mason Harris, in a dissertation on this subject, says that the use of these *tesseræ* in the place of written certificates of character lasted until the nth century.

It is very evident that the fabricator of the Mark ritual which we are considering was well acquainted with the nature of these Greek, Roman, and Christian *tesseræ,* and that they suggested to him the idea of transmuting the proprietary Mark of the Operative Masons which had given origin to the Mark degree from a token of ownership in the work of the stone to a badge of fraternity, and a means of claiming brotherly assistance.

In the early part of the present century, perhaps even much earlier, the ritual was again changed, and that form adopted which being either invented or approved by Thomas Smith Webb, the most prominent ritual maker of his day, is now the form universally practiced in this country.

The legend attached to this ritual enters into several details not embraced in the former ones, but it continues to maintain the theory that the Mark is a token of friendship, a theory which I have already said a dozen times was utterly unknown to the old Operative Masons.

The legend is to this effect. At the building of the Temple of Solomon, a young craftsman found in the quarries a stone of a peculiar form and beauty, and on which was inscribed certain mystical characters the meaning of which was wholly unknown to him. Nevertheless, he carried it up to the inspectors of the materials brought up for the construction of the temple, and disingenuously but unsuccessfully attempted to pass it off as a stone wrought by himself. Some time afterward this very stone, which had been prepared by Hiram Abif, for a special purpose in the building, was found to be wanting. After a strict search it was discovered among the rubbish and applied to its original destination. In honor of

[1] Plautus, "Pœnulus," Act V., Scene 2, ver. 80.

Hiram Abif, who had constructed the stone and placed his own mark upon it, a representation of this stone in gold or silver is used as the decoration of the degree; it is worn by Mark Masters, and the traditional mark of Hiram being a circle of letters, each brother is directed to select his own mark and place it within the circle. This mark is inscribed by the lodge in its register or Book of Marks. The representation of it in metal is often, but not always, nor by any obligation, worn upon his person. It is sometimes used when in distress as a means of obtaining aid and relief.

To be more precise in the description: the American ritual requires the jewel, as it is called, to be "made of gold or silver, usually of the former metal (sometimes of a precious stone, as opal or agate), and in the form of a keystone. On the obverse or front surface the device or mark selected by the owner must be engraved within a circle composed of the letters H.T.W.S.S.T.K.S. On the reverse surface the name of the owner, of his chapter, and the time of his advancement to the degree may be inscribed, though this is not legally necessary.

In Scotland the usage is a little different. The jewel must be of mother-of-pearl and wedge-shaped. In a circle on one side are the Hebrew letters ת ע ב א ש מ ש; on the other side are letters conveying the same meaning in the vernacular language with the wearer's mark in the center.[1]

In this ritual and legend, as in the preceding one, the Mark has altogether lost the proprietary character which it had among the Craft in the Middle Ages. It has become a Masonic decoration and a means of proving the claims of its owner to certain prerogatives peculiar to Mark Masters.

In one point, however, all the legends agree. Each fixes the time and place of instituting the degree at the building of Solomon, and they attribute the establishment of the regulations which then governed it to the wisdom and foresight of Hiram Abif, though according to the most modern ritual, the circumstances which are commemorated in the ceremony of initiation occurred after the death of that distinguished artist.

As the result of our investigation, I think that we are forced to come to the conclusion that the Mark degree first made its ap-

[1] Laws of the Supreme Grand Chapter of Scotland, cap. vii., 4.

pearance in Speculative Masonry about the middle of the 18th century. We can find no records in which such a degree is mentioned previous to that period.

In a report made to the Grand Lodge of Mark Masons of England in 1873, it is said, with a great deal more of boldness than of accuracy, that "there is probably no degree in Freemasonry that can lay claim to greater antiquity than those of Mark Man or Mark Mason and Mark Master Mason." It is a very great pity, for it is vastly detrimental to the intelligent study of Masonic history, that men otherwise accurate and trustworthy should indulge in such fanciful speculations. To say nothing of the Fellow-Craft and Master's degrees which antedate all allusions to Mark degrees by about half a century, all the degrees of the Chevalier Ramsay's system and many other high degrees were known and practiced at a time when Mark Masonry as a Speculative degree or degrees had been unheard of.

There can not, I think, be any doubt that Scotland was the place where the Mark degree was instituted. "It is to Scotland," says Bro. Whytehead (in the letter heretofore cited), "that we must look for the birthplace of the Mark degree as a Speculative working;" and he feels sure that the degree "came into working existence toward the close of the last century, when there was a rage for the multiplication of Orders."

In both of these opinions I concur, except that I would prefer to make the time of birth about the middle, rather than toward the close, of the last century. But in either way the difference would not be much more than a score of years.

We must also, I am sure, ascribe the fabrication of the degree to suggestions derived from the use of proprietary marks by the Freemasons of Germany, whence they were introduced into Scotland. There they remained long after they had ceased to be employed in other countries.

It has been shown that in Operative Masonry the Mark was bestowed upon the Fellow-craft or sometimes upon the Apprentice, unaccompanied with any other ceremonial than that of a modest banquet in Germany at the expense of the lodge, and that of a registration of the mark in Scotland at the expense of the candidate.

Notwithstanding this, when the inclination to create a new degree in Speculative Masonry took possession of the minds of cer-

tain Scottish Masons, the very fact that the Mark was bestowed without any ceremonial, inspired the thought that this manifest want of any formality in the bestowal might be well supplied by the fabrication of a degree in which the ceremony might take place.

Whytehead supposes, but I can not agree with him, that "it may have even been the case that originally some kind of Mark working, though, of course, not the same as at present, once formed an integral part or complement of the Second degree, just as some Masons imagine the Royal Arch did of the Third degree, and that for the sake of abbreviating the ceremonies both were divorced and fashioned into separated and distinct workings under newly invented names."

But it is not necessary to indulge in any such supposition, which, besides, is not sustained by the records. The mere fact that there was in Operative Masonry a Mark, which every Fellow received upon his admission to the Craft and preparatory to his going to work as a journeyman, would have been sufficient to suggest to an inventive genius the most fitting points of a new degree, at a time when the manufactory of degrees had been established as a popular and successful branch of business in Speculative Masonry.

Notwithstanding that the use of proprietary Marks by the German and Scottish Operative Masons had furnished the suggestion for the invention of a degree in Speculative Masonry, the fabricators of that degree did not strictly preserve the system by which the use of Marks had always been regulated, which was simply to each stonecutter the means of identifying the stones which he had cut.

I do not believe that the Mark was employed simply to give the Overseers and Masters of the works a ready means of calculating the amount of pay due to each workman. Nothing of this is to be found in any of the old statutes or regulations.

Besides, the Mark was not placed on all stones indiscriminately, and if the calculation of wages was made by the marked stones only, the workmen would be constantly defrauded of a part of their dues.

It was a regulation that those stones only should be marked which were of importance in the building and which required skill and dexterity in their construction.

The inscribing of a Mark on a well-cut and polished stone was rather intended to secure to the stonecutter a just reputation for his

work than to enable an overseer to calculate the amount of wages which were due.

If I am correct in my views, the Masons placed their Marks upon the stones which they cut in the same spirit in which the early printers affixed, each one, a peculiar device on the title-pages of the books which were issued from his press.[1]

It is evident from what has been here said that the design of the Mark has been greatly changed in its adoption by the Speculative Masons from that of the Operative Builders, from whom, however, the former derived it.

In one respect the various rituals of Mark Masonry agree, without the slightest variation. They all placed the institution of the system of giving Marks to a portion of the Craft at the time of building King Solomon's Temple, and the legend connects them with Hiram Abif, whose supposed personal Mark, surrounding that of the wearer, constitutes the decoration of the degree of Mark Master according to the modern ritual.

I need hardly say that this story of the Temple origin of the Mark degree is a mere myth, having no more foundation in history than the Hiramic legend of the Third degree.

Its adoption in the Mark Master's degree is, however, a conclusive proof that that degree in Speculative Masonry was fabricated after the invention of the Third degree, in the first quarter of the 18th century.

In conclusion, as it has been shown that the Mark of the modern Speculative Freemason was evidently suggested by that of the German and especially the Scottish Operative Masons, and as the employment of Marks by the latter has evidently suggested their adoption by the Mark Masters when fabricating their degree, so I may repeat what was said in the beginning of this chapter, that there is no stronger or more convincing proof of the connection between the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages and the Speculative Freemasons of the present day, and of the direct descent of the latter from the former, than that which is furnished by the Mark Master's degree.

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[1] Some of these old printers' devices bear a very striking resemblance to the stonecutters' marks. That resembling an inverted 4 is very common to both. See Fosbrook's "Encyclopædia of Antiquities," p. 445, or the title-page of any old book.

But we must be careful to repudiate as simply a myth of modern origin, the notion that there was ever a Mark degree before the middle or toward the close of the last century.

Still the Mark degree, though it has no antiquity, has its historical value as a factor in determining the true origin of the Speculative system, no investigation of which could be correctly or usefully conducted without a due consideration of the modern Mark degree.

CHAPTER XXVI

TRANSITION FROM OPERATIVE TO SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY

THE history of the institution of Freemasonry is naturally divided into two distinct yet closely connected periods. The first period embraces the history of Operative Freemasonry; the second that of Speculative Freemasonry.

But the first of these periods did not pass at once and, as it were, by a leap into the second. The change which took place was a gradual one. The steps which led from the one to the other were almost imperceptible. The progress was slow and gradual. There was a time when all Freemasonry was purely Operative, and there was a time when it became solely Speculative. We have abundant facts to prove this statement. But it is impossible from any records in our possession to define the precise epoch when the change took place.

The naturalist with all the science in his possession is at a loss to determine the precise limits which bound the different kingdoms of nature. The mineral passes by an imperceptible gradation into the vegetable, and the highest species of the vegetable assimilate with a remarkable likeness of organization to the lowest tribes of the animal kingdom. It requires even in this advanced state of science, the largest amount of professional knowledge and experience to determine in certain instances to which division of nature certain specimens rightly belong.

So in the history of the Masonic institution, there are well-marked eras in its annals when we are at no loss to define the distinctive character of its workings. There are again points on the extreme limits of its two periods, when the Operative and the Speculative elements are so intimately connected and clash so confusedly together, like the prismatic colors of the spectrum, that it becomes extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to define the precise line of demarcation.

Thus we know with certainty that the Freemasonry of the 12th century, which had penetrated every country of the Continent of Europe, was wholly Operative, without a particle of the Speculative element in it; we know, too, that the Freemasonry of the 19th century, which prevails over the whole civilized world, is entirely Speculative and has ceased to have any social connection with the Operative Craft.

But at what precise period the Operative art ceased to form a part of the institution of Freemasonry, and when the Speculative science threw off all connection with it, are historical questions which admit hardly of a possible conjecture, certainly not of any positive solution.

A great difficulty which we encounter in the discussion of this subject is that the change from one to the other branch began to assume a distinct form in different countries at different periods.

Thus, in London, Speculative Freemasonry had assumed a distinct and independent form many years before the lodges of Scotland had divested themselves of the Operative influence, and even in the same kingdom there were English lodges in the provinces which mingled Operative and Speculative Freemasonry in their work, long after the former system had been wholly abandoned by the lodges in the Metropolis.

Though it is probable that most readers understand the distinction between Masonry and Freemasonry, it may be well to impress that distinction upon their minds, that during this investigation they may perfectly appreciate the train of reasoning that is pursued.

Masonry is merely the art of building. It has existed from the earliest historic times, when men began to need places of shelter from the inclemency of the seasons, and must continue to exist so long as they require houses for their habitation. With its history we have no concern.

Freemasonry is the art of building connected in its practical operations with a Guild organization. It was always a confraternity or corporation constructed on the plan of a guild, and maintaining throughout all its progress that idea derived first from the Roman Colleges of Artificers, until finally it was merged in the non-operative system of Freemasonry, which exists at the present day and whose history it is the object of the present work to treat.

This distinction, it will be remembered, never ceased to be main-

tained by the Operative Freemasons, who always held themselves aloof as a higher class from the lower body of "rough masons" who were not "free" of the guild.

In pursuing our researches into that indefinable period during which the Operative organization was slowly advancing to a transformation into a Speculative society, it will be necessary that we should first thoroughly understand one of the characteristics which marked the Freemasons of the Middle Ages, and which rendered them unlike every other class of contemporary craftsmen.

This was the admission into their ranks and into full fraternity with them of non-professional persons, whose only claim to a connection with the craft was derived from their learning, their rank, or their wealth, which gave them the means of elevating the character and promoting the interests of the fraternity.

We have seen the existence of the same system in the Roman Colleges of Artificers, who strengthened their corporations by the adoption of men of rank and political influence as Patrons.

The early Freemasons were patronized by the Church, and were engaged almost solely in the construction of religious edifices. Hence there was a close and friendly connection between them and the ecclesiastics of that period. Lodges were for the most part held in the vicinity and under the patronage of monasteries, and the monks were often architects and builders. At a later period, when the Freemasons became independent of monastic influence, the primitive alliance was not completely dissolved, and the clergy, especially in France, in Germany, and in England, were often admitted, though not professional Masons, into the corporation of the Craft. They were among the first of non-masons who received from Operative Lodges the compliment of honorary membership.

The result of thus securing the patronage of bishops and other high ecclesiastics was, of course, favorable to the interests of the corporations of workmen and was, to a great extent, the controlling motive with them, as it had previously been with the Roman Colleges, for introducing into their guild men who were not of the Craft.

It was seen in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the corporations, not only of Masons but of other crafts, having sought to exercise undue power in the cities, incurred the displeasure of the government. Many sanguinary contests ensued, with alternate successes. But

when the Emperors Frederick II. and Henry VII. of Germany sought to end them by abolishing the corporations of workmen, these associations had grown so strong that they were able to successfully resist the Imperial power.[1]

Dr. Anderson, in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* gives repeated instances of bishops, noblemen, and even kings, who were admitted to the privileges of the Craft and exercised authority over the Operative Masons as members and patrons of the guild. But as the accuracy of Anderson as an historian has ceased to be respected through the researches of modern scholars, his authority on this subject need not be pressed. Elias Ashmole, however, whose truthfulness and minuteness as an annalist has never been doubted, furnishes unquestioned instances in which he and other gentlemen had been made members of an Operative Lodge in the 17th century. Nor does he speak of these admissions as if they were of unusual occurrence. Indeed, he leads us, by his silence, to the contrary inference.

But it is in the annals of the lodges of Scotland that we find the most satisfactory history of the rise and progress of the custom of admitting persons who were not Operative Masons as members of the guild. For this we are indebted to the researches of Bro. Murray Lyon, whose *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* is of invaluable use to the scholar who is seeking to trace the authentic history of Freemasonry outside and independent of its mythical elements. To that work I shall have constant occasion to refer in the course of this part of the present investigation.

Lyon says that the earliest authentic record of a non-operative being a member of a Masons' lodge is contained in a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh under date of June 8, 1600, where John Boswell Laird, of Achinflek, is mentioned among the members of the lodge. His name with his mark is signed to the minute with the names and marks of twelve others who evidently were Operative Masons.[2]

But twelve years anterior to that, in 1598, we find that William Schaw, who was also a non-operative,[3] acted as Master of the Work,

[1] Lacroix, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance," tom. iii., Part I., art. 3.

[2] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 51.

[3] Lyon thinks that there is no proof that he was an Operative Mason, and says there can be little doubt that he was an honorary member of the fraternity. "Hist.," p. 56.

and that a year afterward he signed his name to the supplementary statutes issued by him, as "Master of the Work, Warden of the Masons."

His predecessor in that office was a nobleman, and in his own time the Wardenship over the Masons in Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine was held by a country gentleman, the Laird of Udaught, which shows, says Lyon, "that it was not necessary that either appointment should be held by a Craftsman." But there is just reason for inferring that to hold such offices it was necessary to have honorary membership in the fraternity.

At a later period in the 17th century the practice of admitting non-operatives appears to have begun to be common.

In July, 1634, the Lodge of Edinburgh admitted as Fellow-Craft the following gentlemen: Lord Alexander, Viscount Canada, Sir Anthony Alexander, and Sir Alexander Strachan. The two first were sons of the Earl of Stirling, and the last a well-known public man in his time.

"These brethren," says Lyon, "seem from their subsequent attendance in the lodge to have felt an interest in its proceedings. In the month immediately succeeding their initiation they were present, and attested the admission of three Operative Apprentices and one Fellow of Craft. They attended three meetings of the lodge in 1635, one in 1636, and one in 1637. In signing the minute of their own reception each appends a mark to his name.[1]

Throughout the rest of the 17th century there are repeated records in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh of the admission of non-operatives to the rank of Fellow-Crafts and sometimes of Masters.

Thus, in 1637, David Ramsay, a "gentleman of the Privy Chamber," was admitted; in 1638, Henry Alexander, another son of the Earl of Stirling; in 1640, General Alexander Hamilton; in 1667, Sir Patrick Hume; and in 1670, the Right Honorable William Murray, son of Lord Balvaird, and Walter Pringle and Sir John Harper, both members of the Scotch Bar.

It is not necessary to cite any more instances to show that in the 17th century the practice existed of admitting non-operative persons into the brotherhood of the Craft. In the 18th century it had be-

[1] Lyon, p. 86.

come so common as finally to give to the Speculative element a preponderance over the Operative in the fraternity.

The following remarks of Bro. Lyon on the subject of the admission of non-operatives into the membership of the Craft are of great value in connection with this subject:

"It is worthy of remark that with singularly few exceptions, the non-operatives who were admitted to Masonic fellowship in the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning during the 17th century were persons of quality, the most distinguished of whom, as the natural result of its metropolitan position, being made in the former lodge. Their admission to fellowship in an institution composed of operative Masons associated together for purposes of their craft, would in all probability originate in a desire to elevate its position and increase its influence, and once adopted the system would further recommend itself to the Fraternity, by the opportunities which it presented for cultivating the friendship and enjoying the society of gentlemen, to whom, in ordinary circumstances, there was little chance of their ever being personally known.

"On the other hand, non-professionals connecting themselves with the lodge by the ties of membership would, we believe, be actuated partly by a disposition to reciprocate the feelings which had prompted the bestowal of the fellowship, partly by curiosity to penetrate the arcana of the Craft, and partly by the novelty of the situation as members of a secret society and participants in its ceremonies and festivities."[1]

The members thus admitted received various designations, such as "Gentlemen Masons," "Theoretical Masons," "Geomatic Masons," and "Honorary Members." The use of these terms evidently shows that the Working Masons—the "Domatic Masons,"[2] as Lyon styles them—recognized that there was a very palpable dif-

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 81.

[2] The words domatic, used for an Operative Mason, and geomatic, for a Theoretic Mason, I have met with only in the work of Bro. Lyon. They are not to be found in the Scottish dictionary of Jamieson, nor in any English Dictionary from Phillips to Webster. Neither are they used in any of the old Constitutions, Scotch or English, nor have I encountered them in any Masonic work that I have read. Lyon derives domatic from the Latin *domus,* a house, and says it means "of or belonging to a house." Geomatic he derives from the Greek *gea,* land, and he says Geomatic Masons were "landed proprietors or men in some way or other connected with agriculture." I do not like the words. I like less the definitions, and still less the etymology.

ference between the two classes of members. It is well to remember this fact, as it supplies one of the motives for the result which afterward occurred in the complete separation of the Speculative from the Operative element.

The Scotch Constitutions of 1598 and 1599 were certainly constructed solely for the government of Operative Masons. Yet there is no prohibition, express or implied, of the admission of non-operatives as members of lodges. The fact that Schaw, the framer of the Constitutions, was himself present at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, where a non-operative took a part in the proceedings, shows that he did not view such admissions as illegal innovations on the usages and laws of the fraternity.

We are not without the requisite information as to the status of these "Honorary Members."

The form of initiation or admission must have differed in some respects from that prescribed for an Operative Mason. The presentation of an "essay" or Master-piece of work, as a trial of skill, must have been dispensed with in the case of candidates whose previous education and profession had not supplied them with the necessary mechanical knowledge.

"It can not now be ascertained," says Bro. Lyon, "in what respect the ceremonial preceding the admission of theoretical, differed from that observed in the reception of practical Masons; but that there was some difference is certain, from the inability of non-professionals to comply with the tests to which Operatives were subjected ere they could be passed as Fellows of Craft. The former class of entrants would, in all likelihood, be initiated into a knowledge of the legendary history of the Mason Craft, and have the Word and such other secrets communicated to them as was necessary to their recognition as brethren."[1]

At first they were not chargeable with admission fees; but in 1727, when an attempt was made to exclude them on account of this exemption, a fee of one guinea was exacted as entrance money. But this was done at so late a period that we may infer that exemption from fees was the usage with respect to all "Theoretic Masons," while the lodges were purely Operative in character.

Notwithstanding this exemption, Theoretic Masons were quali-

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 82.

fied to hold the highest office in the lodge. Lyon says that "for a time the occupancy of the chair alternated between the two grand classes into which its membership was divided. Though to Speculative concurrence the Operative section owed the more frequent possession of the coveted honor."[1]

In Scotland the Operatives and Speculatives do not appear to have lived always in peace and concord; some jealousy seems to have existed at times, which finally culminated in the year 1727 in an attempt by the Operatives to exclude Theoretical Masons from the lodge. "Exclusion" is the word used by Lyon, by which I suppose he means not only the expulsion of the Theoretic Masons who had been already admitted, but also the discontinuance in future of the custom of admitting them.

The attempt did not succeed. Speculative Masonry was already the preponderating element in the lodges, which a few years afterward abandoned in Scotland, as they had long before done in England, the Operative character.

It is admitted that the earliest authentic record of the admission of "Gentlemen Masons" into the lodges of England, or in other words the introduction of the Speculative element, occurred in 1646, when Elias Ashmole, the celebrated antiquary, and Colonel Henry Mainwaring were made "Free-Masons" in a lodge at Warrington in Lancashire.

But it does not, by any means, follow, because this is the first recorded instance, that Theoretical Masons had not been admitted in England long before. But the records have not come down to us, because of the loss or disappearance of the ancient minute books of the English Operative lodges.

"Why," says Bro. W. J. Hughan, "so many minute books are still preserved in Scotland, dating long before the institution of the Grand Lodge, even some in the 17th century, and yet scarcely any are to be found in England, seems inexplicable."[2]

We have a right to presume, judging by the usages of the sister kingdom, that the initiation of Ashmole and Mainwaring in 1646 was not the introduction of a new custom, but only the continuation of an old one.

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[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 201.

[2] "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 19.

If we have not the names of those gentlemen who had previously been admitted to the fellowship of English lodges, it is because the records are not extant.

Many brave heroes, says the Roman poet, have lived before Agamemnon, but they have died unwept, because there was no poet to sing their deeds.

The same thing may be said of the corporations and lodges of France and Germany. Though the records are not extant, we have collateral evidence that in both of them, as well as in other countries of the Continent, Theoretical or Honorary Members were admitted among the Operative craftsmen.

We may therefore lay it down as an authentic historical statement, which if not supported in other places as in Scotland by positive testimony, is yet sustained by the strongest logical inference, that from the earliest period Speculative Masons who were not practical workmen, builders, or architects, began to be admitted into the ranks of the Operative Craft. As time passed on the number of these Speculatives increased, as in the nature of things must have occurred, until they predominated over the Operatives. Finally, when this predominance became sufficiently powerful, the control of Freemasonry passed into their hands, and as a necessary result the institution ceased to be Operative and became wholly Speculative in its character.

The terms "Gentleman Mason," "Theoretical Mason," and "Honorary Member," formerly employed to distinguish a non-Operative from an Operative, are no longer in use. For them has been substituted the word "Speculative." The thing itself was in existence long before the word which was to define it.

The first place in which we find the word Speculative in connection with Masonry is in the Cooke MS., whose conjectural date is about 1490. In this document it is said that the youngest son of King Athelstan, being a master of the Speculative science of geometry or masonry, added to it by his connection with the Craft of Masons a knowledge of the practical science.[1]

It must be admitted, as Bro. Cooke says, that "no book or

[1] He "lovyd well the sciens of Gemetry and he wyst well that hand craft had the practyke of the sciens of Gemetry so well as masons wherefore he drewe hym to conseil and lernyd practyke of that sciens to his speculatyf. For of speculatyfe he was a master and he lovyd well masonry and masons."—Cooke MS., lines 615, 626.

writing so early as this manuscript has yet been discovered in which Speculative Masonry is mentioned."[1] It is equally certain that the word appears to have been used in the sense given to it at the present day, and the writer of the manuscript drew a distinction between Practical or Operative and Speculative Masonry.

The word, however, is not repeated in any of the subsequent Constitutions, and we do not hear of it again until the time of Preston, who is the first to give its definition in these words:

"Masonry passes and is understood under two denominations; it is operative and speculative. By the former we allude to the useful rules of architecture, whence a structure derives figure, strength, and beauty, and whence result a due proportion and just correspondence in all its parts. By the latter we learn to subdue the passions, act upon the square, keep a tongue of good report, maintain secrecy, and practice charity."[2]

The lexicographers define Speculative as opposed to Practical. Hence, "Speculative Masons," the term used at the present day, is precisely synonymous with "Theoretic Masons," the term which was applied by the Scotch Masons of the 16th and 17th centuries to those persons who were admitted into their lodges though they had no practical knowledge of the Operative art of building.

In contemplating that period in the history of Freemasonry when the institution was gradually preparing for the important change in its organization from an Operative Art to a Speculative Science, which period may be called, borrowing a term from the language of geology, the transition period, we must first properly appreciate what was its real condition just previous to the change.

In the first place, we find that before the present organization of Grand and Subordinate Lodges, the Society was an Operative one whose members were actually engaged in the manual labor of building, as well as in the more intellectual task of architecture or the designing of plans.

But not every man who was engaged in building or in handling stones was a member of this society or entitled to its privileges. In every country were two distinct and well-recognized classes of workmen.

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[1] Cooke MS., lines 615, 626, note K.

[2] Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 2d edit., p. 19. In subsequent editions he enlarged the phraseology without materially changing the sense.

In Germany the Craftsman (*Werkmann*) of the Corporation was distinguished from the *Maurer* or wall builder, the man who simply hewed and set stones. The Craftsman, the Stonecutter, was employed in the higher walks of the art. These Craftsmen formed a fraternity of themselves, and no workman was permitted to work with a Mason who was not a member, except under special circumstances which were provided for by the regulations. These facts are well authenticated in the Strasburg and other German Ordinances.

In France, the regulations of Etienne Boileau prescribe a similar difference between the Masons and Stonecutters who were members of the Corporation and those who were not. The former could employ the latter only as assistants and servants (*aides et vallis*), but were forbidden to instruct them in any of the secrets of the mystery or trade.

In Scotland the Masons of the Guild, who were called, certainly as early as the middle of the 17th century, Freemasons,[1] were distinguished from the Masons who were not "free of the Guild," and who were called "Cowans," a term which has been preserved in the ritual of modern Speculative Freemasonry with a similar meaning. With the Cowans the Freemasons were forbidden to work.

In England the distinction was between Masons or Freemasons and "Rough layers," and the same prohibition as to fellowship in labor prevailed there that did in other countries.

Though all were Operative workmen and all were engaged in the practical art of building, there was in every country a broad line of demarcation between the Freemasons who were instructed in the highest principles of the art and the lower class of Masons, who were without any pretension to a knowledge of the sciences of architecture and geometry which were cultivated by the higher class.

"Those only," said the Strasburg builders, with an excusable pride in their elevated position, "shall be Masters who can design and erect costly edifices and works for the execution of which they are authorized and privileged, nor shall they be compelled to work with any other craftsmen."[2]

But this higher class of Freemasons were, as we have already

[1] See Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 79.

[2] "Strasburg Constitutions," art. 2.

seen, divided also into two classes, the Operative and the non-Operative members of the Guild, Corporation, or Fraternity.

It is not difficult to suppose how this division into two classes originally arose. In the earliest times of the society of Freemasons it was closely connected with and under the patronage of the Church. Among its practical members were often monks who were skilled in the manual labor of the Craft, and the architectural designs for the construction of Cathedrals and monasteries were often drawn by bishops or abbots who were well skilled in the theory of architecture. These sometimes from choice, and sometimes from necessity, in consequence of the intimate relations they held with it, became members of the Fraternity.

Subsequently, when the Operative Masons had released themselves from the rule of their ecclesiastical superiors and had established an independent brotherhood, they found it politic, if not positively necessary, to secure the patronage of wealthy nobles, and men of rank and science, who by their social position secured protection to the association and elevated its character.

The same process had occurred in the Roman Colleges of Artificers, from whose peculiar organization the Freemasons had derived the idea of their own.

Thus it happened that the Fraternity of Freemasons consisted from the very earliest period of its history of two classes, the Operative Masons who did the work, and the Theoretic, or, as we now call them, the Speculative Masons.

The word "Speculative," as has been already shown, is of very modern origin. If the single passage in the Cooke MS. be excepted, it is never met with in any Masonic writing until after the organization of Grand Lodges.

I use it, in the present work, as a mere matter of convenience, because it is most familiar to the general reader as a recent synonym of the old word "Theoretic."

Thus there always existed, we may say, from the earliest times, so far as we can trace authentic history, two classes of Freemasons, namely, Operative and Speculative.

The Speculative Masons, however, though very definitely distinguished after the separation of the Fraternity from its monastic connections, from the Operative, by their want of practical skill, did not form an independent and distinct class.

In the lodges into which they were admitted they mingled with the members on a common footing. We presume that this was the case in all countries; we know that it was so in Scotland. They underwent a modified initiation into membership, in which of course the presentation of an essay, piece, or *chef d'œuvre* was omitted; they assisted in the admission of new members, took part in the deliberations of the society on affairs of business, voted, and even held office.

Starting with our inquiries from the time when the Fraternity dissolved its connection with the monasteries, where it really played the rôle of a subordinate, we may well suppose that at first the number of these Speculative Masons or Honorary members must have been very small.

But they never could have been an insignificant element. The Operative Masons held the ascendency in members, but the Speculative Masons must have always exerted a powerful influence by their better culture, their wealth, and their higher social position.

These two elements of Freemasonry continued to exist together for a very long period of time. But at length, from causes which must be attributed to the increasing power and influence of the Speculative element, as well as to intellectual progress, there came a total and permanent disseverance of the two.

The precise time of this disseverance must be placed at the beginning of the 18th century, though it is evident that for some years previously the feeling which eventually led to it must have been gradually growing. The men of culture and science who were in constant communion with their operative associates, were getting dissatisfied with a society of mechanics who had lost much of that skill as architects which had given so bright a reputation to their predecessors of the Middle Ages, and who were now not very much superior to the "Cowans," the "wall builders," and the "rough layers" whom these skillful predecessors had so much contemned—contemned so much that the Freemasons would not work in common with them on the same building.

The first act of severance occurred in England in the year 1717, when the Grand Lodge of "Free and Accepted Masons" was organized, an event that has been very generally designated by Masonic writers by the rather questionable title of the Revival.

This was followed nineteen years afterward by the organization of the Grand Lodge of Scotland with similar methods.

Both of these bodies were formed by lodges that were Operative, but in each case the Operative character was abandoned, and the Grand Lodges and the lodges under them became entirely Speculative; that is to say, they ceased to cultivate practical Masonry, and were composed for the most part of members who were totally ignorant of the Mystery of the handicraft of building.

In other countries the process of disseverance did not take place according to the English and Scottish method. Elsewhere than in those two countries the organization of Freemasonry as it prevailed in the Middle Ages had long ceased to exist.

In France the *Corporations des Metiers* and in Germany the *Hütten* had been abolished, though in both countries the Stonemasons still continued to maintain an organization, which, however, was outside of the law, and without legal protection or recognition.

But we must look for the real causes of the change from Operative to Speculative Masonry to England, for it was in that country that the change was first developed and consummated.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REMOTE CAUSES OF THE TRANSITION

THE transition from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry was not a spontaneous and sudden act, commencing and completing itself by an instantaneous movement, through which that which was the peculiar characteristic of the institution was at once changed into another and entirely different one.

On the contrary, the epoch of the change can not be precisely determined within the period of six years at least during which the Speculative Masons were engaged in slowly perfecting it. The fortress of Operative Freemasonry, which had derived its strength from its comparative antiquity and from the imperishable labors of the mediaeval architects, was not to be taken by storm. It was only by gradual approaches that its stronghold in the lodges was to be overcome.

We are not to suppose that on that eventful festival of St. John the Baptist, when the members of the Four Old Lodges of the Metropolis of England met at the Goose and Gridiron, and elected for the first time a Grand Master to preside in their new organization, that the special and well-understood design of that meeting was at once to change the entire character of the fraternity.

The fact is that the beginning of the 18th century was in England, and more especially in London, the age of clubs. We shall soon see how associations of men for all sorts of purposes, but principally for convivial ones, were established in that city.

Now the Masonic lodges, consisting as they did and as they had done for many years past of professional Masons and of non-professional gentlemen, and the latter preponderating, perhaps in numbers, certainly in influence, would seem to have afforded an admirable opportunity, by their coalition into one body, for the establishment of a club of the very highest rank, one indeed of a

rank and prestige very far superior to that of the obscure and often ridiculous coteries of that day, such as the "No Nose Club," or the "Ugly Faced Club."

We know that for many years previous to 1717 the Operative lodges contained many non-operative or "Gentlemen Masons," and that outside of London and its suburbs this condition lasted for many years afterward. And yet during all that period we have no record of any attempt on the part of the latter to infuse a Speculative element into those lodges.

Even the organization of the Grand Lodge on St. John the Baptist's day, 1717, does not seem, if we may judge from the meager details of that event which Anderson has transmitted to us, to have been intended to accomplish at once a total severance of the Speculative from the Operative element. The "Charges of a Freemason," which were adopted in 1718, for the government of the new form of the institution, were only a collation of the old laws which had formerly regulated the Operative lodges, and were wholly inapplicable to a system from which practical Masonry had been eliminated.

Nor was there any pretense that these were new laws, framed for a new society. It was thus acknowledged that the old Constitutions of the Operative were to be preserved. The disruption was not to be suddenly effected. Anderson, recording the transactions of 1718, under the Grand Mastership of George Payne, says that "this year several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated."[1]

The preservation and publication of these "charges" as the standard of Masonic law very clearly show that at that time the thought of a purely Speculative institution, fully dissolved from any association with Operative Masonry, had not yet entered the minds of those who were engaged in the establishment of a Grand Lodge.

The most that we can say of their ulterior views at that early period, was that they intended to enforce, with greater rigor, the usage which had long before prevailed, and to interpret with the utmost liberality the standing regulation which admitted persons who were not Masons by profession to the privileges of the Society.

It was not until 1721, four years after the organization of the

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d ed., p. 110.

Grand Lodge, that a set of "General Regulations," which had been compiled by Payne the year before, were adopted, which were applicable to the requirements of a purely Speculative association, in which the Operative element was wholly ignored.

It will be seen hereafter, when the early records of the Grand Lodge are brought under review, that though no Operative Mason was ever elected Grand Master, yet until the year 1723 that class was recognized by being chosen to the high office of Grand Warden on several occasions.

After that year the Operative Masons appear to have retired either voluntarily or involuntarily from all prominence, and probably from all participation in the concerns of the Society. It had by this time assumed a thoroughly speculative character; its laws and usages were such as were appropriate to a non-operative system; and its offices were given only to noblemen, to scholars, and to men of high social position.

The immediate cause of these changes has with very great certainty been attributed to the efforts of three persons—John Theophilus Desaguliers, a philosopher, James Anderson, a clergyman, and George Payne, an antiquary. To them are we to attribute the influences which gradually but successfully led between the years 1717 and 1723 to the complete separation of the Speculative from the Operative Order, and to the birth of that system which, after many subsequent accretions, modifications, and improvements, has been developed into the widely extended Freemasonry of the present day.

But there were other causes in operation which assisted in the accomplishment of those results, in which these celebrated persons played so important a part, and without which their labors would hardly have been successful.

The first and perhaps the most important event which prepared the way for the transition was the decadence of architecture in England, where in the 17th century the principles of the Gothic style with all its symbolism began to give way to the corrupt forms of the Renaissance, which was a revival of the Roman style. It was on Gothic architecture that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages had founded that school of symbolism which gave to every stone a living voice, and supported the claim of the Fraternity to the elevated position which it had long held above all other handicrafts.

But when the Craft had abandoned this so long honored art and the lodges ceased to be, as Lord Lyndsay has called them, "parliaments of genius," there must have been some, as there are now, who deplored the change from high to low taste, and who were anxious to perpetuate, if not the practical part of the art, as it has been pursued by the Gothic Masons, at least to preserve the spirit of symbolism which had been in mediaeval times its principal and peculiar characteristic.

Thus the way was gradually prepared in the 17th century for that spiritualizing of the labors and implements of Operative Masonry which resulted finally, after many slow steps, in the formation of that system of purely symbolic Masonry which exists at the present day, wholly distinct from the body of working Masons.

The science of symbolism had been originally practiced only by the Church and by the Gothic Freemasons. When it had been abandoned in the former by the Reformation and in the latter by the decay of architecture, it was still preserved in some of its forms, not in all its excellence, by the Rosicrucian society which sprung into existence in the 17th century. Though the mystical association of Rosicrucianism was not, in any way, connected with Freemasonry, it can not be doubted that it played an important part in inspiring many members of the Masonic lodges of Operative Masonry with a renewed taste for the mystical symbolism of their predecessors, which in its progressive cultivation led to the inauguration of a purely symbolic association founded on architecture.

Another important cause is to be found in the intellectual revolution which took place in the 17th century, and toward which the Reformation in religion had contributed essential aid. The writings of Bacon had produced a school of experimental philosophy in England, one result of which was the organization of the Royal Society, in whose bosom a race of thinkers was nursed who, in their search for the attainment of knowledge, were ever ready to convert an art such as Operative Masonry into a Speculative Science.

At one time it was a favorite theory with some Masonic historians that the origin of Speculative Freemasonry was to be traced to the Royal Society. Though the theory was a fallacious one, as has been shown in a preceding part of this work, its very existence proves that that Society must, in an indirect way, have had some

influence upon the birth and the growth of the Speculative institution.

It is singularly pertinent to this question that Dr. Desaguliers, to whom, beyond all other men, we must ascribe the organization of Speculative Freemasonry in England, was a distinguished experimental philosopher of the Baconian school and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

It can not, however, be doubted that as the low state of morals, the general depression of learning, and the decay of art, which distinguished the close of the 17th century, had a very unfavorable effect on the character of Operative Masonry; so the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of England, and the cultivation of a refinement in literature and science which sprang up soon after the beginning of the 18th century, must have awakened a new spirit in the thinkers of the age.

Dr. Oliver, in an essay on this subject,[1] attributes this revolution principally to the influence of Addison, Steele, and the other periodical writers of the day. He quotes the opinion of Foster,[2] who had said that "it is incredible to conceive the effect these writings have had on the town; . . . they have set all our wits and men of letters upon a new way of thinking of which they had little or no notion before." Hence Oliver says, "It will not be conceding too much to the influence of these immortal productions, if we admit that the Revival of Freemasonry in 1717 was owing, in a great measure, to their operation on public taste and public morality."[3]

As of the two most important and effective of these periodical essays by Steele and Addison, the *Tatler* was begun in 1709, and the *Spectator* in 1711, while the organization of the Grand Lodge which was the prelude to the establishment of Speculative Freemasonry has the date of 1717, the inference of Oliver as to their influence will hardly be deemed untenable.

Another cause leading directly to the establishment of Speculative Freemasonry has been adduced by Kloss in his German work

[1] Introductory Dissertation on the State of Freemasonry in the 18th century, affixed to his edition of Hutchinson's "Spirit of Masonry," p. 5.

[2] Essays, in a series of "Letters to a Friend," by John Foster.

[3] Intro. Dissertation, p, 6.

on the *History of Freemasonry in France,* which is well worth consideration. He says:

"When Wren had completed the building of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, in 1708, and thus the workmen had no common center remaining, their corporate customs, like those of many other bodies, would, in the course of time, have been lost and wiped away, if the brotherhood had not been sustained as such by the power of that ancient addition—the non-professional members, taken from the various grades of society. The religious contentions, which had prevailed for two centuries, were at last compelled to recede before the spirit of toleration. Hence the necessity of some place of rest, where political discussions could not enter, was the cause and the reason for the formation and adoption of, about the year 1716, an organized system, then first appearing as Freemasonry."[1]

Of the correctness of two assertions made in this paragraph we have convincing proofs. The decay of the Operative branch of Freemasonry is evident, since, according to Oliver, there were in 1688 only seven lodges in existence, and of them there were but two that held their meetings regularly.[2] There was some improvement at the beginning of the next century, which, however, it would be but fair to attribute to the influence and the energy of the honorary or non-professional members.

In respect to the question of religious toleration, it is very evident that in the matter of a creed there was a very great difference between the two systems, the Operative and the Speculative. The early Operative Freemasons were, of course, Roman Catholics. After the Reformation in England they became Protestants, but strict adherents to the church. This is apparent from the older and the more recent Constitutions.[3]

There was another cause which must have exercised a very potent influence in hastening the establishment of a Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasonry. This was the universal passion for the formation of clubs which took possession of the English people toward the close of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century.

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[1] "Geschichte der Freimaurer in Frankreiche," i., 13.

[2] Introductory Essay on the State of Freemasonry.

[3] In the oldest of the Old Constitutions which are extant, the Halliwell poem, there are directions for hearing Mass.

The word Club, as signifying a society or assembly of persons each contributing his share of the expenses, came into the English language, as the thing itself did into English social customs, at the period specified. Dryden is the first writer who speaks of political clubs, but the word is in familiar use in the pages of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. These new organizations had in a short time become so important as to claim a place in literary history; and in 1709 a work of some magnitude was published in London, entitled *The Secret History of Clubs, particularly of the Golden Fleece. With their Original: And the Characters of the most noted Members thereof.*[1]

Dr. Oliver, to whose indefatigable industry and research (however they were sometimes illy regulated) we are indebted for an admirable *Essay on the Usages and Customs of Symbolical Masonry in the 18th Century*,[2] supplies us with the following information on the subject of Clubs:

"The 18th century was distinguished by the existence of numerous local institutions, which periodically congregated together different classes of society, for divers purposes, the chief of which appears to have been the amusement of an idle hour, when the business of the day was ended. Few of these ephemeral societies aimed at a higher flight. Some met weekly, while the members of others assembled every evening. Each profession and calling had its club, and in large towns the trade of every street was not without its means of thus killing the evening hour.

"Such societies embraced every class of persons, from the noble to the beggar; and whatever might be a man's character or disposition, he would find in London a club that would square with his ideas. If he were a tall man, the tall club was ready to receive him; if short, he would soon find a club of dwarfs; if musically inclined, the harmonic club was at hand; was he fond of late hours, he joined the owl club; if of convivial habits, he would find a free and easy in every street; if warlike, he sought out the lumber troopers; if a buck of the first water, he joined the club of choice spirits; and if sober and quiet, the humdrum. If nature had favored him with a gigantic proboscis, an unsightly protuberance on his shoulders, or

[1] I give this title on the authority of Dr. Kloss. It is numbered 237 in his Bibliography der Freimaurerei, and is said to have extended to 392 octavo pages.

[2] Prefixed to the third volume of his "Golden Remains."

any other striking peculiarity, he would have no difficulty in finding a society to keep him in countenance."[1]

Before the middle of the century the number of clubs had increased amazingly. Dermott gives in his *Ahiman Rezon* the names of thirty-eight, besides "many others not worth notice."[2]

Most of these clubs were of a convivial character. There were, however, some whose members aimed at higher pursuits and devoted themselves to the cultivation of art, science, and literature. It must not be forgotten that the Royal Society was originally formed on the pattern of a club.

Dermott mentions a circumstance connected with these clubs which is worthy of notice as showing the popularity of Freemasonry at the time, and the existence then, as at the present day, of societies which sought to imitate its forms, if not always its principles.

"Several of these Clubs or Societies," he says, "have, in imitation of the free-masons, called their club by the name of lodge, and their president by the title of grand master or most noble grand."[3]

Addison, speaking in the *Spectator* of these associations, says:

"Man is said to be a social animal, and as an instance of it we may observe that we take all occasions and pretenses of forming ourselves into those little nocturnal assemblies which are commonly known as clubs. When a set of men find themselves agree in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a kind of fraternity and meet once or twice a week on account of such a fantastic resemblance."[4]

The presumption will not, then, be a violent one that the first successful effort toward a secession from Operative Freemasonry, must have been stimulated by the usage among men of all classes, in the early part of the last century, of inaugurating separate societies or clubs.

The meeting in 1716 consisting of honorary or non-professional members of the London Operative lodges, being held, too, at a tavern, as was the custom with all clubs, might very properly and with the utmost respect, be looked upon as a club of the highest class. This club of scientific and literary gentlemen who were desirous of separating from the coarser and less intellectual materials

[1] "On the Usages and Customs of Symbolic Masonry in the 18th Century," page 2.
[2] "Ahiman Rezon," p. xii. [3] "Ahiman Rezon," ut supra. [4] *Spectator,* No. IX.

which composed the lodges of practical Masons, was not long afterward, in June, 1717, resolved into a Grand Lodge, the mother of all the Speculative lodges in the world, Scotland excepted, just as the club of philosophers who first met in the latter part of the preceding century, was finally developed into the Royal Society, the most prominent institution of learning in England.[1]

That such was the opinion of the learned Dr. Oliver may be justly inferred from the language used by him in his essay *On the Usages and the Customs of Symbolical Masonry in the 18th Century.* Speaking of the character of the Clubs in which conviviality appears to have been always carried to an excess, he says:

"There was, however, one society in that period, which, if it did indulge its members with the enjoyment of decent refreshment, had a standing law which provided against all excess; declaring that 'they ought to be moral men, good husbands, good parents, good sons, and good neighbors, not staying too long from home, and avoiding all excess.' This society was Freemasonry; the exclusive character of which excited the envy of all other periodical assemblies of convivial men."[2]

Five causes appear to have been instrumental in producing that separation of the Speculative from the Operative element in Freemasonry which led to the organization of the Grand Lodge of England and to the establishment of the present system. These, which have been fully treated in the present chapter, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The gradual decay of Gothic architecture and the abandonment of scientific methods by the Operative Masons.

2. The intellectual revolution in Europe, which led to the more general cultivation of science and literature.

3. The loss of a common center and a commencing disintegration of the Operative Masons in England, after their last great work, the Cathedral of St. Paul's, had been finished.

4. The growing desire among men of culture and refinement to

[1] From the year 1716, when the Speculative Masons first met at the Apple Tree Tavern, until June, 1717, when the Grand Lodge was organized at the Goose and Gridiron, a period of more than six months elapsed. During that time it is not unreasonable to suppose, from contemporary custom, that the members met under a club organization. But this subject will be fully discussed in a future chapter.

[2] "On Usages and Customs," etc., p. 7.

establish an association from which the spirit of political partisanship and of religious intolerance should be banished.

5. And, lastly, the social example given in the beginning of the 18th century by the universal formation of clubs and private societies for all sorts of purposes.

But none of these causes could have been productive of a society of philosophers whose formulas of instruction were derived from the principles of Operative Masonry, had not the way been prepared for the establishment of such a society by relations which had previously existed between the two elements.

To this subject I shall accordingly invite the attention of the reader in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WAY PREPARED FOR THE TRANSITION

THE very great change from an Operative art to a Speculative Science, by which the whole practical character of the former was abandoned and a system of philosophy was established on its basis, could never have been accomplished by any human efforts, if there had not been some previous provision, which, though undesigned originally for that purpose, rendered the transition from the one to the other practicable, if not easy of execution.

In the process of locomotion, the act of removal from one point to another can not be effected unless there be a pathway which will render the removal possible. If there be no pathway, there can be no removal; and the more direct the pathway is, and the less it is encumbered by obstructions, the more readily will the removal be accomplished.

So in the intellectual transmutation of an old society into a new one, it is just as necessary that there should be a way prepared by which the change may be effected. The old society may be of such a nature that it would be impossible to convert it into the contemplated new society. The design and objects of the former might be such as to be antagonistic even, and not favorable to the transformation.

Thus it would be impossible to convert a guild of Weavers or of Mercers into an association having the character of a lodge of Speculative Freemasons. The way is not open to such a conversion. The foundation-stone upon which the system of modern Freemasonry is built must have been a fraternity of Operative Builders in stone. It is useless to look for it elsewhere, because the symbolism of Freemasonry is derived altogether from the art of architecture.

This is the best reason that we possess for the rejection of the

theory that the origin of Freemasonry is to be sought in the ancient mysteries of Egypt, of Greece, or of Persia. There is no passable way leading from these Mysteries to Speculative Freemasonry. In the secret doctrines and in the usages of these Mysteries we find no reference to architecture. They were simply systems intended to teach in a mystical way what they supposed to be religious truth. Their organization was so different from that on which the Freemasonry of the present day is based, that we can find no road directly connecting the two.

Those who have sought to make the Speculative Freemasons the legitimate descendants of the Crusaders and the Knights Templars, must meet with the same difficulty in connecting the two. Military associations could never give rise to sodalities, all of whose principles are those of peace and brotherly love. It would have been utterly impossible to transform a camp of knights in armor, thirsting for the blood of their Saracen foes, into a peaceful lodge of Freemasons, engaged, as the French song says, in erecting temples for virtue and dungeons for vice.

It is true that at a later period, when Craft Masonry was supplied with new rituals and when what are called the high degrees were invented, a great deal of dogma was borrowed from or rather found to be identical as to the unity of God and the immortality of the soul with those of the ancient Mysteries, and something like the usages of chivalry was introduced into the developed system of Freemasonry.

But the Speculative Freemasonry which at the beginning of the 18th century was boldly separated from the Operative Masonry, within which it had quietly slept, waiting patiently for its time of birth, knew nothing—recognized nothing—imitated nothing of the Mysteries of Osiris, of Dionysus, or of Mithras, and cared still less for the daring deeds of the warriors of Palestine.

In 1716, when the resolve was first made to segregate Speculative from Operative Freemasonry, and in 1717, when that resolve was carried into effect by the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, those who undertook the enterprise, looked only to the usages and principles of the English Stonemasons for the pattern on which they were to construct the new edifice in which they were thereafter to dwell. Hence it is that the pure, Speculative Freemasonry at its origin borrowed and spiritualized, not the sacred baskets and

phallic emblems of the Mysteries, nor the glittering swords and invincible armor of the Crusaders, but the working tools and professional phrases of the sodality of builders, whence they sprang.

They even, in deference to and in memorial of their descent, preserved the name of the association to which they thus unequivocally ascribed their origin.

They did not profess to be Free Mystagogues or Hierophants, nor Free Knights, but simply, as they then spelt the word, Free Masons, Builders free of the Guild, who still continued to build. They only transmuted the material cathedral, where God was to be worshipped in all the splendor of art, to the spiritual temple of the heart, where the same worship was to be continued in purity and truth.

It is true that we thus materially abridge the pretensions of the institution to a profound antiquity. But unfounded claims never win honor or respect from the honest inquirer. If we were disposed to treat the rise and progress of Freemasonry as a romance, we might indulge the imagination in its wildest flights, with no other object than to make the narrative interesting. But as the purpose is to write a history, we must confine ourselves to authenticated facts, and take the result, whatever it may be, without reservation.

Accepting, then, as true the theory that the Freemasons who commenced the organization of the Speculative system in the year 1716 at the "Apple Tree" Tavern in London, and afterward completed it in 1717 at the "Goose and Gridiron," framed their association after the model of the Stonemasons of the Middle Ages, whose fraternity was still preserved, though in a degenerated form, in the four Operative Lodges of London, we must inquire what were the circumstances that prepared the founders of the new Order which they were instituting for this transition from an Operative art to a purely Speculative science? We must go over the road which they traversed in making the transition from one system to the other.

If we carefully inspect the organizations of the two associations, we will observe that while between them there are some very important differences, there were, on the other hand, some equally important resemblances.

The differences present that well-marked line of demarcation which gave to each an independent individuality. They show that there have been two very distinct fraternities, while the resemblances

between the two, directly considered, show also the dependence of one upon the other and the relation that existed between them.

The differences between them were only three, and were as follows:

1. The mediaeval Freemasons were exclusively a body of Operative builders. They admitted, it is true, as honorary members a class of persons who were not stonemasons by profession. This did not, however, in the slightest degree affect the purely Operative character of the institution.

The modern Speculative Freemasons are not Operative builders. No member is necessarily a stonemason. Stonemasons, it is true, are admitted into the brotherhood, just as persons of any other Craft may be, if morally and intellectually qualified.

2. The mediæval Freemasons constituted a guild which was restricted to men of one peculiar handicraft. No one could be admitted into the guild except the Honorary Members, or Theoretic Masons, as they were sometimes called, unless he had served a long apprenticeship to the mystery, extending from one to seven years.

The Speculative Freemasons have no such provision in their Constitution. Although they derive their existence from an association of Stonemasons, and though they preserve much of the language and use all the implements of Operative Masonry in their own association, yet men of every craft and profession, and men without either, are freely admitted, without distinction, into their Brotherhood.

3. Another difference is in the religious character of the two associations. This difference is a very important one, and has already been assigned as one of the causes that led to the separation.

The mediaeval Masons were at first Roman Catholic, and afterward, when the Reformation had gained a foothold, and become the religion of the country in which they resided, the Freemasons professed to be Protestants, but in all their regulations a strict allegiance to the Church was required. The mediæval Operative Freemasons all professed and maintained the Christian religion.

But one of the first acts of the Speculative Freemasons after their organization was to establish a system of toleration in respect to religious doctrines. The Mason was required to be of "that religion in which all men agree." Consequently atheists only were precluded from admission to the Brotherhood. In Speculative

Masonry every member is permitted to enjoy his own peculiar views on religious matters, provided that he does not deny the existence of a personal God and of a future life.

These are the essential differences which exist between the two associations. To counterbalance them, there are several very important and significant resemblances. These are as follows:

1. Both systems had some form of initiation into the Brotherhood, and certain methods of recognition by which one member could make himself known to another. These forms and methods were exceedingly simple in the older fraternity, and varied then as they do now in different countries. They afforded only the germ from which in the newer fraternity was developed, by slow steps, the full fruit of a perfect form of initiation and more complicated methods of recognition.

It must be very evident that when the first movement was inaugurated toward the separation of the Speculative from the Operative element, the existence in the latter of a form of initiation and modes of recognition, however simple they may have been, must have suggested the policy of continuing, and as the organization became more mature, of improving them.

That the Modern Order of Free and Accepted Masons is a secret society, in the meaning usually but not accurately ascribed to that phrase, arises from the fact that the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages were of the same character. Of the fact that the Operative Freemasons were a secret association there is not the least doubt.[1]

If the Operative Masons had not practiced these forms and methods, we may safely infer that nothing of that nature would have been adopted by the Speculative Masons. No other of the contemporary clubs or societies which at that day were springing abundantly into existence had adopted any such methods of organization until a few of them, which were established after the year 1717, such as the Gormagons, followed the example of the Freemasons.

These forms were peculiar to the Operative Freemasons, and that they were adopted by the Speculatives is one of the strongest

[1] "So studiously did they conceal their secrets," says Halliwell, "that it may be fairly questioned whether even some of those who were admitted into the Society of the (Operative) Freemasons were wholly skilled in all the mysterious portions of the art." —"Archæologia," vol. xxviii., p. 445.

proofs that could be presented that the latter are the direct descendants of the former.

2. Both the Operative and Speculative Freemasons held Geometry in the greatest esteem as being the most important of the sciences. Indeed, in the Old Constitutions, the words were held to be synonymous. The secrets of the mediaeval Architects are admitted to have been geometrical, that is, they consisted in an application of the principles of geometry to the art of building.

Mr. Paley, in a sentence that has heretofore been quoted, says that "it is certain that geometry lent its aid in the planning and designing of buildings . . . which were evidently profound secrets in the keeping of the Freemasons."[1]

When Speculative Freemasonry arose out of the declining condition of the Operative system,[2] this respect for geometry was retained as the basis of the symbolic science, as it had been of the building art. "Right angles, horizontals, and perpendiculars," which had been applied to the construction of edifices, received now a spiritual signification as symbols. But seven years after the organization of Speculative Freemasonry, we find the "Free Masons' Signs" depicted in the oldest ritual extant[3] as acute, obtuse, and right angles. The equilateral triangle which Palfrey says was probably the basis of most of the formations of the Operative Freemasons has become the most sacred of the symbols of their Speculative descendants.

In fact, all the geometrical symbols (and there are very few others) which are found in the rituals of modern Freemasonry, such as the triangle, the square, the right angle, and the forty-seventh problem of Euclid may be considered as the débris of what has been called the "lost secrets" of the old Freemasons. As these founded

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture."

[2] When an allusion is made to the "decline" of Operative Masonry, it must be understood that the reference is to that system of elevated art which was founded and practiced by the Freemasons of the Middle Ages. Pure Masonry, or the mere art of building, is so necessary to the wants of man, that it must flourish in every civilized Society. But there is the same difference between Operative Freemasonry and Operative Masonry as there is between the gorgeous Cathedral erected for God's worship and the unassuming house built for man's dwelling. That Freemasonry in the sense here given was in a declining condition and had "fallen from its high estate" at the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, is the concurrent record of all architectural historians.

[3] "The Grand Mystery Discovered," London, 1724.

their art on the application of the principles of Geometry to the art of building, declaring in their veneration for the science that "there is no handicraft that is wrought by man's hand but it is wrought by geometry," so the Speculative Freemasons, imitating them in that veneration, have drawn from it their most important symbols and announced it in all their rituals to be "the first and noblest of the sciences, and the basis on which the superstructure of Freemasonry is founded."

Of the various links of the chain which connects the Operative Freemasonry of the Middle Ages with the Speculative system of the present times, there is no stronger one than this common cultivation of the science of geometry by both—in the one, as the aid to a style of architecture; in the other, as the foundation of a profound system of symbolism.

Moreover, it supplies an unanswerable objection to the theory which seeks to deduce Freemasonry from the Ancient Mysteries. Between the two this common bond is wanting. The hierophants of Egypt, of Greece, and of Persia presented no geometric teachings in their religious systems, and a modern mystical association which was derived from the Osirian, the Dionysiac, or the Mithraic secret culture, would have been as devoid as its original to any allusions to the science of Geometry.

3. A third point of resemblance is that both the Operative and the Speculative Freemasons cultivated the science of symbolism as an important part of their systems.

There is no one of the resemblances between the mediaeval and the modern Freemasons which is so full of suggestion as to the descent of the one from the other, as is the existence of this fact that a science of symbolism was common to both.

That the Freemasons of the Middle Ages cultivated with consummate taste and skill the science of symbolism and infused its principles in all their works, is an authentic fact of history which admits of no denial. The proofs of this are at hand, and if it were necessary might be readily produced.

Findel, whose iconoclasm as an historian never permits him to accept conclusions without a careful investigation, has contributed his authority to the statement that the German Stonemasons made abundant use of symbols in the prosecution of their art.

According to him the implements, and especially the compasses,

the square, the gavel, and the foot-rule, were peculiar and expressive symbols. Other crafts may have symbolized the instruments of their trade, but the Freemasons, above all others, "had special reason to invest them with a far higher value and to associate them with a spiritual meaning; for it was a holy vocation to which they had devoted themselves. By the erection of a house to God's service, the Master Mason not only perpetuated his own name, but contributed to the glory of the greatest of all Beings by spreading the knowledge of Christianity and by inciting to the practice of Christian virtue and piety."[1]

But it was not to the mere implements of their work that they confined this principle of symbolization. They extended it to the work itself, and every church and cathedral erected by Gothic art is full of the symbolism of architecture. "On all the buildings erected by them," says Findel, "are to be found intimations of their secret brotherhood and of the symbols known to them."

Michelet, the historian of France, always eloquent and florid, becomes especially so when he is referring to the architectural symbolism of the Old Freemasons.

According to him the church, as erected in all the significance of its architectural symbols, is not a mere building of stones, but the material presentation of the Christian drama. "It is," he exclaims, in the fervor of his admiration, "a petrified Mystery, a Passion in stone, or rather the Sufferer himself. The whole edifice, in the austerity of its geometrical architecture, is a living body, a Man. The nave, extending its two arms, is the Man on the cross; the crypt, or subterranean church, is the Man in the tomb; the spire is still the same Man, but above, ascending to heaven; while in the choir obliquely inclining in respect to the nave you see his head bent in agony."[2]

Now this science of symbolism so assiduously and so gracefully cultivated by the mediæval Freemasons was handed down, like an heir-loom, to their modern successors, who in slow process of time developed it into the beautiful system which now forms the vital force of Speculative Freemasonry.

One of the legal and accredited definitions of modern Freemasonry is that it is "a system of morality veiled in allegory and illus-

[1] Findel, "Geschichte," in Lyon's Translation, p. 68.
[2] Michelet, "Histoire de France," liv. iv., ch. ix., p. 364.

trated by symbols."[1] As the architecture of the old Freemasons differed from all other architecture in the symbolism which it impressed on every stone, so the morality of the modern Freemasons differs from every other code in the symbolism with which it clothes its instructions.

But in all fairness it must be confessed that the mere fact that the science of symbolism has been cultivated both by the Operative and Speculative Freemasons furnishes no satisfactory evidence that the one has been derived from the other.

Symbolism was the very earliest method by which men sought to convey religious thought. It is believed, with some share of plausibility, that it existed even in pre-historic times. It was common to all nations, and exercised its influence even in the construction of language, for words are merely the symbols of ideas.

The Phallic, supposed to be the most ancient of all worships, was pre-eminently a religion of symbolism. Much of that symbolism has been retained in modern customs and religious observances, though its origin has been forgotten and its application been perverted.

Nearly all the ancient schools were secret, like that of Pythagoras, and clothed their lessons of wisdom with the covering of symbolism. As with the philosophical, so was it with the religious sects called the Mysteries. Their secret dogmas were concealed beneath symbols and allegories.

It is evident, then, that in regard to the single point of symbolism, the modern Freemasons might as well have derived their symbolic usages from the ancient institutions of philosophy or of religion as from the mediæval builders.

But the symbols which were adopted by the modern Freemasons, in the beginning of the 18th century, under their Speculative system, were all based on geometry and on architecture and on its implements.

Now the symbols of the old Operative Freemasons were of precisely the same character. Geometry and architecture were the foundation of both of them.

But the hierophants and mystagogues of the Pagan mysteries employed, in the illustration of their doctrines, symbols, like the

[1] English Lectures of Dr. Hemming, adopted by the Grand Lodge of England.

phallus, or the serpent, that had no connection whatsoever with the art of building or with the science of mathematics. It is evident that the Speculative Freemasons, when they were instituting their new Society as "a system of morality which was to be illustrated by symbols," could not have derived any suggestions from the Pagan mysteries.

The winged globe or the handled cross of the Egyptians, the mystic van of Eleusis, and the bleeding bull of the rites of Mithras found no place as symbols in the system of the first Speculative Masons.

It is true that at a later period, and especially after the invention of what are called the "high degrees," the original ritual was supplemented by the addition of many symbols culled from these ancient sources.

Among the Operative Freemasons there were also a few symbols which were not connected with Geometry or Architecture, which were, it is supposed, borrowed from the Gnostics, with whom these old builders appear to have had some intercourse. But these symbols were chiefly confined to the proprietary marks, and consequently never were incorporated into the ritual of the Speculatives.

But the society which in 1716 seceded or separated from the Operative Lodges of London, and in less than a year after organized the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons," when adopting its unimposing ritual, gave the most ample testimony in its construction of the unmixed influence of an association of builders. The symbolism employed in the beginning by the Speculative Freemasons therefore furnished all the evidence that is necessary, if no other were forthcoming, of their direct descent from the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages.

4. A fourth resemblance between the two associations is found in the fact that both were divided into three classes, bearing the same name, namely, Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices.

In the Operative system these were mere ranks or classes, which do not appear, from any evidence we possess, to have any distinct form of initiation or methods of recognition by which the classes were esoterically separated from each other. In other words, there was no such thing as a series of degrees, as that term is now masonically understood, but only one degree or form of initiation common to all—to the Apprentice as well as to the Master.

This was precisely the system adopted by the Speculative Freemasons at the outspring of the separation. For at least three years they pursued the old Operative method, and had but one esoteric form of admission for all their members. The fabrication of the three degrees was an afterthought, which did not take place until at least the year 1720.

Bro. W. J. Hughan, who on this subject will be willingly recognized as of the highest authority, has made this positive statement on the subject:[1]

"The reference to Masonic degrees (as we understand the term now) never occurs in the ancient minutes, no rituals of degrees prior to 1720 are in existence; and whatever esoteric customs may have been communicated to craftsmen before the last century, they do not appear to have necessitated the temporary absence of either class of members from the lodge."

But as this has long been, and even now is, a mooted question among masonic scholars, a very few inclining to give to the series of Craft degrees a greater antiquity than they seem entitled to, the subject will be discussed in all its bearings in a future chapter of this work, when the judgment expressed by Bro. Hughan will, I think, be sustained by the clearest historical evidence.

In respect to the inquiry which we are now pursuing, the decision of the question is unimportant. For whether we consider that the Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices represented three degrees of esoteric Masonry or only three classes of workmen, there is no doubt that the Speculative Freemasons derived the idea of such a division from the Operatives. They could not have got it from any of the religious or philosophic systems of antiquity. They could not have found it in the Mysteries of Osiris nor in the school of Pythagoras, in neither of which does any such division occur.

Whatever changes the Speculatives may have made after their organization by transmuting what were classes in the Operative system into degrees, the change could not obliterate the evidence that the former was the successor of the latter, and could have an origin only in an association of craftsmen to whom such a division into classes or ranks of workmen was common and necessary.

5. Another resemblance is found in the common reference of

[1] In a letter in the *London Freemason* for June 27, 1874.

both to the Temple of Solomon as a pattern or type on which much of their symbolism has been founded.

It is not intended to maintain the theory that the Institution of Freemasonry has descended from the Tyrian and Jewish builders at the Temple erected by King Solomon. It has already engaged our attention in a preceding part of this work, and I have sought, I hope and think successfully, to show that the Solomonic legend as it has been formulated in the third degree of our modern Freemasonry, though accepted in the lodge rituals, is a mere myth without a particle of historical authority to sustain it.

Yet as a part of the great *Legend of the Craft,* the connection of King Solomon's Temple with the supposed history of Masonry was not unknown to the Operative Masons of at least the 15th and succeeding centuries, since they were familiar with the Old Constitutions in which this Legend was embodied.

Notwithstanding that the details of the construction of this Temple by the Jewish and Tyrian Masons contained in the *Legend of the Craft* are very brief, these details, unsatisfactory as they are, were enough to inspire the Freemasons of the Middle Ages with the belief that the building had been erected by the aid of their predecessors. Hence their Master Builders preserved a reverential reference to it in many of their architectural symbols.

But there is no evidence that the Hiramic legend, such as met with in the lodges, was ever known to the architects of the Middle Ages.

Still, the history of the Temple, inaccurately as it was given in the *Legend,* was accepted by them as a part of the history of the Craft, and the building of the magnificent structure was esteemed by them as one of the most glorious works of the ancient Brotherhood.

From the Operative Freemasons the Temple idea passed over to their Speculative successors. From no other source could the latter have derived it. Its presence among them, coupled with the other resemblances, especially that of the division into three classes, is a most irrefragable proof of the intimate connection of the two associations.

The founders of Speculative Freemasonry found the simple *Legend of the Craft* ready at hand. They adopted it—incorporated it into their new association—and in a short time, with great ingenu-

ity, developed it into the beautiful and impressive allegory of the Third degree.

6. A very significant resemblance between the Operative and the Speculative Freemasons is shown in the fact that all the written laws and usages of the latter are founded upon those which were enacted for the government of the former.

The oldest code of laws for the government of Speculative Freemasons is that contained in the document entitled "The Charges of a Free-Mason," which were adopted in 1722 by the Grand Lodge and published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions.* In this edition it is said that they have been "extracted from the ancient records of lodges beyond sea and of those in England, Scotland, and Ireland for the use of the lodges in London."[1]

The statutes which governed the Operative Freemasons are contained in the old manuscript Constitutions, which range in date from the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 18th century. The regulations which they contain are wholly inappropriate to the government of a non-Operative society.

Still, as the Speculative was founded upon the Operative association, and was only a development of the principles of the latter in an application of them to moral and philosophical purposes, the laws of the Operative society were largely made use of by the Speculative Fraternity in the construction of their new code.

It is true that the statutes contained in the manuscript Constitutions have not, with a few exceptions, been copied word for word in the "Charges" adopted for the regulation of the newly born Brotherhood. This was hardly to be expected. That which is justly appropriate for a mechanic pursuing a mechanical occupation, would be very absurd and incongruous when applied to a philosopher engaged in a philosophical inquiry.

Still, the spirit of the old laws has been rigidly observed. There is not a regulation in the "Charges" adopted in 1722 which does not find an analogy in the Constitutions of the Operative Craft con-

[1] The "Charges" printed in the 2d or 1738 edition of the Constitutions are of little or no value as an exponent of the common law of Freemasonry, as they were unauthoritatively altered in many important respects by Dr. Anderson. But as an historical document it is worthy of consideration, as it shows the gradual outgrowth of the Speculative from the Operative system and indicates the mode in which the laws were modified in order to accommodate the application of the old laws to the new association.

tained in the old manuscript records, beginning, so far as we have any trace of them, with the *Constitutions of the Art of Geometry according to Euclid,* which was written, it is supposed, in the year 1399, and which was in all probability a copy of some older manuscript, now, perhaps, irrecoverably lost. The old law has been retained, but in its spirit and application there has been a material change.

Thus, by way of example, we find in the "Charges" of 1722 the following clause:

"No Master shall give more wages to any Brother or Apprentice than he may deserve."

Now this most certainly could not have meant that in a lodge of Speculative Freemasons the Master should not pay more than a certain justly earned amount of wages to an Entered Apprentice. In 1722, when this regulation was adopted, the Masters of lodges did not pay wages, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, to any of the members.

The French Masons have retained the use of this word in their technical language, and show us very clearly what meaning was intended to be conveyed by these "Charges," when they spoke of paying a Speculative Freemason his wages.

What the English and American Freemasons call "advancement from a lower to a higher degree," the French Freemasons designate by the expression "increase of wages." When we say that an Entered Apprentice has been advanced to the degree of Fellow-Craft, the French express the same fact by stating that the Apprentice has received an increase of wages.

This, then, is the idea intended to be conveyed in that clause of the "Charges" of 1722 which has just been quoted. Translated into the language of the present day, we find it in that law which exists in all Masonic jurisdictions and under the sanction of all Grand Lodges, that no Mason shall be advanced to a higher degree until he has shown suitable proficiency in the preceding one.

Now this law of Speculative Freemasonry has been derived from and finds its analogy in the Old Constitutions of the Operative Freemasons, where the following law is extant:

"Every Master shall give pay to his Fellows and servants as they may deserve, so that he be not defamed with false working."[1]

[1] Lansdowne MS., anno 1560.

It is very manifest that here the literal meaning of the law as it was applicable to Operative Freemasonry has been abandoned, but the spirit has been preserved in a symbolical interpretation.

Again, in the "Charges" adopted by the Speculatives in 1722, the following regulation will be found:

"None shall discover envy at the prosperity of a Brother nor supplant him, nor put him out of his work if he be capable to finish the same; for no man can finish another's work so much to the Lord's profit, unless he be thoroughly acquainted with the design and draughts of him that began it."

No one, on the mere reading of this regulation, can hesitate to believe that it must have been originally intended for the government of working Masons, and that the Speculative Masons must have derived it from them.

Accordingly, if we look into the Old Constitutions of the Operative Freemasons we shall find the same law, though not expressed in identical words. The Operative law is thus stated in the Sloane MS., whose date is about 1645.

"Noe Maister nor Fellowe shall supplant others of there worke (that is to say); if he have taken a worke, or stand Maister of a Lord's work, you shall not put him out of it; if hee bee able of cunning to performe the same."

Now we can very easily understand the meaning of this last regulation as applied to an association or fraternity of working Masons. It was intended to prevent the unfair interference of one Operative Freemason with another, by seeking to wrest employment from him in surreptitious and underhanded ways. It is not, even at this day, considered by craftsmen to be an honorable act, though not forbidden, as it was to the old Freemasons, by an express statute.

But what can be the meaning of such a law when applied, as it is in the "Charges" of 1722, to Speculative Freemasons? They have no "Lord's work" to do, in which they might be supplanted by a rival craftsman.

If the literal meaning of the law were to be accepted, we should verify the truth of Scripture that it is the letter which killeth. But if we apply the symbolic interpretation, which must have been the one given to it by the Speculative Freemasons, we shall find that the spirit of the old Operative regulations is still preserved and obeyed by all the Grand Lodges in the world. It is in fact the very law that

applies to and is the foundation of the well-known and often discussed doctrine of Masonic jurisdiction.

The law as it is now understood is that no lodge shall interfere with another lodge in conferring degrees on a candidate; that when he has received the First degree in any lodge, he becomes, masonically, the work of that lodge and must there receive the rest of the degrees. No other lodge shall be permitted to supplant it, or to take the finishing of that work out of its hands. The Apprentice must be passed and raised in the lodge wherein he was initiated.

Thus the law of Speculative Freemasonry which is everywhere accepted by the Craft as the rule of courtesy for the government of lodges in their relation to each other, was evidently founded on the principles of Operative Freemasonry, taken, in fact, from the law of that older branch of the Institution and, as it were, spiritualized in its practical application to the government of the Speculative branch.

Viewed in their literal meaning, it is very evident that the whole of the "Charges" adopted in the year 1722 by the Grand Lodge of England, just after its severance from the Operative lodges, are laws which must have been intended for an association of working Masons.

They were the statutes of an Operative guild, and were adopted in the bulk by the Speculative Freemasons at the time of the separation, to be subsequently and gradually interpreted in their meaning and modified in their purpose to suit the Speculative idea.

Other points of difference and other points of resemblance might be found on a more minute investigation, but the connection between the two branches has, I think, been sufficiently shown.

The differences have enabled us to give to each association a personality and an individuality which manifestly separate the one from the other. The guild of Operative and the guild of Speculative Freemasons were and are entirely distinct, in their character and design. The parent and the child are not the same, though there will be resemblances which indicate the common lineage.

Now the resemblances which have been described as existing between the two Fraternities, while they paved the way for the easy outgrowth of the one from the other, furnish also the most incontestable evidence of the influence that was exerted by the guild of mediaeval Freemasons on the organization of the Speculative Free-

masons who sprang into existence in England at the beginning of the 18th century. To use a Darwinian phrase, the change might be said to have been produced by a sort of evolution.

In other words, if there had been no guilds of Operative Freemasons, such as history paints them, from the 10th to the 17th centuries, there would have been no lodges of Speculative Freemasons in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Thus we establish the truth of the hypothesis which it has been the object of this work to maintain, that the Freemasonry of the present day is derived solely, in its primitive organization, from the Building Corporations of the Middle Ages; and that its rites, its doctrines, and its laws have suffered no modification except that which naturally resulted from a change of character when the Operative Fraternity became a Speculative one.

This is, I think, about the sum and substance and the true solution of the historical problem which refers to the connection of the Speculative with the Operative association; of the Freemasons of to-day with the Freemasons who came from Lombardy and who flourished in the Middle Ages; of the men whose lodges have now passed into every country where civilization has extended, and everywhere exerted a powerful moral influence, with the men who erected monuments of their artistic skill at Magdeburg, and Strasburg, and Cologne, at Canterbury and York, at Kilwinning and Melrose.

Our attention must next be directed to the historical events that took place immediately after the separation in England, and afterward in Scotland and in other countries—events which make up the narrative of the rise and progress of Speculative Freemasonry.

To these events the following chapters will be devoted.

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., 33°.

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, 33°.

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC.

VOLUME FOUR

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CHAPTER XXIX

ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND

E have now reached the most interesting portion of the history of Freemasonry. We are getting away from the regions of legend and tradition, and are passing into the realm of authentic records. And though at this early period there is a sparseness of these records, and sometimes a doubtfulness about their meaning, which will occasionally compel us to build our hypothesis on the foundation of plausible conjecture and reasoning, still, to whatever conclusions we may come, they will, of course, be more satisfactory to the mind than if they were wrought out of mere mythical and traditionary narratives.

It has already been shown that the Guild or Fraternity of Freemasons from the earliest period of its history had admitted into its connection persons of rank and influence who were not workmen of the Craft.

In this usage it followed the example of the Roman Colleges of Artificers, whose patrons were selected to secure to the corporations a protection often needed, from the oppressive interference of the government.

Thus, when after the decadence of the Roman Empire, architecture, which had fallen into decline, began to revive, the Masons were employed in the construction of religious edifices, the dignitaries of the Church naturally became closely connected with the workmen, while many of the monks were operative masons. Bishops and abbots superintended the buildings, and were thus closely connected with the Guild.

This usage was continued even after the Freemasons had withdrawn from all ecclesiastical dependence, and up to the 18th century non-operatives were admitted into full membership of the Fraternity, under the appellation of Gentlemen or Theoretic Masons, or as

Honorary Members. The title of Speculative Freemasons was a word of later coinage, though it is met with, apparently with the same meaning, in one of the oldest Records, the Cooke MS. But this is a solitary instance, and the word never came into general use until some time after the organization of the Grand Lodge in 1717.

It is here used for the sake of convenience, in reference to the early period, but without any intention to intimate that it was then familiar to the Craft. The fact existed, however, though the special word was apparently wanting.

The natural result of this commingling of Operative and Speculative Masons in the same Fraternity, was to beget a spirit of rivalry between the two classes. This eventually culminated in the dissolution of the Guild of Operative Freemasons as distinguished from the Rough Masons or Rough Layers, and the establishment on its ruin of the Society of Speculative Freemasons, which at London, in the year 1717, assumed the title of "The Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons."

We are without any authentic narrative of the rise and progress of the contentions between the rival classes in England, because in that country the records of the Operative Lodges before the close of the 17th century have been lost. But the sister kingdom of Scotland has been more fortunate. There the minutes of the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning exhibit abundant evidence of the struggle for pre-eminence which terminated in the year 1736 in the establishment of the speculative "Grand Lodge of Scotland."

As the subject-matter to be treated in this chapter is the history of the establishment at London, in the year 1717, of the Grand Lodge of England, it will be proper as a preliminary step that some notice should be taken of the condition of Freemasonry during the first decade of the 18th century in the south of England.

The lodges then existing in the kingdom consisted, it is supposed, both of Operative and non-Operative members. We have positive evidence of this in some instances, and especially as respects the lodges in London.

Preston gives the following account of the condition of the institution in the beginning of the 18th century:

"During the Reign of Queen Anne, masonry made no considerable progress. Sir Christopher Wren's age and infirmities drawing off his attention from the duties of his office (that of Grand

Master), the lodges decreased, and the annual festivals were entirely neglected. The old Lodge of St. Paul and a few others continued to meet regularly, but consisted of few members."[1]

Anderson, upon whose authority Preston had made this statement, says that "in the South the lodges were more and more disused, partly by the neglect of the Masters and Wardens and partly by not having a noble Grand Master at London, and the annual Assembly was not duly attended."[2]

As the statement so often made by Anderson and other writers of his school, that there was, anterior to the seventeenth year of the 18th century, an annual Assembly of the Craft in England over which a Grand Master presided, has been proved to be apocryphal, we must attribute the decline of Operative Freemasonry to other causes than those assigned by Dr. Anderson.

I have heretofore attempted to show that the decline in the spirit of Operative Freemasonry was to be attributed to the decadence of Gothic Architecture. By this the Freemasons were reduced to a lower level than they had ever before occupied, and were brought much nearer to the "Rough Masons" than was pleasing to their pride of "cunning." They thus lost the pre-eminence in the Craft which they had so long held on account of their acknowledged genius and the skill which in past times they had exhibited in the art of building.

But whatever may have been the cause, the fact is indisputable that at the beginning of the 18th century the Freemasons had lost much of their high standing as practical architects and had greatly diminished in numbers.

In the year 1716 there were but four lodges of Operative Masons in the city of London. The minutes of these lodges are not extant, and we have no authentic means of knowing what was their precise condition.

But we do know that among their members were many gentlemen of education who were not Operative Masons, but belonged to the class of Theoretic or Speculative Freemasons, which, as I have previously said, it had long been the custom of the Operative Freemasons to admit into their Fraternity.

Preston, in his *Illustrations of Masonry*, in a passage already

[1] "Illustrations of Masonry," Jones's edit., 1821, p. 189.
[2] "Constitutions," edit. 1738, p. 108.

cited, speaking of the decline of the lodges in the first decade of the 18th century, makes this statement:

"To increase their numbers, a proposition was made, and afterwards agreed to, that the privileges of Masonry should no longer be restricted to Operative Masons, but extend to men of various professions, provided they were regularly approved and initiated into the Order."

For this statement he gives no authority. Anderson, who was contemporary with the period of time when this regulation is said to have been adopted, makes no allusion to it, and Preston himself says on a preceding page that "at a general assembly and feast of the Masons in 1697 many noble and eminent brethren were present, and among the rest, Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, who was at that time Master of the lodge at Chichester."[1]

The statement appears, therefore, to be apochryphal. Such a proposition would certainly have been wholly superfluous, as there is abundant evidence that in England in the 17th century "men of various professions" had been "regularly approved and initiated into the Order."

Elias Ashmole, the Antiquary, states in his *Diary* that he and Colonel Mainwaring were initiated in a lodge at Warrington in 1646, and he records the admission of several other non-Operatives in 1682 at a lodge held in London.

Dr. Plott. in his *Natural History of Staffordshire,* printed in 1686, states that "persons of the most eminent quality did not disdain to be of the Fellowship."

In the first and second decades of the 18th century Operative Freemasonry appears, judging from extant records, to have been in the following condition:

In the northern counties there were several lodges of Operative Freemasons, which had a permanent character, having rules for their government, and holding meetings at which new members were admitted.

Thus Preston speaks of a lodge which was at Chichester in 1697, of which the Duke of Richmond and Lennox was Master; there was a lodge at Alnwick in Northumberland, whose records from

[1] "Illustrations of Masonry," p. 189, Jones's edit.

1701 are extant;[1] and there was at least one lodge, if not more, in the city of York whose preserved minutes begin on March 19, 1712.[2] We have every reason to suppose that similar lodges were to be found in other parts of the kingdom, though the minutes of their transactions have unfortunately been lost.

In London there were four operative lodges. These were the lodges which in 1717 united in the formation of the Speculative Grand Lodge of England, an act that has improperly been called the "Revival."

All the lodges mentioned consisted of two classes of members, namely, those who were Operative Freemasons and who worked in the mystery of the Craft, and those who were non-Operative, or, as they were sometimes called, Gentlemen Freemasons.

The ceremony of admission or initiation was at this time of a very simple and unpretentious character. There was but one form common to the three ranks of Apprentices, Fellows, and Masters, and the division into degrees, as that word is now understood, was utterly unknown.[3]

From the close of the 17th century the Operative lodges were gradually losing their prestige. They were no longer, as Lord Lindsay has denominated their predecessors of the Middle Ages, "parliaments of genius;" their architectural skill had decayed; their geometrical secrets were lost; and the distinction which had once been so proudly maintained between the Freemasons and the "rough layers" was being rapidly obliterated.

Meantime the men of science and culture who had been admitted into their ranks, thought that they saw in the principle of brotherhood which was still preserved, and in the symbolic teachings which were not yet altogether lost, a foundation for another association, in which the fraternal spirit should remain as the bond of union, and the doctrines of symbolism, hitherto practically applied to the art of architecture, should be in future directed to the illustration of the science of morality.

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[1] Bro. Hughan has published excerpts from the minutes. See Mackey's "National Freemason," vol, iii., p. 233.

[2] See Hughan's History of Freemasonry in York, in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 55. See also an article by him in the *Voice of Masonry*, vol. xiii., p. 571.

[3] This subject will be fully discussed in a future chapter on the history of the origin of the three Craft degrees, and the statement here made will be satisfactorily substantiated.

Long afterward the successors of these founders of Speculative Freemasonry defined it to be "a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols."

Feeling that there was no congenial companionship between themselves and the uncultured men who composed the Operative element of the Association, the gentlemen of education and refinement who constituted the Theoretic element or the Honorary membership of the four lodges then existing in the city of London, resolved to change the character of these lodges, and to withdraw them entirely from any connection with Operative or Practical Masonry.

It was in this way that Speculative Freemasonry found its origin in the desire of a few speculative thinkers who desired, for the gratification of their own taste, to transmute what in the language of the times would have been called a club of workmen into a club of moralists.

The events connected with this transmutation are fully recorded by Dr. Anderson, in the second edition of the *Constitutions,* and as this is really the official account of the transaction, it is better to give it in the very language of that account, than to offer any version of it.

The history of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of England, is given in the following words by Dr. Anderson, who is said to have been one of the actors in the event:

"King George I. entered London most magnificently on 20 Sept., 1714, and after the rebellion was over, A.D. 1716, the few lodges at London, finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master as the centre of union and harmony, *viz.,* the lodges that met.

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

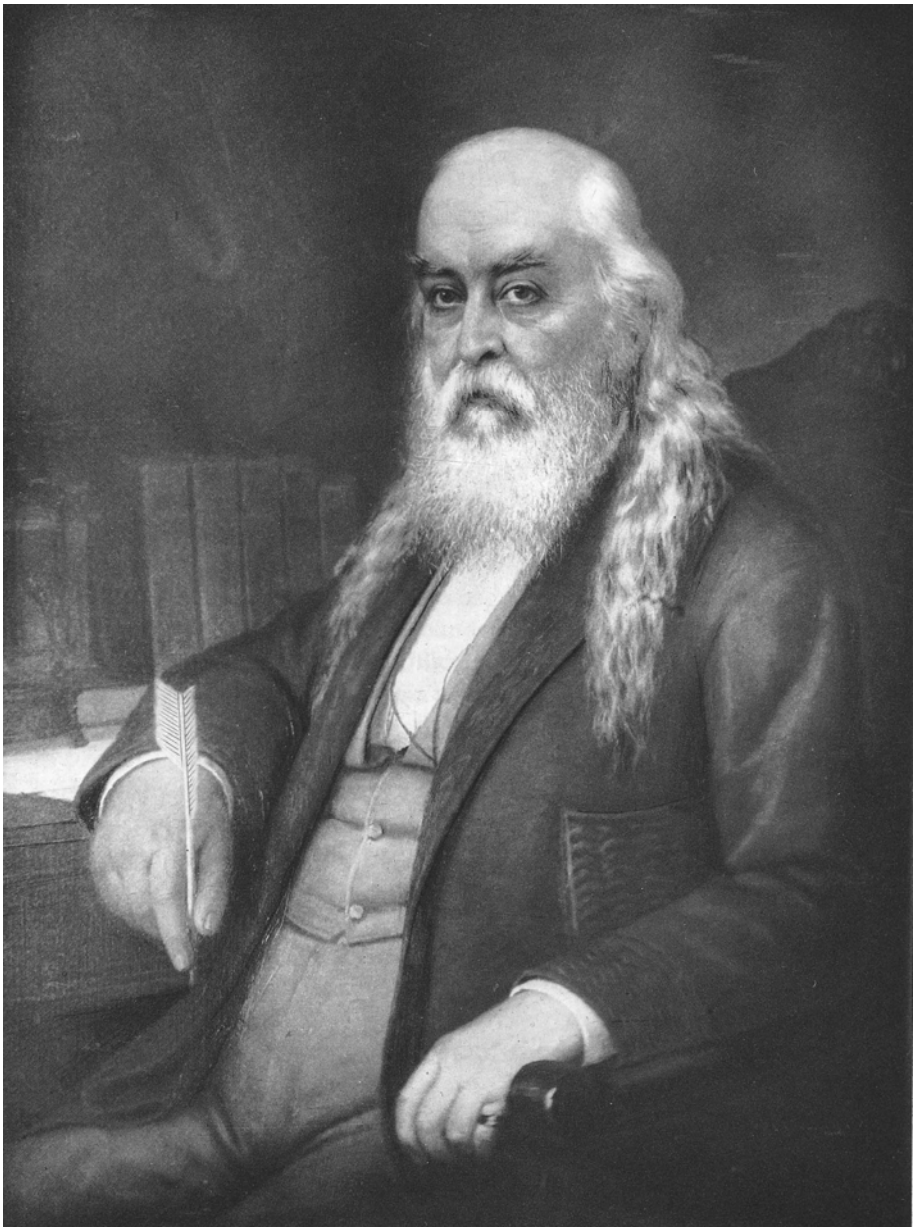
"2. At the 'Crown Ale-house' in Parker's Lane near Drury Lane.

"3. At the 'Apple Tree Tavern' in Charles Street, Covent Garden.

"4. At the 'Rummer and Grapes Tavern' in Channel Row, Westminster.

"They and some old brothers met at the said Apple Tree, and having put into the chair the oldest Master Mason (now the Master

ALBERT PIKE



of a Lodge) they constituted themselves a Grand Lodge, *pro tempore*, in Due Form, and forthwith revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of Lodges (called the Grand Lodge) resolved to hold the Annual Feast and then to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honor of a noble brother at their head.

"Accordingly

On St. John Baptist's day, in the 3d year of King George I., A.D. 1717, the Assembly and Feast of the Free and Accepted Masons was held at the foresaid 'Goose and Gridiron Ale-house.'

"Before dinner, the oldest Master Mason (now the Master of a Lodge) in the Chair, proposed a list of proper candidates, and the brethren by a majority of hands elected

"Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, Grand Master of Masons,

{Capt. Joseph Elliott
Mr. Jacob Lamball, Carpenter} Grand Wardens,

who being forthwith invested with the badges of office and power by the said oldest Master, and installed, was duly congratulated by the Assembly who paid him the homage.

"Sayer, Grand Master, commanded the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to meet the Grand Officers every quarter in communication at the place appointed in his summons sent by the Tyler."[1]

Such is the account of the transmutation of the four Operative to four Speculative lodges, given by Dr. Anderson, who is believed, with George Payne, Esq., and Dr. Desaguliers, to have been principally instrumental in effecting the transmutation.

Meager as are the details of so important an event which Anderson, as a contemporary actor, might easily have made more copious, they suggest several important points for our consideration.

We see that the change to be effected by the establishment of the Speculative Grand Lodge was not too hastily accomplished.

The first meeting in which it was resolved to organize a Grand Lodge took place some months before the actual organization occurred.

Anderson says that the four lodges met in 1716 and "revived the Quarterly Communication of the officers of lodges."

Preston says that they met in February, 1717, and that at this

[1] "Constitutions," 1738 edition, pp. 109, 110.

meeting "it was resolved to revive the Quarterly Communications of the Fraternity."

This is a more accurate statement than that of Anderson. The meeting in February, 1717, was merely preliminary. A resolution was adopted, or perhaps more correctly speaking, an agreement was entered into, to organize a Grand Lodge. But this agreement was not carried into execution until four months afterward. There could have been no Grand Lodge without a Grand Master, and the Grand Master was not elected until the 24th of June following. The apparent disagreement of the dates assigned to the preparatory meeting, Anderson saying it was in 1716, and Preston that it was in February, 1717, is easily reconciled.

Anderson in his narrative used the Old Style, in which the year began on March 25th, consequently February would fall in 1716. Preston used the New Style, which begins the year on January 1st, and thereby February fell in 1717. The actual period of time referred to by both authors is really the same.

In an anonymous work[1] published in 1764 it is said that six lodges were engaged in the organization of the Grand Lodge, but as the two additional lodges are not identified, it is better to reject the statement as untruthful, and to abide by the authority of Anderson, who, as Bro. Hughan says, "clearly wrote at a time when many personally knew as to the facts narrated and whose *Book of Constitutions* was really the official statement issued by the Grand Lodge."

The fact that four lodges were engaged in the act of transmuting Operative into Speculative Freemasonry by organizing a Grand Lodge, while admitted as an historical fact by Lawrence Dermott, is used by him as an objection to the legality of the organization.

"To form," he says, "what Masons mean by a Grand Lodge, there must have been the Masters and Wardens of five regular lodges, that is to say, five Masters and ten Wardens, making the number of installed officers fifteen."[2]

But although Dermott very confidently asserts that this "is well known to every man conversant with the ancient laws, usages, customs, and ceremonies of Master Masons,"[3] there can be no doubt that this point of law so dogmatically proclaimed was the

[1] "The Complete Freemason, or Multa Paucis, for Lovers of Secrets."
[2] "Ahiman Rezon," p. 13.
[3] Ibid., p. 14.

pure invention of Dermott's brain, and is entitled to no weight whatever.

As the Grand Lodge which was established in 1717 was the first one ever known, it was impossible that there could be any "ancient laws" to regulate its organization.

It is noteworthy that each of these premier lodges met at a tavern or ale-house. During the last century Freemasons' lodges in England almost universally had their lodge-rooms in the upper part of taverns. The custom was also adopted in this country, and all the early lodges in America were held in the upper rooms of buildings occupied as taverns.

The custom of meeting in taverns was one that was not confined to the Masonic Brotherhood. The early part of the 18th century was, in London, as we have already seen, the era of clubs. These societies, established some for literary, some for social, and some for political purposes, always held their meetings in taverns. "Will's Coffee House" is made memorable in the numbers of the *Spectator* as the rendezvous of the wits of that day.

It will also be noticed that these four lodges were without names, such as are now borne by lodges, but that they were designated by the signs of the taverns in which they held their meetings. Half a century elapsed before the lodges in England began to assume distinctive names. The first lodge to do so was Friendship Lodge No. 3, which is so styled in Cole's *List of Lodges for 1767*.

No difficulty or confusion, however, arose from this custom of designating lodges by the signs of the taverns in which they held their meetings, for it seldom happened that more than one lodge ever met at any tavern. "The practice," says Gould, "of any one tavern being common as a place of meeting, to two or more lodges, seems to have been almost unknown in the last century."[1]

Two of the four taverns in which these four original lodges were held, and two of the lodges themselves, namely, the "Apple Tree," where the design of separating the Speculative from the Operative element was inaugurated, and the "Goose and Gridiron," where that design was consummated by the organization of the new Grand Lodge, particularly claim our attention.

[1] "The Four Old Lodges," by Robert Freke Gould, p. 13.

But it will be more convenient while engaged on this subject to trace the fate and fortune of the whole four.

In this investigation I have been greatly aided by the laborious and accurate treatise of Bro. Robert Freke Gould, of London, on the Four Old Lodges. After his exhaustive analysis there is but little chance of unearthing any new discoveries, though I have been able to add from other sources a few interesting facts.

The lodge first named on Anderson's list met at the "Goose and Gridiron Ale-house," and it was there that, on the 24th of June, 1717, the Grand Lodge of England was established. Elmes says that "Sir Christopher Wren was Master of St. Paul's Lodge, which during the building of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, met at the 'Goose and Gridiron' in St. Paul's Church-yard, and is now the Lodge of Antiquity, acting by immemorial prescription; and he regularly presided at its meetings for upward of eighteen years."[1]

Dr. Oliver says that Dr. Desaguliers, who may be properly reputed as the principal founder of modern Speculative Freemasonry, was initiated into the ceremonies of the Operative system, such as they were, in the lodge that met at the "Goose and Gridiron," and the date assigned for his admission is the year 1712.

Larwood and Hotten in their *History of Sign Boards*, copying from a paper of the *Tatler*, say that the Tavern was originally a Music house, with the sign of the "Mitre." When it ceased to be a Music house the succeeding landlord chose for his sign a goose stroking the bars of a gridiron with his foot in ridicule of the "Swan and Harp," which was a common sign for the early music houses.[2] I doubt the truth of this origin, and think it more likely that the "Swan and Harp" degenerated into the "Goose and Gridiron" by the same process of blundering, so common in the history of signs, which corrupted "God encompasseth us" into the "Goat and Compasses" or the "Belle Sauvage" into the "Bell and Savage."

In the list of lodges for 1725 to 1730 contained in the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge of England, Lodge No. 1 is still recorded as holding its meetings at the "Goose and Gridiron," whence, however, it not very long after removed, for in the next list, from 1730 to 1732, it is recorded as being held at the "King's Arms," in St Paul's Churchyard.

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[1] Elmes's "Sir Christopher Wren und his Times," quoted in the *Keystone.*

[2] "History of Sign Boards," p. 445.

The "King's Arms" continued to be its place of meeting (except a short time in 1735, when it met at the "Paul's Head," Ludgate Street) until 1768, when it removed to the "Mitre." Eight years before, it assumed the name of the "West India and American Lodge." In 1770 it became the "Lodge of Antiquity." Of this lodge the distinguished Masonic writer, William Preston, was a member. In 1779 it temporarily seceded from the Grand Lodge, and formed a schismatic Grand Lodge. The history of this schism will be the subject of a future chapter.

At the union of the two Grand Lodges of "Moderns" and "Ancients," it lost its number "One" in drawing lots and became number "Two," which number it still retains, though it is always recognized as the "premier lodge of England," and therefore of the world.

The "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" continued to be the place of meeting of the Grand Lodge until 1721, when in consequence of the need of more room from the increase of lodges the annual feast was held at Stationers' Hall.[1] The Grand Lodge never returned to the "Goose and Gridiron." It afterward held its quarterly communications at various taverns, and the annual assembly and feast always at some one of the Halls of the different Livery Companies of London. This migratory system prevailed until the Freemasons were able to erect a Hall of their own.

The second lodge which engaged in 1717 in the organization of the Grand Lodge, met at the "Crown Ale-house" in Parker's Lane, near Drury Lane. According to Bro. Gould, it removed about 1723 to the "Queen's Head," Turnstile, Holborn; to the "Green Lettuce," Brownlow Street, in 1725;[2] thence to the "Rose and Rummer" in 1728, and to the "Rose and Buffer" in 1729. In 1730 it met at the "Bull and Gate," Holborn, and appearing for the last time in the list for 1736, was struck off the roll in 1740.

But it had ceased to exist before that year, for Anderson, in the list published by him in 1738, says: "The Crown in Parker's Lane, the other of the four old Lodges, is now extinct."[3]

The third lodge engaged in the Grand Lodge organization was that which met at the "Apple Tree Tavern" in 1717. It was there

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," 2d edit., p. 112.
[2] Gould's "Four Old Lodges," p. 6.
[3] Anderson's "Constitutions," 2d edit., p. 185.

that in February of that year the Freemasons who were preparing to sever the connection between the Operative and Theoretic Masons, took the preliminary steps toward effecting that design. From the "Apple Tree" it removed about 1723 to the "Queen's Head," Knave's Acre; thence in 1740 to the "George and Dragon," Portland Street, Oxford Market; thence in 1744 to the "Swan" in the same region. In the lists from 1768 to 1793 it is described as the Lodge of Fortitude. After various other migrations, it amalgamated, in 1818, with the Old Cumberland Lodge, and is now the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge No. 12 on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England.[1]

Of this third or "Apple Tree" Lodge, Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master of England, was a member, and most probably was in 1717 or had been previously the Master. In 1723 he is recorded as the Senior Warden of the Lodge, which is certainly an evidence of his Masonic zeal.

The last of the four old Lodges which constituted the Grand Lodge met in 1717 at the "Rummer and Grapes Tavern," Westminster. It moved thence to the "Horn Tavern," Westminster, in 1723. It seemed to be blessed with a spirit of permanency which did not appertain to the three other lodges, for it remained at the "Horn" for forty-three years, not migrating until 1767, when it went to the "Fleece," Tothill Street, Westminster. The year after it assumed the name of the Old Horn Lodge. In 1774 it united with and adopted the name of the Somerset House Lodge, and met at first at the "Adelphi" and afterward until 1815 at "Freemasons' Tavern." In 1828 it absorbed the Royal Inverness Lodge, and is now registered on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England as the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4.[2]

George Payne, who was twice Grand Master, in 1718 and in 1720, had been Master of the original Rummer and Grapes Lodge. He must have been so before his first election as Grand Master in 1718, and he is recorded in the first edition of Anderson as having been its Master again in 1723. At one time the lodge received an important benefit from this circumstance, as is shown by the following record taken by Entick from the Minutes of the Grand Lodge.

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[1] Gould, "Four Old Lodges," p. 7. [2] Ibid.

In 1747 the lodge, whose number had been changed to No, 2, was erased from the Books of Lodges for not obeying an order of the Quarterly Communication. But in 1753, the members having petitioned the Grand Lodge for restoration, Entick says in his edition of the *Constitutions* that "after a long debate, it was ordered that in respect to Brother Payne, late Grand Master, the Lodge No. 2 lately held at the 'Horn' in Palace Yard, West-minster, should be restored and have its former rank and place in the list of lodges."

Payne, who was a scholar, had done much for the advancement of Speculative Freemasonry, and the Grand Lodge by this act paid a fitting homage to his character and showed itself not unmindful of his services to the Fraternity.

Such are the facts, well authenticated by unquestioned historical authorities, which are connected with the establishment of the first Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasons, not only in England, but in the world. Seeing that nothing analogous has been anywhere found in the records of Masonry, irrespective of its unauthenticated legends and traditions, it is proper, before proceeding to inquire into the condition of the Grand Lodge immediately subsequent to its organization at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern," that the much discussed question, whether this organization was the invention of an entirely new system or only the revival of an old, and for a short time discontinued, one should be fairly considered.

To this important subject our attention will be directed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXX

WAS THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND LODGE IN 1717 A REVIVAL?

IT has been the practice of all Masonic writers from the earliest period of its literature to a very recent day, to designate the transaction which resulted in the organization of the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1717 as the "Revival of Freemasonry."

Anderson, writing in 1723, in the first edition of the *Constitutions,* says that "the freeborn British nation had revived the drooping Lodges of London," and in the year 1738, in the second edition of the same work, he asserts that the old Brothers who met at the "Apple Tree Tavern" "forthwith revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of Lodges, called the Grand Lodge."

This statement has been repeated by Preston, Calcott, Oliver, and all the older Masonic authors who have written upon the subject, until it has become an almost universal belief among the larger portion of the Fraternity that from some unknown or indefinite era until the second decade of the 18th century the Grand Lodge had been in a state of profound slumber, and that the Quarterly Communications, once so common, had long been discontinued, through the inertness and indifference of the Craft, while the lodges were drooping like sickly plants.

But in the year 1717, owing to the successful efforts of a few learned scholars, such as Desaguliers, Anderson, and Payne, the, Grand Lodge had been awakened from its sleep of years, the Quarterly Communications had been renewed as of old, and the lodges had sprung into fresh and vigorous existence. Such was for a long time and indeed still is, to a diminished extent, the orthodox Masonic creed respecting the Revival of Freemasonry in the 18th century.

But this creed, popular as it is, has within a few years past been ruthlessly attacked by some of our more advanced thinkers, who are

skeptical where to doubt is wise, and who are not prepared to accept legends as facts, nor to confound tradition with history.

And now it is argued that before the year 1717 there never was a Grand Lodge in England, and, of course, there could have been no Quarterly Communications. Therefore, as there had not been a previous life, there could have been no revival, but that the Grand Lodge established in June, 1717, was a new invention, and the introduction of a system or plan of Freemasonry never before heard of or seen.

Which of these two hypotheses is the correct one, or whether there is not a *mezzo termine*—a middle point or just mean between the two—are questions well worthy of examination.

Let us first inquire what was the character of the four Lodges, and indeed of all the lodges in England which were in existence at the time of the so-called "Revival," or had existed at any previous time. What was the authority under which they acted, what was their character, and how was this character affected by the establishment of a new Grand Lodge?

As to the authority under which the four old lodges, as well as all others that existed in England, acted, it must be admitted that they derived that authority from no power outside of themselves. "The authority," says Bro. Hughan, "by which they worked prior to the advent of the Grand Lodge was their own. We know of no other prior to that period for England."[1]

Preston admits that previous to the year 1717 "a sufficient number of Masons met together within a certain district, with the consent of the sheriff or chief magistrate of the place, were empowered to make Masons and practice the rites of Masonry without Warrant of Constitution."[2]

Bro. Hughan substantially repeats this statement in the following language:

"A body of Masons in any district or town appear usually to have congregated and formed lodges, and they had the 'Ancient Charges' or Rolls to guide them as to the rules and regulations for Masons generally. There were no Grand Masters or Grand Lodges before 1716-17, and so there were no authorities excepting such as the annual assemblies and the 'Old Charges' furnished in England."

[1] See *Voice of Masonry*, vol. xiii., p. 571.
[2] Preston's "Illustrations," p. 191, note.

He admits that "there were laws for the government of the lodges apparently, though unwritten, which were duly observed by the broth« erhood."

This view is confirmed, impliedly, at least, by all the Old Constitutions in manuscript, from the most ancient to the most recent. In none of these (and the last of them has a date which is only three years prior to the so-called "Revival") do we find any reference whatever to a Grand Lodge or to a Grand Master. But they repeatedly speak of lodges in which Masons were to be "accepted," and the counsels of which were to be kept secret by the Fellows.

The only allusion made to the manner of organizing a lodge is contained in the Harleian MS., which prescribes that it must consist of not less than five Freemasons, one of whom must be a master or warden of the limit or division wherein the lodge is held.

From this regulation we are authorized, I think, to conclude, that in 1670, which is the date of the Harleian MS., nothing more was necessary in forming a lodge in which "to make Masons or practice the rites of Masonry," as Preston gives the phrase, than that a requisite number should be present, with a Master or Warden working in that locality.

Now the Master, as the word is here used, meant a Freemason of the highest rank, who was engaged in building with workmen under him, and a Warden was one who having passed out of his apprenticeship, had become a Fellow and was invested with an authority over the other Fellows, inferior only to that of the Master. The word and the office are recognized in the early English Charters as pertaining to the ancient guilds. Thus the Charters granted in 1354 by Edward III. gave the London Companies the privilege to elect annually for their government "a certain number of Wardens." In 1377 an oath was prescribed called the "Oath of the Wardens of the Crafts," which contained these words: "Ye shall swere that ye shall wele and treuly oversee the Craft of —— whereof ye be chosen Wardeyns for the year." In the reign of Elizabeth the presiding officer began to be called the Master, and in the reign of James I., between 1603 and 1625, the guilds were generally governed by a Master and Wardens. The government of lodges by a Master and Wardens must have been introduced into the guilds of Masons in the 17th century, and this is rendered probable by the fact that in the Harleian MS. just quoted, and whose conjectural date is 1670, it

is provided "that for the future the sayd Society, Company and Fraternity of Free Masons shall be regulated and governed by One Master & Assembly & Wardens as the said Company shall think to choose, at every yearely General Assembly."

A similar officer in the *Hütten* or Lodges of the old German Freemasons was called the *Parlirer*.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion that in the 17th century, while there were permanent lodges in various places which were presided over by a Master and Wardens, any five Freemasons might open a temporary or "occasional" lodge for the admission of members of the Craft, provided one of these five was either the Master or a Warden of a permanent lodge in the neighborhood.

I know of no other way of reasonably interpreting the 26th article contained in the Harleian Constitutions.

But nowhere, in any of the Old Constitutions, before or after the Harleian, even as late as 1714, which is the date of the Papworth MS., do we find the slightest allusion to any exterior authority which was required to constitute either permanent or temporary lodges.

The statement of Preston is thus fully sustained by the concurrent testimony of the old manuscripts. Therefore, when Anderson in his first edition gives the form of constituting a new lodge and says that it is "according to the ancient usages of Masonry,"[1] he indulges in a rhetorical flourish that has no foundation in truth. There is no evidence of the slightest historical value that any such usage existed before the second decade of the 18th century.

But immediately after what is called the Revival the system of forming lodges which had been practiced was entirely changed. Preston says that among a variety of regulations which were proposed and agreed to at the meeting in 1717, was the following:

"That the privilege of assembling as Masons, which had been hitherto unlimited, should be vested in certain lodges or assemblies of Masons convened in certain places; and that every lodge to be hereafter convened, except the four old lodges at this time existing, should be legally authorized to act by a warrant from the Grand Master for the time being granted to certain individuals by petition, with the consent and approbation of the Grand Lodge in communi-

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," 1st edition, p. 71.

cation; and that without such warrant no lodge should be hereafter deemed regular or constitutional."[1]

We have this regulation on the evidence of Preston alone, for according to the unfortunate usage of our early Masonic writers, he cites no authority. It is not mentioned by Anderson, and the preserved minutes of the Grand Lodge of England extend no farther than the 25th of November, 1723.

Still, as Preston gives it within quotation marks, and as it bears internal evidence in its phraseology of having been a formal regulation adopted at or very near the period to which Preston assigns it, we may accept it as authentic and suppose that he had access to sources of information no longer extant. As the Grand Lodge was organized in 1717 in the rooms of the lodge of which Preston afterward became a member, it is very possible that that lodge may have had in its possession the full records of that meeting, which were in existence when Preston wrote, but have since been lost.[2]

At all events the "General Regulations," compiled by Grand Master Payne in 1720, and approved the next year by the Grand Lodge, contain a similar provision in the following words:

"If any set or number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a lodge without the Grand Master's warrant, the regular lodges are not to countenance them, nor own them as fair Brethren and duly formed, nor approve of their acts and deeds; but must treat them as rebels, until they humble themselves, as the Grand Master shall, in his prudence, direct; and until he approve of them by his warrant."[3]

If we compare the usage by which lodges were brought into existence under the wholly Operative rules, and that adopted by the Speculative Freemasons after the organization of the Grand Lodge in 1717, we will very clearly see that there was here no revival of an old system which had fallen into decay and disuse, but the invention of one that was entirely new and never before heard of.

The next point to be examined in discussing the question whether

[1] Preston, "Illustrations," p. 191.

[2] Findel ("History," p. 140), says the regulation was adopted at a later period, in 1723. This he had no right to do. Preston is our only authority for the regulation, and his statement must be taken without qualification or wholly rejected. Findel was probably led into his error by seeing the General Regulation above quoted, which was very similar. This was published in 1723, but it had been adopted by the Grand Lodge in 1721.

[3] "General Regulations," art. viii. Anderson, 1st edition, p. 60.

or not the transactions of 1717 constituted a Revival will be the character of the lodges before and after those transactions as compared with each other.

During the 17th century, to go no farther back, and up to the second decade of the 18th, all the lodges of Freemasons in England were Operative lodges, that is to say, the larger portion of their members were working Masons, engaged in building according to certain principles of architecture with which they alone were acquainted.

They had admitted among their members persons of rank or learning who were not Operative Masons or builders by profession, but all their laws and regulations were applicable to a society of mechanics or workingmen.

There are no minutes in England, as there are in Scotland, of lodges prior to the beginning of the 18th century. They have all been lost, and the only one remaining is that of the Alnwick Lodge, the records of which begin in the year 1701.

But the "Old Charges" contained in the manuscript Constitutions which extend from 1390 to 1714, of which more than twenty have been preserved, supply us (especially the later ones of the 17th century) with the regulations by which the Craft was governed during the ante-revival period.

It is unnecessary to quote *in extenso* any one of these Old Constitutions. It is sufficient to say that they bear the strongest internal evidence that they were compiled for the use of purely Operative Masons.

They were wholly inapplicable to any merely moral or speculative association. Excepting those clauses which directed how the craftsmen were to conduct themselves both in the lodge and out of it, so that the reputation of the Brotherhood should not be injured, they were mainly engaged in prescribing how the Masons should labor in their art of building, so that the employer might be "truly served." The same regulations would be just as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to a Guild of Carpenters, of Smiths, or any other mechanical trade, as to one of Masons.

But while these lodges were wholly Operative in their character and design, there is abundant evidence, as I have heretofore shown, that they admitted into their companionship persons who were not Masons by profession. The article in the Harleian Constitutions,

to which reference has just been made, while stating that a lodge called to make a Mason must consist of five Free Masons, adds that one of them at least shall be "of the trade of Free Masonry." The other four, of course, might be non-operatives, that is to say, persons of rank, wealth, or learning who were sometimes called Theoretic and sometimes Gentlemen Masons.

But in the laws enacted for the government of the Craft, no exceptional provision was made in them, by which any difference was created in the privileges of the two classes.

The admission of these Theoretic Masons into the Fraternity did not, therefore, in the slightest degree affect the Operative character of the Craft, except in so far as that the friendly collision with men of education must have given to the less educated members a portion of refinement that could not fail to elevate them above the other Craft Guilds.

Yet so intimate was the connection between these Operative Freemasons and their successors, the Speculatives, that the code of laws prepared in 1721 by Anderson at the direction of the Grand Lodge, and published in 1723, under the title of *The Charges of a Free-Mason, for the use of the Lodges in London,* was a transcript with no important variations from these Old Constitutions, or as Anderson calls them, the "Old Gothic Constitutions."

As these "Charges" have now been accepted by the modern Fraternity of English-speaking Freemasons as the basis of what are called the Landmarks of the Order, to make them of any use it has been found absolutely necessary to give them a symbolic or figurative sense.

Thus, "to work," which in the Operative Constitution signifies "to build," is interpreted in the Speculative system as meaning "to confer degrees;" the clause which prescribes that "all the tools used in working shall be approved by the Grand Lodge" is interpreted as denoting that the ritual, ceremonies, and by-laws of every lodge must be subjected to the supervision of the Grand Lodge. Thus every regulation which clearly referred to a fraternity of builders has, in the course of the modifications which were necessary to render it applicable to a moral association, been made to adopt a figurative sense.

Yet the significant fact that while in the government of Speculative Freemasonry the spirit and meaning of these "Old Charges"

have been entirely altered, the words have been carefully retained is an important and irrefutable proof that the Speculative system is the direct successor of the Operative.

So when the Theoretic or Gentleman Masons had, in the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, acquired such a preponderance in numbers and in influence in the London lodges that they were able so to affect the character of those lodges as to divert them from the practice of an Operative art to the pursuit of a Speculative science, such change could not be called a Revival, if we respected the meaning of that word. Nothing of the kind had been known before; and when the members of the lodges ceased to pay any attention to the craft or mystery of practical stone-masonry, and resolved to treat it thenceforth in a purely symbolic sense, this act could be deemed nothing else but a new departure in the career of Freemasonry.

The ship was still there, but the object of the voyage had been changed.

Again: we find a third change in the character of the Masonic society when we compare the general government of the Craft as it appears before and after the year 1717.

This change is particularly striking in respect to the way in which the Craft were ruled in their Operative days, compared with the system which was adopted by the Speculative Freemasons.

It has already been said that prior to the year 1717, there never were Grand Masters or a Grand Lodge except such as were mythically constructed by the romantic genius of Dr. Anderson.

The only historical records that we have of the condition of Freemasonry in England and of the usages of the Craft during the three centuries which preceded the 18th, are to be found in the old manuscript Constitutions.

A thoroughly careful examination of these documents will show that neither in the *Legend of the Craft*, which constitutes the introductory portion of each Constitution, nor in the "Charges" which follow, is there the slightest allusion, either in direct language or by implication, to the office of Grand Master or to the body now called a Grand Lodge.

But it can not be denied that there was an annual convocation of the Craft, which was called sometimes the "Congregation," sometimes the "Assembly," and sometimes the "General Assem-

bly." We must accept this as an historical fact, or we must repudiate all the manuscript Constitutions from the 14th to the 18th century. In all of them there is an unmistakable allusion to this annual convocation of the Craft, and regulations are made concerning attendance on it.

Thus the Halliwell MS. says that "every Master who is a Mason must be present at the general congregation if he is duly informed where the assembly is to be holden; and to that assembly he must go unless he have a reasonable excuse."

The precise words of this most ancient of all the Old Masonic Constitutions, dating, as it does, not later than toward the close of the 14th century, are as follows:

> That every mayster, that ys a mason,
> Must ben at the generale congregracyon,
> So that he hyt reasonably y-tolde
> Where that the semble' schal be holde;
> And to that semble' he must nede gon,
> But he have a resonabul skwsacyon.

The Cooke MS., which is about a century later, has a similar provision. This manuscript is important, inasmuch as it describes the character of the Assembly and defines the purposes for which it was to be convoked.

It states that the Assembly, or, as it is there called, the Congregation, shall assemble once a year, or at least once in three years, for the examination of Master Masons, to see that they possessed sufficient skill and knowledge in their art.

An important admission in this manuscript is that the regulation for the government of this Assembly "is written and taught in our book of charges."

All the subsequent Constitutions make a similar statement in words that do not substantially vary.

The Harleian MS., whose date is about the last quarter of the 17th century, says that Euclid gave the admonition that the Masons were to assemble once a year to take counsel how the Craft could best work so as to serve their Lord and Master for his profit and their credit, and to correct such as had offended. And in another MS., much earlier than the Harleian, it is said that the Freemasons should attend the Assembly, and if any had trespassed against the Craft, he should there abide the award of the Masters and Fellows

This Assembly met that statutes or regulations might be enacted for the government of the Craft, and that controversies between the craftsmen might be determined

It was both a legislative and a judicial body, and in these respects resembled the Grand Lodge of the present day, but in no other way was there any similitude between the two.

Now, leaving out of the question the legendary parts which ascribe the origin of this annual assembly to Euclid or Athelstan or Prince Edwin, which, of course, are of no historical authority, it is impossible to believe that all these Constitutions should speak of the existence of such an Assembly at the time of writing, and lay down a regulation in the most positive terms, that every Mason should attend it, if the whole were a mere figment of the imagination.

We can account for the mythical character of a legend, but we cannot for the mythical character of a law which has been enacted at a specified time for the government of an association, which law continues to be repeated in all the copies of the statutes written or published for more than three centuries continuously.

In the establishment of a Grand Lodge with quarterly meetings and an annual one in which a Grand Master and other Grand Officers were elected for the following year, we find no analogy to anything that had existed previous to the year 1717. We cannot, therefore, in these points call the organization which took place in that year a "Revival." It was, rather, a radical change in the construction of the system.

Another change, and a very important one, too, which occurred a short time after the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, was that which had reference to the ritual or forms of initiation. During the purely Operative period of Freemasonry it is now well known that there was but one esoteric system of admission to the brotherhood of the Craft. This we also know was common to the three classes of Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices. There was, in fact, if we may use the technical language of modern Freemasonry, but one degree practiced by the Operative Craft.

When the Theoretic members of the London lodges dissociated from the Operatives in the year 1717 and formed the Speculative system, they, of course, at first accepted the old method of admission. But in the course of two or three years they adopted another

system and fabricated what are now called the three degrees of ancient Craft Masonry, each one of which was exclusively appropriated as a form of initiation to one of the three classes and to that one only. What had formerly been a division of the Fraternity into three classes or ranks became now a division into three degrees.[1]

This was a most important change, and as nothing of the kind was known to the Craft in the years prior to the establishment of the Grand Lodge, it certainly can not be considered a correct use of the word to call an entire change of a system and the adoption of a new one a revival of the old.

Bro. W. P. Buchan, in numerous articles published in the *London Freemason,* about 1870, attacked what has been called the Revival theory with much vigor but with exaggerated views. He contends that "our system of degrees, words, grips, signs, etc., was not in existence until about A. D. 1717, and he attributes the present system to the inventive genius of Anderson and Desaguliers. Hence he contends that modern Freemasonry was simply a reconstruction of an ancient society, *viz.*, of some old Pagan philosophy. This he more fully explains in these words:

"Before the 18th century we had a renaissance of Pagan architecture; then to follow suit in the 18th century we had a renaissance in a new dress of Pagan mysticism; but for neither are we indebted to the Operative Masons, although the Operative Masons were made use of in both cases."[2]

There is in this statement a mixture of truth and error. It is undoubtedly true that the three degrees into which the system is now divided were unknown to the Freemasons of the 17th century, and that they were an invention of those scholars who organized the Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasonry, mainly of Dr. Desaguliers, assisted perhaps by Anderson and Payne. But there were signs of recognition, methods of government, legends, and some form, though a simple one of initiation, which were in existence prior to the 18th century, which formed the kernel of the more elaborate system of the modern Freemasons.

Bro. Hughan calls attention to the fact, if there were need of

[1] It is not necessary to enter at this time into an examination and defense of this hypothesis, as the history of the fabrication of the three degrees will be made the subject of a future chapter.

[2] *London Freemason,* September 29, 1871.

proofs, in addition to what has been found in the authentic accounts of the mediaeval Freemasons, that in the *Tatler*, published in 1709, is a passage in which the writer, speaking of a class of men called the "Pretty Fellows," says that "they have their signs and tokens like the Freemasons."[1]

In fact, Bro. Buchan admits that the "elements or ground work" of the system existed before the year 1717.

This is in fact the only hypothesis that can be successfully maintained on the subject.

The Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasons, which was organized at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" in London in the year 1717, was a new system, founded on the older one which had existed in England years before, and which had been derived from the Operative Freemasons of the Middle Ages.

It was not, as Hyneman[2] has called it, a Revolution, for that would indicate a violent disruption, and a sudden and entire change of principles.

It was not a Revival, as most of the earlier writers have entitled it, for we should thus infer that the new system was only a renewal without change of the old one.

But it was a gradual transition from an old into a new system—of Operative into Speculative Freemasonry—in which Transition the later system has been built upon the earlier, and the practical art of building has been spiritualized into a theoretic science of morality, illustrated by a symbolism drawn principally from architecture.

We thus recognize the regular descent of the modern Speculative Freemasons from their older Operative predecessors, and we answer the question which forms the heading of the present chapter.

But it has been said that in one sense at least we may with propriety apply the word "Revival" to the transactions of the early part of the 18th century. Operative Freemasonry, and what very little of the Speculative element that had been engrafted on it, had, we are told, begun to decline in England in the latter part of the 17th century.

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[1] *Voice of Masonry*, April, 1873.

[2] In a work abounding in errors, entitled "Ancient York and London Grand Lodges," by Lern Hyneman, Philadelphia, 1872. Its fallacies as a contribution to Masonic history have been shown by the incisive but courteous criticism of Bro. Hughan.

If we may rely on the authority of Preston, the fraternity at the time of the revolution in 1688 was so much reduced in the south of England, that no more than seven regular lodges met in London and its suburbs, of which two only were worthy of notice.[1] Anderson mentions seven by their locality, and says that there were "some more that assembled statedly."[2]

These were, of course, all purely Operative lodges. Thus one of them, Anderson tells us, was called upon to give architectural counsel as to the best design of rebuilding St. Thomas's Hospital,[3] a clear evidence that its members were practical builders.

But this decline in the number of the lodges may possibly be attributed to local and temporary causes. It was certainly not accompanied, as might have been expected, with a corresponding decline in the popularity of the institution, for if we may believe the same authority, "at a general assembly and feast of the Masons in 1697, many noble and eminent brethren were present."[4]

But admitting that there was a decline, it was simply a decline of the Operative lodges. And the act of 1717 was not to revive them, but eventually to extinguish them and to establish Speculative lodges in their place; nor was it to revive Operative Freemasonry, but to establish for it another and an entirely different institution.

We arrive, therefore, again at the legitimate conclusion that the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England in June, 1717, was not a revival of the old system of Freemasonry, which soon after became extinct, but its change into a new system.

What remained of the Operative Freemasons who did go into the new association were merged in the Masons' Company, or acted thenceforward as individual craftsmen unconnected with a guild.

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[1] Preston, "Illustrations."

[2] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 107.

[3] Ibid., p. 106.

[4] Preston, "Illustrations," p. 189.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE EARLY YEARS OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY IN ENGLAND

ON the feast of St. John the Baptist, the 24th of June, in the year 1717, the principal members of the four old Operative Lodges in London, who had previously met in February and agreed to constitute a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, assembled at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" in St. Paul's Churchyard with some other old Masons, and there and then organized the new Grand Lodge.

This was accomplished by electing a Grand Master and two Grand Wardens, after which the Brethren proceeded to partake of a dinner, a custom which has ever since been continued under the name of the Grand Feast.

As the written minutes in the record book of the Grand Lodge do not begin before November, 1723, we are indebted for all that we know of the transactions on that eventful day to the meager account contained in the 2d edition of Dr. Anderson's *Constitutions,* with a few additional details which are given by Preston in his *Illustrations.*

Preston cites no authority for the facts which he has stated. But as the meeting of the Grand Lodge was held in the room of the lodge which afterward became the Lodge of Antiquity, and of which Preston was a prominent member, it is not improbable that some draft of those early proceedings may have been contained in the archives of that lodge, which have been since lost. To these Preston would naturally, from his connection with the lodge, have had access. If such were the case, it is very certain that he must have made use of them in compiling his history.

I am disposed, therefore, from these circumstances together with the consideration of the character of Preston, to accept his state-

ments as authentic, though they are unsupported by any contemporary authority now extant.[1]

The first indication of a change, though not purposely intended, by which the Operative system was to become eventually a Speculative one, is seen in the election as presiding officers of three persons who were not Operative Masons.

Mr. Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master, is described by Anderson in his record of the election by the legal title of "Gentleman," a title which, by the laws of honor, was bestowed upon one who can live without manual labor and can support himself without interfering in any mechanical employment. Such a person, say the heralds, "is called Mr., and may write himself Gentleman."[2]

"Anthony Sayer, Gentleman," as he is described in the record, was undoubtedly a mere Theoretic member of the Masonic association and not an Operative Mason.

Of the two Grand Wardens who were elected at the same time, one was Captain Joseph Elliot. Of his social position we have no further knowledge that what is conveyed by the title prefixed to his name, which would indicate that he was of the military profession, probably a retired or half-pay officer of the army.

The other Grand Warden was Mr. Jacob Lamball, who is designated as being a Carpenter.

Thus we see that the first three officers of the Grand Lodge were not Operative members of the Craft of Masonry.

The choice, however, of a Carpenter, a profession closely connected with that of the Masons, affords proof that it was not intended to confine the future Speculative society altogether to persons who were not mechanics.

At the succeeding election in 1718 George Payne, Esq., was elected Grand Master. He was an Antiquary and scholar of considerable ability, and was well calculated to represent the Speculative character of the new association.

The Wardens were Mr. John Cordwell and Mr. Thomas Morrice. The former is described as a Carpenter and the latter as a Stonecutter.

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[1] Preston is, however, sometimes careless, a charge to which all the early Masonic writers are amenable. Thus, he says that Sayer appointed his Wardens. But these officers were, like the Grand Master, elected until 1721, when, for the first time, they were appointed by the Grand Master.

[2] "Laws of Honor," p. 286.

While the choice of these officers was an evident concession to the old Operative element, the election of Payne was a step forward in the progressive movement which a few years afterward led to the total emancipation of Speculative Freemasonry from all connection with practical building. Northouck attests that "to the active zeal of Grand Master Payne the Society are under a lasting obligation for introducing brethren of noble rank into the fraternity."[1]

From the very beginning the Grand Lodge had confined its selection of Grand Masters to persons of good social position, of learning, or of rank, though for a few years it occasionally conferred the Grand Wardenship on Operative Masons or on craftsmen of other trades.

In the year 1719 Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers was elected Grand Master, and Anthony Sayer and Thomas Morrice Grand Wardens. Desaguliers was a natural philosopher of much reputation and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sayer had been the first Grand Master, and Morrice, who was a stonecutter or Operative Mason, had been a Warden the previous year.

In 1720 Payne was again elected Grand Master, and Thomas Hobby and Richard Ware were chosen as Grand Wardens. Hobby, like his predecessor, Morrice, was an Operative Mason or stonecutter, and Ware was a mathematician.

In 1721 the Duke of Montagu was elected Grand Master. He was the first nobleman who had served in that capacity, and from that day to the present the throne of the Grand Lodge of England, as it is technically styled, has without a single exception been occupied by persons of royal or noble rank.

In this year the office of Deputy Grand Master was created, and the power of choosing him as well as the Grand Wardens was taken from the Grand Lodge and invested in the Grand Master, a law which still continues in force.

Accordingly, the Duke of Montagu appointed John Beal, a physician, his Deputy, and Josiah Villeneau, who was an upholsterer, and again Thomas Morrice, his Wardens.

The Duke of Wharton, who was Grand Master in 1722, appointed Dr. Desaguliers his Deputy, and Joshua Timson and James

[1] Northouck's "Constitutions anno 1784," p. 207. Entick ("Constitutions," 1756, p. 190) had made a similar remark.

Anderson his Wardens. Timson was a blacksmith and Anderson a clergyman, well-known afterward as the Compiler of the first and second editions of the *Book of Constitutions.*

In 1723 the Earl of Dalkeith was Grand Master, Desaguliers again Deputy, and Francis Sorrel, Esq., and John Senex, a bookseller, Wardens.

From 1717 to 1722 the claims of the Operative Masons to hold a share of the offices had, as Gould[1] remarks, been fairly recognized. The appointment of Stonecutters, Carpenters, and other mechanics as Grand Wardens had been a concession by the Speculative members to the old Operative element.

But in 1723 the struggle between the two, which is noticed in the records of the society only by its results, terminated in the complete victory of the former, who from that time restricted the offices to persons of rank, of influence, or of learning. From the year 1723 no Operative Mason or workman of any trade was ever appointed as a Warden. In the language of Gould, "they could justly complain of their total supercession in the offices of the society."

This silent progress of events shows very clearly how the Freemasons who founded the Speculative Grand Lodge in 1717 on the principles and practices of Operative Freemasonry as they prevailed in the four Lodges of London, gradually worked themselves out of all connection with their Operative brethren and eventually made Freemasonry what it now is, a purely Speculative, philosophical, and moral institution.

Upon the coalition of the four Lodges into one supervising body, the next step in the progress to pure Speculative Freemasonry was to prevent the formation of other lodges which might be independent of the supervision of the Grand Lodge, and thus present an obstacle to the completion of the reformation.

This could only be accomplished by a voluntary relinquishment, on the part of the four Lodges, of their independency and an abandonment of their privileges.

The conference at the "Apple Tree Tavern" in February, 1717, and that at the "Goose and Gridiron" in June of the same year, were what, at the present day, would be called mass-meetings of the

[1] "Four Old Lodges," p. 33.

Craft. They resembled in that respect the General Assembly spoken of in the old manuscript Constitutions, and every Freemason was required to attend if it were held within a reasonable distance,[1] and if he had no satisfactory excuse for his absence.

Attendance at these conferences which resulted in the establishment of the Grand Lodge was open, not only to all the members of the four Lodges, but to other Masons who were not, to use a modern phrase, affiliated with any one of them.

"The Lodges," that is, the members of them, says Anderson, "with some old Brothers." Preston calls them more distinctively "some other old Brethren." Both of these phrases, of course, indicate that these "old Brethren" were not among the members of the four Lodges, but were Freemasons who had either, on account of their age, retired from active participation in the labors of the Craft, or who had been members of other lodges which were then extinct.

At the preliminary meeting in February, they voted, says Preston, "the oldest Master Mason then present into the Chair." Anderson, writing in 1738, adds "now the Master of a Lodge," by which I suppose he meant that the oldest Master Mason who presided in 1717 became in 1738 the Master of a Lodge. I know of no other way of interpreting the significance of the particle "now." They then "constituted themselves a Grand Lodge *pro tempore* in due form."

This "due form," I think, could have amounted to no more than a formal declaration of the intention to establish a Grand Lodge, which intention was carried out in the following June by the election of a Grand Master and Wardens.

The Freemasons of America are familiar with the methods pursued in the organization of a Grand Lodge in a territory where none had previously existed. Here a certain number of lodges, not less than three, assemble through their three principal officers and constitute a Convention, which proceeds to the election of a Grand Master and other officers, directs the lodges to surrender the Warrants under which they had been working to the Grand Lodges from which they had originally received them, and then issues new ones. The new Grand Lodge thus becomes "an accomplished fact."

[1] In most of the Constitutions that distance is defined to be not more than fifty miles.

But this was not the method adopted in the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1717. Instead of the representation of the four Lodges being restricted to the Masters and Wardens of each, all the members, down to the youngest Entered Apprentice, together with Masons who were not affiliated with any lodge, met together.

The chair, according to Preston, in the preliminary meeting in February had been taken by the oldest Master Mason present. At this meeting the oldest Master Mason, who at the same time was Master of one of the four Lodges, presided. Then the Grand Lodge was duly organized by the election of its first three officers.

But now it became necessary to secure the sovereignty of the new Grand Lodge as the future supervising body of the Craft, and to prevent any additional lodges being established without its authority, so that the system might be perfected in the future according to the method which was originally designed by its founders.

Almost the first regulation which was adopted at the meeting in June, 1717, was to effect this object.

Hitherto, as we have already seen, the Operative Freemasons possessed a privilege derived from the Old Constitutions of the Guild (and which is formally enunciated in the Harleian MS.) of assembling in lodges for the purpose of "making Masons" under very simple provisions. There was no necessity for a Warrant or permission from a superior Masonic body to make such an assembly legal.

But now it was resolved that this privilege should be abolished. No number of Masons were hereafter to assemble as a lodge without the consent of the Grand Lodge, expressed by the granting of a Warrant of Constitution or Charter authorizing them to constitute or form themselves into a lodge. Without such Warrant, says Preston, no lodge should hereafter be deemed regular or constitutional.

From this regulation, however, the four Lodges which had cooperated in the formation of the Grand Lodge were excepted. They, so long as they existed, were to be the only lodges working without a Warrant and deriving their authority to do so from "immemorial usage."

The effect of this regulation was to throw an insurmountable obstacle in the way of any new lodge being formed which was not

Speculative in its character and in perfect accord with the new system, from whose founders or their successors it was to derive its existence.

Hence it was the most fatal blow that had as yet been struck against the continuance of the Guild of purely Operative Freemasonry. No purely Operative nor half Operative and half Speculative lodges, we may be sure, would thereafter be erected.

From this time all lodges were to consist of Speculative Freemasons only and were to form a part of the new non-Operative system, of which the first organized Grand Lodge was the head and exercised the sovereign power.

It is true that Preston tells us that long before this period a regulation had been adopted by which "the privileges of Masonry should no longer be restricted to Operative Masons," but allowed to men of various professions; and it is also well known that there hardly ever was a time in the history of Operative Freemasonry when Theoretic or non-Operative persons were not admitted into the guild.

But this was taking a step farther, and a very long step, too. Membership in the new society was no longer a privilege extended by courtesy to Theoretic Masons. It was to be a franchise of which they alone were to be possessors. Operative Masons, merely as such, were to be excluded. In other words, no Operative Mason was to be admitted into the Fraternity because he was an Operative. He was, on his admission, to lay aside his profession, and unite with the others in the furtherance of the purely Speculative design of the Institution.

So it has continued to the present day, and so it must continue as long as the system of Speculative Freemasonry shall last. Operative Freemasonry, "wounded in the house of its friends," has never recovered from the blow thus inflicted.

Operative Masonry, for building purposes, still lives and must always live to serve the needs of man.

But Operative Freemasonry, as a Guild, is irrecoverably dead.

It is impossible to say for how long a time the meetings of the Grand Lodge continued to be attended by all the members of the particular lodges, or, in other words, when these assemblies ceased, like those of the old Operative Freemasons, to be mass-meetings of the Craft.

But the rapidly growing popularity of the new Order must have

rendered such meetings very inconvenient from the increase of members.

Anderson says that in 1718 "several old Brothers that had neglected the Craft visited the lodges; some noblemen were also made Brothers and more new lodges were constituted."[1]

Northouck, writing in reference to the same period, says that the Free and Accepted Masons "now began visibly to gather strength as a body,"[2] and we are told that at the annual feast in 1721 the number of lodges had so increased[3] that the General Assembly required more room, and therefore the Grand Lodge was on that occasion removed to Stationers' Hall, nor did it ever afterward return to its old quarters at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern."

This unwieldiness of numbers would alone be sufficient to suggest the convenience of changing the constitution of the Grand Lodge from a mass-meeting of the Fraternity into a representative body.

This was effected by the passage of a regulation dispensing with the attendance of the whole of the Craft at the annual meeting, and authorizing each lodge to be represented by its Master and two Wardens.

We have no positive knowledge of the exact date when this regulation was adopted. It first appears in the "General Regulations" which were compiled by Grand Master Payne in 1720, and approved by the Grand Lodge in 1721. The twelfth of these Regulations is in these words:

"The Grand Lodge consists of, and is formed by, the Masters and Wardens of all the regular, particular lodges upon record, with the Grand Master at their head, and his Deputy on his left hand, and the Grand Wardens in their proper places."

Preston says that the Grand Lodge having resolved that the four old Lodges should retain every privilege which they had collectively enjoyed by virtue of their immemorial rights, the members considered their attendance on the future Communications of the Grand Lodge unnecessary. They "therefore, like the other lodges, crusted implicitly to their Master and Wardens, resting satisfied

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d ed., p. 110.

[2] Northouck, "Constitutions," p. 207.

[3] There were at that time twenty lodges, and the number of Freemasons who attended the annual meeting and feast was one hundred and fifty.

that no measure of importance would be adopted without their approbation."[1]

But he adds that the officers of the four old Lodges "soon began to discover" that the new lodges might in time outnumber the old ones and encroach upon their privileges. They therefore formed a code of laws, the last clause of which provided that the Grand Lodge in making any new regulations should be bound by a careful observation of the old landmarks.

It is unfortunate that in treating this early period of Masonic history Preston should be so careless and confused in his chronology as to compel us to depend very much upon inference in settling the sequence of events.

It may, however, I think, be inferred from the remarks of Preston, and from what little we can collect from Anderson's brief notices, that the Grand Lodge continued to be a mass-meeting, attended by all the Craft, until the annual feast on the 24th of June, 1721. At that communication Anderson records that the Grand Lodge was composed of "Grand Master with his Wardens, the former Grand officers, and the Master and Wardens of the twelve lodges."[2] In all subsequent records he mentions the number of lodges which were represented by their officers, though the Grand Feast still continued to be attended by as many Masons as desired to partake of the dinner and, I suppose, were willing to pay their scot.[3]

It was, therefore, I think, not till 1721 that the Grand Lodge assumed that form which made it a representative body, consisting of the Masters and Wardens of the particular lodges, together with the officers of the Grand Lodge.

That form has ever since been retained in the organization of every Grand Lodge that has directly or indirectly emanated from the original body.

This was another significant token of the total disseverance that was steadily taking place between the Operative and the Speculative systems.

Hitherto we have been occupied with the consideration of the

[1] "Illustrations," p. 193.

[2] "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 112.

[3] The only qualification for attendance on the feast was that the guests must be Masons: therefore waiting brethren were appointed to attend the tables, "for that no strangers must be there." — "Constitutions," 2d ed., p. 112.

transactions recorded as having taken place at the annual meetings. We are now to inquire when these meetings began to be supple. mented by Quarterly Communications.

Here an historical question presents itself, which, so far as I am aware, has not been distinctly met and treated by any of our Masonic scholars. They all seem to have taken it for granted on the naked authority of Anderson and Preston, that the Quarterly Communications were coeval with the organization of the Grand Lodge in the year 1717.

Is this an historical fact? I confess that on this subject a shadow of doubt has been cast that obscures my clearness of vision.

Anderson says, and Preston repeats the statement, that at the preliminary meeting in February, 1717, at the "Apple Tree Tavern," it was resolved "to revive the Quarterly Communications."

But these two authorities (and they are the only ones that we have on the subject) differ in some of the details. And these differences are important enough to throw a doubt on the truth of the statement.

Anderson says in one place that in February, 1717, they "forthwith revived the Quarterly Communications of the officers of lodges called the Grand Lodge."[1]

Afterward he says that at the meeting in June, 1717, Grand Master Sayer "commanded the Masters and Wardens of lodges to meet the Grand officers every quarter in communication, at the place he should appoint in his summons sent by the Tyler."[2]

Preston says that in February "it was resolved to revive the Quarterly Communications of the Fraternity."[3] Immediately after he adds that in June the Grand Master "commanded the Brethren of the four Lodges to meet him and his Wardens quarterly in communication."[4]

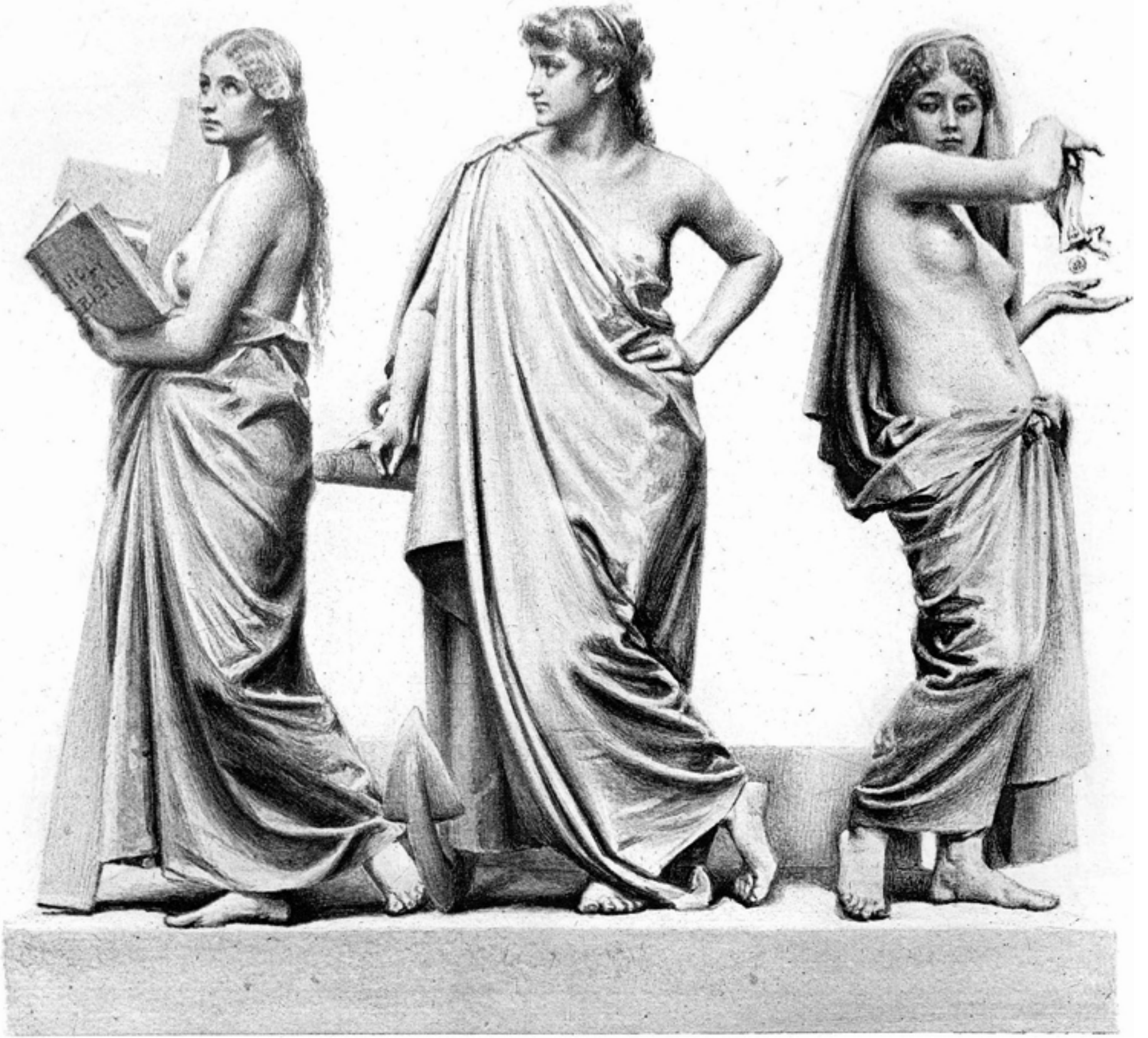
Thus, according to Preston, the Quarterly Communications were to apply to the whole body of the Fraternity; but Anderson restricted them to the Masters and Wardens of the lodges.

The two statements are irreconcilable. A mass-meeting of the whole Fraternity and a consultation of the Masters and Wardens of the lodges are very different things.

But both are in error in saying that the Quarterly Communica-

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 109.
[2] Preston, "Illustrations," p. 191.
[3] Ibid., p. 110.
[4] Ibid.

FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY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tïons "were revived," for there is no notice of or allusion to Quarterly Communications in any of the old records which speak only of an annual General Assembly of the Craft, and sometimes perhaps occasional assemblies for special purposes.

There can be no doubt that such was the usage among the English mediaeval guilds, a usage which must have been applicable to the Freemasons as well as to other Crafts. "The distinction," says J. Toulmin Smith, "between the gatherings (congregations) and general meetings (assemblies) is seen at a glance in most of the ordinances. The guild brethren were bound to gather together, at unfixed times, for special purposes; but besides these gatherings upon special summons, general meetings of the guilds were held on fixed days in every year for the election of officers, holding their feasts, etc."[1]

I do not see any analogy in these gatherings of local guilds to the Quarterly Communications of the Grand Lodge spoken of by Anderson. The analogy is rather to the monthly meetings of the particular lodges as contrasted with the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge.

But if, as Anderson and Preston say, the Quarterly Communications were "forthwith revived" in 1717, it is singular that there is no record of any one having been held until December, 1720. After that date we find the Quarterly Communications regularly recorded by Anderson as taking place at the times appointed in the Regulations which were compiled in 1720 by Grand Master Payne, namely, "about Michaelmas, Christmas, and Lady Day," that is, in September, December, and March.

The word "about" in the 12th Regulation permitted some latitude as to the precise day of meeting.

Accordingly, we find that Quarterly Communications were held in 1721 in March, September, and December; in 1722, in March, but the others appeared to have been neglected, perhaps in consequence of irregularities attendant on the illegal election of the Duke of Wharton; in 1723 there were Quarterly Communications in April and November, and the December meeting was postponed to the following January; in 1724 they occurred in February and November; in 1725 in May, November, and December, and so on, but with greater regularity, in all the subsequent proceedings of the Grand Lodge as recorded in the *Book of Constitutions* by Ander-

[1] "English Guilds," p. 128, note.

son, and by his successors Entick and Northouck in the subsequent editions.

Looking at the silence of the records in respect to Quarterly-Communications from 1717 to 1720; then to the regular appearance of such records after that year, and seeing that in the latter year the provision for them was first inserted in the General Regulations compiled at that time by Grand Master Payne, I trust that I shall not be deemed too skeptical or too hypercritical, if I confess my doubt of the accuracy of Anderson, who has, whether wilfully or carelessly, I will not say, attributed the establishment of these Quarterly Communications to Grand Master Sayer, when the honor, if there be any, properly belongs to Grand Master Payne.

The next subject that will attract our attention in this sketch of the early history of the Grand Lodge, is the method in which the laws which regulated the original Operative system were gradually modified and at length completely changed so as to be appropriate to the peculiar needs of a wholly Speculative Society.

When the four old Lodges united, in the year 1717, in organizing a Grand Lodge, it is very evident that the only laws which governed them must have been the "Charges" contained in the manuscript Constitutions or such private regulations adopted by the lodges, as were conformable to them.

There was no other Masonic jurisprudence known to the Operative Freemasons of England, at the beginning of the 18th century, than that which was embodied in these old Constitutions. These were familiar to the Operative Freemasons of that day, as they had been for centuries before to their predecessors.

Though never printed, copies of them in manuscript were common and were easily accessible. They were often copied, one from another—just as often, probably, as the wants of a new lodge might require.

Beginning at the end of the 14th century, which is the date of the poetical Constitutions, which were first published by Mr. Halliwell, copies continued to be made until the year 1714, which is the date of the last one now extant, executed before the organization of the Grand Lodge.[1]

[1] I take no notice here of the Krause MS., which pretends to contain the Constitutions enacted by Prince Edwin, in 926, because I have not the least doubt that it is a forgery of comparatively recent times.

Now in all these written Constitutions, extending through a period of more than three centuries, there is a very wonderful conformity of character.

The poetic form which exists in the Halliwell MS. was apparently never imitated, and all the subsequent manuscript Constitutions now extant are in prose. But as Bro. Woodford has justly observed, they all "seem in fact to be clearly derived from the Masonic Poem, though naturally altered in their prose form, and expanded and modified through transmission and oral tradition, as well as by the lapse of time and the change of circumstances."[1]

While these old constitutions contained, with hardly any appreciable variation, the *Legend of the Craft*, which was conscientiously believed by the old Operative Free Masons as containing the true history of the rise and progress of the brotherhood, they embodied also that code of laws by which the fraternity was governed during the whole period of its existence.

Though these Constitutions commenced, so far as we have any knowledge of them from personal inspection, at the close of the 14th century, we are not to admit that there were no earlier copies. Indeed, I have formerly shown that the Halliwell Poem, whose conjectural date is 1390, is evidently a compilation from two other poems of an earlier date.

The Freemasons who were contemporary with the organization of the Grand Lodge held those old manuscript Constitutions, as their predecessors had done before them, in the greatest reverence. The fact that the laws which they prescribed, like those of the Medes and Persians, had invested them with the luster of antiquity, and as they had always remained written, and had never been printed, the Craft looked upon them as their peculiar property and gave to them much of an esoteric character.

This false estimate of the true nature of these documents led to an inexcusable and irreparable destruction of many of them.

Grand Master Payne had in 1718 desired the brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge "any old writings and records concerning Masons and Masonry in order to show the usages of ancient times."[2] These, it was suspected, were to be used in the preparation and publication of a contemplated Book of Masonic Constitutions, and the

[1] Preface to Hughan's "Old Charges of British Freemasons," p. 13.

[2] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. no.

Masons became alarmed at the threatened publicity of what they had always deemed to be secret.

Accordingly, in 1720, "at some private lodges," says Anderson, "several valuable manuscripts (for they had nothing yet in print) concerning their lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr. Nicholas Stone, the Warden of Inigo Jones) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous brothers, that those papers might not fall into strange hands."[1]

Northouck, commenting on this instance of vandalism, which he strangely styles an act of *felo de se*, says that it surely "could not proceed from zeal according to knowledge."

Of course, it was zeal without knowledge that led to this destruction, the effects of which are felt at this day by every scholar who attempts to write an authentic history of Freemasonry.

The object of Grand Master Payne in attempting to make a collection of these old writings was undoubtedly to enable him to frame a code of laws which should be founded on what Anderson calls the Gothic Constitutions. Several copies of these Constitutions were produced in the year 1718 and collated.

The result of this collation was the production which under the title of "The Charges of a Free-Mason" was appended to the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.

This is the first code of laws enacted by the Speculative Grand Lodge of England, and thus becomes important as an historical document.

As to the date and the authorship we have no other guide than that of inference.

There can, however, be little hesitation in ascribing the authorship to Payne and the time of the compilation to the period of his first Grand Mastership, which extended from June, 1718, to June, 1719.

In the title to these "Charges" it is said that they have been "extracted from the ancient records of lodges beyond sea and of those in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the use of the lodges in London."

Now this admirably coincides with the passage in Anderson in which it is said that at the request of Grand Master Payne, in the

[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 111.

year 1718, "several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated."

In fact, we thus identify the collation of the Gothic Constitutions in 1718 with the "Charges of a Free-Mason," published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions.*

Nor do I feel any hesitation in ascribing this collation of the old Constitutions and the compilation, out of it, of the "Charges" to Payne, whose genius lay in that way and who again exercised it, two years afterward, in the compilation of the "General Regulations," which took the place of the "Charges" as the law of the Speculative Grand Lodge.

The valuable services of George Payne in the incipient era of Speculative Freemasonry have not received from our historians the appreciation which is their just due. His reputation has been overshadowed by that of Desaguliers. Both labored much and successfully for the infant institution. But we should never forget that the work of Payne in the formation of its jurisprudence was as important as was that of Desaguliers in the fabrication of its ritual.[1]

But to resume the history of the progress of Masonic law.

The adoption in 1718 of the "Charges of a Free-Mason," with the direction that they shall be read as the existing law of the fraternity "at the making of new brethren,"[2] is a very significant proof of what has before been suggested that at the time of the so-called "Revival" there was no positive intention to wholly dissever the Speculative from the Operative system.

These "Charges" are, as they must necessarily have been, originating as they did in the Old Constitutions, a code of regulations adapted only to a fraternity of Operative Freemasons and wholly inapplicable to a society of Speculatives, such as the institution afterward became.

Thus Masters were not to receive Apprentices unless they had sufficient employment for them; the Master was to oversee the

[1] Dr. Oliver very inaccurately says in his "Revelations of a Square" that "at the annual assembly on St. John's day, 1721, Desaguliers produced thirty-eight regulations," but distinctly states that these regulations were "compiled first by Mr. George Payne, anno 1720, when he was Grand Master, and approved by the Grand Lodge on St. John Baptist's day, anno 1721." The venerable doctor had here forgotten the Ciceronian axiom—*suum cuique tribuere.*

[2] See the title of the "Charges" in the first edition of the "Book of Constitutions," p. 49.

lord's or employer's work, and was to be chosen from the most expert of the Fellow-Crafts; the Master was to undertake the lord's work for reasonable pay; no one was to receive more wages than he deserved; the Master and the Masons were to receive their wages meekly; were to honestly finish their work and not to put them to task which had been accustomed to journey; nor was one Mason to supplant another in his work.

The Operative feature is very plain in these regulations. They are, it is true, supplemented by other regulations as to conduct in the lodge, in the presence of strangers, and at home; and these are as applicable to a Speculative as they are to an Operative Mason.

But the whole spirit, and, for the most part, the very language of these "Charges," is found in the Old Constitutions of the Operative Masons.

They have, however, been always accepted as the foundation of the law of Speculative Masonry, though originally adopted at a time when the society had not yet completely thrown over its Operative character.

But to apply them to an exposition of the laws of Speculative Freemasonry, and to make them applicant to the government of the Order in its purely Speculative condition, modern Masonic jurists have found it necessary to give to the language of the "Charges" a figurative or symbolic signification, a process that I suspect was not contemplated by Payne or his contemporaries.

Thus, to work, is now interpreted as meaning to practice the ritual. The lodge is at work when it is conferring a degree. To receive wages is to be advanced from a lower to a higher degree. To supplant another in his work, is for one lodge to interfere with the candidates of another.

In this way statutes intended originally for the government of a body of workmen have by judicial ingenuity been rendered applicable to a society of moralists.

The adoption of these "Charges" was a concession to the Operative element of the new society. The Grand Lodge of 1717 was the successor or the outcome of an old and different association. It brought into its organization the relics of that old association, nor was it prepared in its inchoate condition to cast aside all the usages and habits of that ancient body.

Hence the first laws enacted by the Speculative Grand Lodge

were borrowed from and founded on the manuscript Constitutions of the Operative Freemasons.

But the inapplicability of such a system of government to the new organization was very soon discovered.

Two years afterward Payne, untiring in his efforts to perfect the institution, which had honored him twice with its highest office, compiled a new code which was perfectly applicable to a Speculative society.

This new code, under the title of the "General Regulations," was compiled by Payne in 1720, and having been approved by the Grand Lodge in 1721, was inserted in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1723.

Anderson says that he "has compared them with and reduced them to the ancient records and immemorial usages of the Fraternity, and digested them into this new method with several proper explications for the use of the lodges in and about London and Westminster.[1]

There certainly is some evidence of the handiwork of Anderson in some interpolations which must have been of a later date than that of the original compilation.[2] But as a body of law, it must be considered as the work of Payne.

This code has ever since remained as the groundwork or basis of the system of Masonic jurisprudence. Very few modifications have ever been made in its principles. Additional laws have been since enacted, not only by the mother Grand Lodge, but by those which have emanated from it, but the spirit of the original code has always been respected and preserved. In fact, it has been regarded almost in the light of a set of landmarks, whose sanctity could not legally be violated.

George Payne, the second and fourth Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, is therefore justly entitled to the distinguished reputation of being the lawgiver of modern Freemasonry.

If we compare the Charges adopted in 1718 with the Regulations approved in 1721, we will be struck with the great change that

[1] Title prefixed to the General Regulations, in 1st edition of "Book of Constitutions," p. 58.

[2] This subject will be more fully discussed, and some of these interpolations will be pointed out, when we come, in a future chapter, to the consideration of the fabrication of the degrees.

must have taken place in the constitution and character of a society that thus necessitated so important a modification in its principles of government.

The "Charges" were, as has already been shown, applicable to an association in which the Operative element preponderated. The Regulations are appropriate to one wholly Speculative in its design, and from which the Operative element has been thoroughly eliminated.

The adoption of the Regulations in 1721 was therefore an irrefutable proof that at that period the Grand Lodge and the lodges under its jurisdiction had entirely severed all connection with Operative Freemasonry.

We may, indeed, make this the epoch to which we are to assign the real birth of pure Speculative Freemasonry in England.

There were, however, many lodges outside of the London limit which still preserved the Operative character, and many years elapsed before the Speculative system was universally disseminated throughout the kingdom.

The minutes of a few of them have been preserved or recovered after having been lost, and they exhibit for the most part, as late as the middle of the 18th century, the characteristics which distinguished all English Masonic lodges before the establishment of the Grand Lodge. Their membership consisted of an admixture of Operative and Theoretic Masons. But the business of the lodge was directed to the necessities and inclinations of the former class.

A common feature in these minutes is the record of the indentures of Apprentices for seven years, to Master Masons who were members of the lodge.

Speculative Freemasonry, which took rapid growth in London after its severance from the Operative lodges, made slower progress in the provinces.

Of the rapidity of growth in the city and its suburbs we have very satisfactory evidence in the increase of lodges as shown in the official lists which were printed at occasional periods.

Thus, in 1717, as we have seen, there were but four Lodges engaged in the organization of the Grand Lodge.

These were the only Lodges then in London. At least no evidence has ever been produced that there were any others. These Were all original Operative lodges.

Anderson says that "more new lodges were constituted" in 1719.

If he had been accurate in the use of his language, the qualifying adverb "more" would indicate that "new lodges" had also been constituted the year before.

In June, 1721, twelve lodges were represented in the Grand Lodge by their Masters and Wardens, showing, if there were no absentees, that eight new lodges had been added to the Fraternity since 1717.

In September of the same year Anderson records the presence of the representatives of sixteen lodges. Either four new lodges had been added to the list between June and September, or what is more likely, some were absent in the meeting of the former month.

In March, 1722, the officers of twenty-four lodges are recorded as being present, and in April, 1723, the number had increased to thirty.

But the number of lodges stated by Anderson to have been represented at the Communications of the Grand Lodge does not appear to furnish any absolute criterion of the number of lodges in existence. Thus, while the records show that in April, 1723, thirty lodges were represented in the Grand Lodge, the names of the Masters and Wardens of only twenty lodges are signed to the approbation of the *Book of Constitutions,* which is appended to the first edition of that work published in the same year.

Bro. Gould calls this "the first List of Lodges ever printed,"[1] but I deem it unworthy of that title, if by a "List of Lodges" is meant a roll of all those actually in existence at the time. Now, if this were a correct list of the lodges which were on the roll of the Grand Lodge at the time, what has become of the ten necessary to make up the number of thirty which are reported to have been represented in April, 1723, besides some others which we may suppose to have been absent?

Anderson did not think it worth while to explain the incongruity, but from 1723 onward we have no further difficulty in tracing the numerical progress of the lodges and incidentally the increase in the number of members of the Fraternity.

Engraved lists of lodges began in 1723 to be published by authority of the Grand Lodge, and to the correctness of these we may safely trust, as showing the general progress of the Institution.

[1] The "Four Old Lodges," p. 2.

The first of these lists is "printed for and sold by Eman Bowen, Engraver, in Aldersgate St." It purports to be a list of lodges in 1723, and the number of them amounts to fifty-one. In 1725 Pine, who was in some way connected, it is supposed, with Bowen, issued a list for 1725, which contains, not the names, for the lodges at that time had no names, but the taverns or places of meeting of sixty-four lodges, fifty-six of which were in London or its vicinity.

On November 27, 1723, the Grand Lodge commenced in its minute-book an official list of the lodges, which seems, says Bro. Gould, "to have been continued until 1729." The lodges are entered, says the same authority, in ledger form, two lodges to a page, and beneath them appear the names of members.

This list contains seventy-seven lodges. Supposing, as Gould does, that the list extended to 1729, it shows an increase in twelve years of seventy-three lodges, without counting the lodges which had become extinct or been merged into other lodges.

In the next official list contained in the minute-book of the Grand Lodge, and which extends to 1732, the number of lodges enumerated is one hundred and two, or an increase in fifteen years of ninety-eight lodges, again leaving out the extinct ones.

These examples are sufficient to show the steady and rapid growth of the society during the period of its infancy.

There is, however, another historical point which demands consideration. At what time did the formal constitution of lodges begin?

It is at this day a settled law and practice, that before a lodge of Masons can take its position as one of the constituent members of a Grand Lodge, a certain form or ceremony must be undergone by which it acquires all its legal rights. This form or ceremony is called its Constitution, and the authority for this must emanate from the Grand Lodge, either directly, as in America, or indirectly, through the Grand Master, as in England, and is called the Warrant or Constitution.

The Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England, which are in force at the present day, say: "In order to avoid irregularities, every new lodge should be solemnly constituted by the Grand Master with his Deputy and Wardens."[1]

[1] "Constitutions of the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons," p. 124.

This regulation has been in force at least since January, 1723, the very words of the clause above quoted having been taken from the form of constitution practiced by the Duke of Wharton, who was Grand Master in that year, and which form is appended to the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions.*

Anderson says that in 1719 "more new lodges were constituted;"[1] and Preston states that at the meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1717 a regulation was agreed to that "every lodge, except the four old Lodges at this time existing, should be legally authorized to act by a warrant from the Grand Master for the time being, granted to certain individuals by petition, with the consent and approbation of the Grand Lodge in communication; and that without such warrant no lodge should be hereafter deemed regular or constitutional."[2]

Now I think that on the establishment of the new Grand Lodge, when the only lodge then existing in London had united in the enterprise of modifying their old and decaying system, and of renovating and strengthening it by a closer union, it may be fairly conceded that the members must, at a very early period, have come to the agreement that no new members should be admitted into the society unless consent had been previously obtained for their admission. This would naturally be the course pursued by any association for the purpose of self-preservation from the annoyance of uncongenial companions.

If any number of craftsmen availing themselves of the privilege of assembling as Masons in a lodge, which privilege had hitherto been unlimited and, as Preston says, was inherent in them as individuals, and which was guaranteed to them by the old Operative Constitutions, there is, I think, no doubt that such a lodge would not have been admitted into the new Fraternity in consequence of this spontaneous and automatic formation.

The new society would not recognize it as a part of its organization, at least until it had made an application and been accepted as a co-partner in the concern.

The primitive lodges which are said by Anderson to have been "constituted" between the years 1717 and 1723 mayor may not have originated in this way. There is no record one way or the other.

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[1] Anderson, "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. no.

[2] "Illustrations," p. 193.

But it is, I think, very certain that the present method of constituting lodges was not adopted until a regulation to that effect was enacted in 1721. This regulation is found among those which were compiled by Payne in 1720, and approved the following year by the Grand Lodge.

It is a part of the eighth regulation, and it prescribes that "if any Set or Number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a lodge without the Grand Master's warrant, the regular lodges are not to countenance them nor own them as fair brethren and duly formed" until the Grand Master "approve of them by his warrant, which must be specified to the other lodges, as the custom is when a new lodge is to be registered in the list of lodges."

This regulation was followed in 1723 by a form or, "manner of constituting new lodges," which was practiced by the Duke of Wharton when Grand Master, and which was probably composed for him by Dr. Desaguliers, who was his Deputy.

It would seem, then, that new lodges were not constituted by warrant until the year 1721, the date of the Regulation, nor constituted in form until 1723, during the administration of the Duke of Wharton. Prior to that time, if we may infer from the phraseology of the Regulation, lodges when accepted as regular were said to be "formed," and were registered in the "List of Lodges."[1]

This presumption derives plausibility from the authentic records of the period.

In the earlier "Lists of Lodges" authoritatively issued, there is no mention of the date of Constitution of the lodges. In all the later lists the date of Constitution is given. In none of them, however, is there a record of any lodge having been constituted prior to the year 1721. Thus, in Pine's list for 1740, engraved by order of the Grand Officers, and which contains the names and numbers of one hundred and eighty-one lodges, four are recorded as having been constituted in 1721, five in 1722, and fourteen in 1723. No lodge is recorded there as having been constituted between the years 1717 and 1721.

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[1] In an article published in Mackey's *National Freemason* in 1873 (vol. ii., p. 288), Bro. Hughan has said "that it is a fact that no constituted lodge dates at an earlier period than the Revival of Masonry, 1717." I suspect my learned brother wrote these lines *currente calamo,* and without his usual caution. It will be seen from the text that there is no record of any constituted lodge dating prior to 1721.

It is, then, very clear that the system of constituting lodges was not adopted until the latter year; that it was another result of the legal labors of Payne in legislating for the new society, and another and an important step in the disseverance of Speculative from Operative Freemasonry.

We next approach the important and highly interesting subject of the early ritual of the new institution. But this will demand for its thorough consideration and full discussion the employment of a distinct chapter.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE EARLY RITUAL OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY

THE ritual is an important part of the organization of Speculative Freemasonry. It is not a mere garment intended to cover the institution and conceal its body from unlawful inspection. It is the body itself and the very life of the institution. Eliminate from Freemasonry all vestiges of a ritual and you make it a mere lifeless mass. Its characteristic as a benevolent or as a social association might continue, but all its pretensions as a speculative system of science and philosophy would be lost.

As a definition of this important and indispensable element in the Masonic system, it may be said that the ritual is properly the prescribed method of administering the forms of initiation into the society, comprising not only the ceremonies but also the explanatory lectures, the catechismal tests, and the methods of recognition.

Every secret society, that is to say, every society exclusive in its character, confining itself to a particular class of persons, and isolating itself by its occult organization from other associations and from mankind in general, must necessarily have some formal mode of admission, some meaning in that form which would need explanation, and some method by which its members could maintain their exclusiveness.

Every secret society must, then, from the necessity of its organization, be provided with some sort of a ritual, whether it be simple or complex.

The Operative Freemasonry of the Middle Ages is acknowledged to have been a secret and exclusive society or guild of architects and builders, who concealed the secret processes of their art from all who were not workers with them.

As a secret association, the old Operative Freemasons must have

possessed a ritual. And we have, to support this hypothesis, not only logical inference but unquestionable historical evidence.

German archaeologists have given us the examination or catechism which formed a part of the ritual of the German Steinmetzen or Stonecutters.

The Sloane MS. No. 3329 contains the catechism used by the Operative Freemasons of England in the 17th century. A copy of this manuscript has already been given in a preceding part[1] of the present work, and it is therefore unnecessary to reproduce it here.

As the Sloane MS. has been assigned to a period between 1640 and 1700, we may safely conclude that it contains the ritual then in use among the English Operative Freemasons. At a later period it may have suffered considerable changes, but we infer that the ritual exposed in that manuscript was the foundation of the one which was in use by the Operative lodges which united in the formation of the Grand Lodge in the year 1717.

If the new society did not hesitate to adopt, at first, the old laws of the Operative institution, it is not at all probable that it would have rejected the ritual then in use and frame a new one. Until the Grand Lodge was securely seated in power, and the Operative element entirely eliminated, it would have been easier to use the old Operative ritual. In time, as the Operative laws were replaced by others more fitting to the character of the new Order, so the simple, Operative ritual must have given way to the more ornate one adapted to the designs of Speculative Freemasonry.

But during the earlier years of the Grand Lodge, this old Operative ritual continued to be used by the lodges under its jurisdiction.

The precise ritual used at that time is perhaps irretrievably lost, so that we have no direct, authentic account of the forms of initiation, yet by a careful collation of the historical material now in possession of the Fraternity, we may unravel the web, to all appearance hopelessly entangled, and arrive at something like historic truth.

It was not until 1721 that by the approval of the "Charges" which had been compiled the year before by Grand Master Payne, the Grand Lodge took the first bold and decisive step toward the

[1] See Part II., chap. xii., p. 626.

total abolishment of the Operative element, and the building upon its ruins a purely Speculative institution.

The ritual used by the four old Lodges must have been very simple. It probably consisted of little more than a brief and unimpressive ceremony of admission, the communication of certain words and signs, and instruction in a catechism derived from that which is contained in the Sloane MS. But I do not doubt that this catechism, brief as it is, was greatly modified and abridged by the lapse of time, the defects of memory, and the impossibility of transmitting oral teachings for any considerable length of time.

It is probable that Dr. Desaguliers, the great ritualist of the day, may have begun to compose the new ritual about the same time that Payne, the great lawmaker of the day, began to compile his new laws.

What this ritual was we can only judge by inference, by comparison, and by careful analysis, just as Champollion deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphics by a collation of the three inscriptions of the Rosetta Stone.

For this purpose we have a very competent supply of documents which we may employ in a similar comparison and analysis of the primitive ritual of the Speculative Freemasons.

Thus we have had the book called *The Grand Mystery*, which was published just a year after the appearance of the first edition of Anderson's *Book of Constitutions.*

Dr. Oliver, it is true, calls this production a "catchpenny."[1] It would be great folly to assert that it did not contain some shadowing forth of what was the ritual at the time of its publication. When, a few years afterward, Samuel Prichard published his book entitled *Masonry Dissected*, which is evidently based on *The Grand Mystery*, and in fact an enlargement of it, showing the improvements and developments which had taken place in the ritual, Dr.

[1] "Revelations of a Square," chap. ii., note 6. But in a posthumous work entitled "The Discrepancies of Freemasonry," published by Hogg & Co. in 1874 (page 79), he treats it with more respect, and says that it was the examination or lecture used by the Craft in the 17th century, the original of which, in the handwriting of Elias Ashmole, was given to Anderson when he made his collections for the history contained in the "Book of Constitutions." All this is very possibly correct, but as Oliver must have derived his information from some traditional source in his own possession solely, and as he has cited no authentic authority, we can hardly make use of it as an historical fact.

Anderson replied to it in the pamphlet entitled *A Defense of Masonry*.

In this work it will be remarked that Anderson does not directly deny the accuracy of Prichard's formulas; but only attempts to prove, which he does very successfully, that the ceremonies as they are described by Prichard were neither "absurd nor pernicious."

The truth is that Anderson's *Defense* is a very learned and interesting interpretation of the symbols and ceremonies which were described by Prichard, and might have been written, just in the same way, if Anderson had selected the ritual as it was then framed on which to found his commentaries.

Krause accepted both of these works, as he gave them a place in his great work on *The Three Oldest Documents of the Masonic Brotherhood.*

For myself, I am disposed to take these and similar productions with some grains of allowance, yet not altogether rejecting them as utterly worthless. From such works we may obtain many valuable suggestions, when they are properly and judiciously analyzed.

Krause thinks that *The Grand Mystery* was the production of one of the old Masons, who was an Operative builder and a man not without some learning.

This is probably a correct supposition. At all events, I am willing to take the work as a correct exposition, substantially, of the condition of the ritual at the time when it was published, which was seven years after what was called the "Revival" in London.

It will give us a very correct idea of the earliest ritual accepted by the Speculative Masons from their Operative brethren, and used until the genius of Desaguliers had invented something more worthy of the Speculative science.

Adopting it then as the very nearest approximation to the primitive ritual of the Speculative Freemasons, it will not be an unacceptable gift, nor useless in prosecuting the discussion of the subject to which this chapter is devoted.

It has not often been reprinted, and the original edition of 1724 is very scarce. I shall make use of the almost fac-simile imitation of that edition printed in 1867 by the Masonic Archaeological Society of Cincinnati, and under the supervision of Brother Enoch T. Carson, from whose valuable library the original exemplar was obtained.

The title of the pamphlet is as follows:

"*The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover d. Wherein are the several Questions, put to them at their Meetings and Installations: As also the Oath, Health, Signs and Points to know each other by. As they were found in the Custody of a Free-Mason who Dyed suddenly. And now Publish'd for the Information of the Publick. London: Printed for T. Payne near Stationer's-Hall 1724.* (*Price Six Pence*)."

THE CATECHISM.[1]

1. Q. Peace be here.
   A. I hope there is.
2. Q. What a-clock is it?
   A. It is going to Six or going to Twelve.[2]
3. Q. Are you very busy?[3]
   A. No.
4. Q. Will you give or take?
   A. Both; or which you please.
5. Q. How go Squares?[4]
   A. Straight.
6. Q. Are you Rich or Poor?
   A. Neither.
7. Q. Change me that.[5]
   A. I will.

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[1] The object of this reprint being only to give the reader some idea of what was the earliest form of the ritual that we possess, the Preface, the Free-Mason's Oath, A Free-Mason's Health and the signs to know a Free Mason have been omitted as being unnecessary to that end. The questions have been numbered here only for facility of reference in future remarks.

[2] This may be supposed to refer to the hours of labor of Operative Masons who commenced work at six in the morning and went to their noon-meal at twelve. This is the first indication that this was a catechism originally used by Operative Free Masons.

[3] Otherwise, "Have you any work?" Krause suggests that it was the question addressed to a traveling Fellow who came to the lodge. "Every Mason," say the Old Constitutions, "shall receive or cherish strange Fellows when they come over the Country and sett them on work."—Landsdowne MS.

[4] Halliwell, in his Dictionary, cites "How gang squares?" as meaning "How do you do?" He also says that "How go the squares?" means, how goes on the game, as chess or draughts, the board being full of squares. Krause adopts this latter interpretation of the phrase, but I prefer the former.

[5] Here it is probable that the grip was given and interchanged. The mutilation of this catechism which Krause suspects is here, I think, evident. The answer "I will" and

8. Q. In the name of, &C,[1] are you a Mason?
9. Q. What is a Mason?
   A. A Man begot of a Man, born of a woman, Brother to a king.
10. Q. What is a Fellow?
   A. A Companion of a Prince.
11. Q. How shall I know that you are a Free-Mason?
   A. By Signs, Tokens, and Points of my Entry.
12. Q. Which is the Point of your Entry?
   A. I hear[2] and conceal, under the penalty of having my Throat cut, or my Tongue pull'd out of my Head.
13. Q. Where was you made a Free-Mason?
   A. In a just and perfect Lodge.
14. Q. How many make a Lodge?
   A. God and the Square with five or seven right and perfect Masons, on the highest Mountains, or the lowest Valleys in the world.[3]
15. Q. Why do Odds make a Lodge?
   A. Because all Odds are Men's Advantage.[4]
16. Q. What Lodge are you of?
   A. The Lodge of St. John.[5]

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the expression "In the name of, &c.," are connected with the interchange of the grip. The answer to the question "Are you a Mason?" is omitted, and then the catechism goes on with the question "What is a Mason?"

[1] The omission here can not be supplied. It was a part of the formula of giving the grip. Krause suggests that the words thus omitted by the editor of the catechism might be "In the name of the Pretender" or probably "In the name of the King and the Holy Roman Catholic Church." But the former explanation would give the catechism too modern an origin and the latter would carry it too far back. However, that would suit the hypothesis of Dr. Krause. I reject both, but can not supply a substitute unless it were "In the name of God and the Holy Saint John."

[2] The Sloane MS., in which the same answer occurs, says, "I heal and conceal," to heal being old English for to hide. It is very clear that the word hear is a typographical error.

[3] Krause thinks that in this answer an old and a new ritual are mixed. God and the Square he assigns to the former, the numbers five and seven to the latter. But the Harleian MS. requires five to make a legal lodge.

[4] We must not suppose that this was derived from the Kabbalists. The doctrine that God delights in odd numbers, "numero Deus impare gaudet" (Virgil, Ed. viii.), is as old as the oldest of the ancient mythologies. It is the foundation of all the numerical symbolism of Speculative Freemasonry. We here see that it was observed in the oldest ritual.

[5] This hieroglyphic appears to have been the early sign for a lodge, as the oblong square is at the present day.

17. Q. How does it stand?
A. Perfect East and West, as all Temples do.
18. Q. Where is the Mason's Point?[1]
A. At the East-Window, waiting at the Rising of the Sun, to set his men at work.
19. Q. Where is the Warden's Point?
A. At the West-Window, waiting at the Setting of the Sun to dismiss the Entered Apprentices.
20. Q. Who rules and governs the Lodge, and is Master of it?
A. Irah, ✠ Iachin } or the Right Pillar.[2]
21. Q. How is it govern'd?
A. Of Square and Rule.
22. Q. Have you the Key of the Lodge?
A. Yes, I have.
23. Q. What is its virtue?
A. To open and shut, and shut and open.
24. Q. Where do you keep it?
A. In an Ivory Box, between my Tongue and my Teeth, or within my Heart, where all my Secrets are kept.
25. Q. Have you the Chain to the Key?
A. Yes, I have.
26. Q. How long is it?
A. As long as from my Tongue to my Heart.[3]

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[1] I find this question thus printed in all the copies to which I have had access. But I have not the slightest doubt that there has been a typographical error, which has been faithfully copied. I should read it "Where is the Master's point?" The next question confirms my conviction. The Master sets the Craft to work, the Warden dismisses them. This has been followed by the modern rituals.

[2] Various have been the conjectures as to the meaning of the word Irah. Schneider, looking to the theory that modern Freemasonry was instituted to secure the restoration of the House of Stuart, supposes the letters of the word to be the initials of the Latin sentence "Iacobus Redibit Ad Hereditatem" — James shall return to his inheritance. Krause thinks it the anagram of Hiram, and he rejects another supposition that it is the Hebrew Irah, reverence or holy fear, *i.e.*, the fear of God. It may mean Hiram, but there is no need of an anagram. The wonted corruption of proper names in the old Masonic manuscripts makes Irah a sufficiently near approximation to Hiram, who is called in the Old Constitutions, Aynon, Aman, Amon, Anon, or Ajuon. The German Steinmetzen called Tubal Cain Walcan.

[3] Speaking of tests like this, Dr. Oliver very wisely says: "These questions may be considered trivial, but in reality they were of great importance and included some of the

27. Q. How many precious Jewels?
A. Three; a square Asher, a Diamond, and a Square.
28. Q. How many Lights?
A. Three; a Right East, South and West.[1]
29. Q. What do they represent?
A. The Three Persons: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[2]
30. Q. How many Pillars?
A. Two; Iachin and Boaz.
31. Q. What do they represent?
A. A Strength and Stability of the Church in all Ages.[3]
32. Q. How many Angles in St. John's Lodge?
A. Four bordering on Squares. ✠
33. Q. How is the Meridian foundout?
A. When the Sun leaves the South and breaks in at the West-End of the Lodge.
34. Q. In what part of the Temple was the Lodge kept?
A. In Solomon's Porch,[4] at the West-End of the Temple, where the two Pillars were set up.
35. Q. How many Steps belong to a right Mason?
A. Three.
36. Q. Give me the Solution.
A. I will . . . The Right Worshipful, Worshipful Master and Worshipful Fellows of the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence I came, greet you well. That Great God to us greeting, be at this our meet-

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profoundest mysteries of the Craft. . . . A single Masonic question, how puerile soever it may appear, is frequently in the hands of an expert Master of the Art, the depository of most important secrets." On "The Masonic Tests of the Eighteenth Century" in his "Golden Remains," vol. iv., pp. 14, 15.

[1] The Bauhütten or Operative lodges of the Germans probably had, says Krause, only three windows corresponding to the cardinal points, and the three principal officers of the lodge had their seats near them so as to obtain the best light for their labors.

[2] This is ample proof that the earliest Freemasonry of the new Grand Lodge was distinctly Christian. The change of character did not occur until the adoption of the "Old Charges" as printed in Anderson's first edition. But more of this in the text.

[3] There is an allusion to strength in the German Steinmetzen's catechism: "What is the Strength of our Craft?" Strength continued to be symbolized as a Masonic attribute in all subsequent rituals and so continues to the present day.

[4] An allusion to the Temple of Solomon is common in all the old Constitutions. But no hypothesis can be deduced from this of the Solomonic origin of Freemasonry. The subject is too important to be discussed in a note.

ing, and with the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence you came, and you are.[1]

37. Q. Give me the Jerusalem Word.[2]
A. Giblin.

38. Q. Give me the Universal Word.
A. Boaz.

39. Q. Right Brother of ours, your Name?
A. N. or M.
Welcome Brother M. or N. to our Society.

40. Q. How many particular Points pertain to a Free-Mason?
A. Three; Fraternity, Fidelity, and Tacity.

41. Q. What do they represent?
A. Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth among all Right Masons; for all Masons were ordain'd at the Building of the Tower of Babel and at the Temple of Jerusalem.[3]

42. Q. How many proper Points?
A. Five: Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Hand to Hand, Heart to Heart, and Ear to Ear.[4]

43. Q. Whence is an Arch derived?
A. From Architecture.[5]

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[1] It is most probable that this answer was given on the three steps which were made while the words were being said.

[2] The "Jerusalem Word" was probably the word traditionally confined to the Craft while they were working at the Temple, and the "Universal Word" was that used by them when they dispersed and traveled into foreign countries. The old "Legend of the Craft" has a tradition to that effect which was finally developed into the Temple Allegory of the modern rituals.

[3] Of this answer Krause gives the following interpretation—"Perhaps the Tower of Babel signifies the revolution under and after Cromwell, and the Temple of Jerusalem the restoration of the Stuart family in London"—which maybe taken for what it is worth and no more, especially as the stories of the Tower and the Temple formed prominent points in the Craft legend which was formulated some two centuries at least before the time of Cromwell or of the restored Stuarts.

[4] At first glance this answer would seem to be adverse to the theory that the Third was not known in the year 1717, unless it were to be supposed that the passage was an interpolation made subsequent to the year 1720. But the fact is that, as Krause remarks, these expressions were not originally a symbol of the Master's degree (Meisterzeichen), but simply a symbol of Fellowship, where heart and heart and hand and hand showed the loving-kindness of each brother. Afterward, under the title of "The Five Points of Fellowship," it was appropriated to the Third Degree and received the symbolic history which it still retains.

[5] Here, say Schneider and Krause, is a trace of Royal Arch Masonry. Not so. Architecture was the profession of the Operative Freemasons and became naturally a point in the examination of a craftsman. Such as this catechism evidently was.

44. Q. How many Orders in Architecture?
A. Five: The Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite.
45. Q. What do they answer?
A. They answer to the Base, Perpendicular, Diameter, Circumference, and Square.
46. Q. What is the right Word, or right Point of a Mason?
A. Adieu.

End of the Catechism.

Such is this important document, but of whose real value different opinions have been expressed. Oliver, as we have seen, calls it a "catchpenny." This epithet would, however, refer to the motives of the printer who gave the public the work at sixpence a copy and not to the original writer against whom no such charge, nor no such mercenary views should be imputed. The Rev. Mr. Sidebotham, who reprinted it in the *Freemasons Monthly Magazine*, for August, 1855, from a copy found among the collection of Masonic curiosities deposited in the Bodleian Library, calls it "only one of the many absurd attempts of ignorant pretenders;" but his attempts to prove absurdities are themselves absurd.

The learned Mossdorf who, in 1808, found a copy of the second edition[1] in the Royal Library at Leipsic, which Dr. Krause reprinted in his *Three Oldest Documents of the Masonic Fraternity*, designates it as a delicately framed but very bitter satire against the old lodges in London, which had just established the Grand Lodge. But a perusal of the document will disclose nothing of a satirical character in the document itself, and only a single paragraph of the preface in which the design of the institution is underrated, and the depreciation illustrated by a rather coarse attempt at a witticism.

But the preface was the production of the editor or printer, and must not be confounded with the catechism, which is free from anything of the kind. The very title, which might be deemed ironical, was undoubtedly an assumed one given to the original document by the same editor or printer for the purpose of attracting purchasers.

[1] It was the 2d edition, 1725, with which Mossdorf was acquainted, and to this were annexed "Two Letters to a Friend," which are not contained in the 1st edition. These gave him the opinion of the satirical character of the work.

Bro. Steinbrenner, of New York, who has written one of our most valuable and interesting histories of Freemasonry,[1] thus describes it, and has given it what I think must have been its original title.

"The oldest fragment of a ritual or Masonic lecture in the English Language[2] which we have met with is the 'Examination upon Entrance into a Lodge,' as used at the time of the Revival."

Dr. Krause is the first writer who seems to have estimated this old catechism at anything like its true value. He calls it a remarkable document, and says that after a careful examination he has come to the conclusion that it was written by one of the old Operative Masons, who was not without some scholarship, but who esteemed Masonry as an art peculiarly appropriate to builders only, and into which a few non-Masons were sometimes admitted on account of their scientific attainments.

He thinks that this catechism presents the traces of a high antiquity, and so far as its essential constituent parts are concerned, it might have derived its origin from the oldest York ritual, probably as early as the 12th or 13th century.

I am not inclined to accept all of the Krausean theory on the subject of the origin or of the antiquity of this document. It is not necessary for the purpose of employing it in the investigation of the primitive ritual adopted by the Speculative Freemasons when they organized their Grand Lodge, to trace its existence beyond the first decade of the 18th century, though it might be reasonably extended much farther back.

The statement in the preface or introduction, that the original manuscript was printed, and had "been found in the custody of a Freemason who died suddenly," may be accepted as a truth. There is nothing improbable about it, and there is no reason to doubt the fact.

Connecting this with the date of the publication, which was just seven years after the establishment of the Grand Lodge, and only four years after what is supposed to be the date of the fabrication of

[1] "The Origin and Early History of Masonry," by G. W. Steinbrenner, Past Master. New York, 1864.

[2] When Steinbrenner wrote the above the Sloane MS. No. 3329 had not been discovered. And yet it is doubtful whether it and the original manuscript of "The Grand Mystery" are not contemporaneous.

the three degrees; and comparing it with the Sloane MS. 3329, where we shall find many instances of parallel or analogous passages; and seeing that the Sloane MS. was undeniably an Operative ritual, since its acknowledged date is somewhere between the middle and the close of the 17th century; considering all these points, I think that we may safely conclude that the original manuscript of the printed document called *The Grand Mystery* was the "Examination upon Entrance into a Lodge" of Operative Freemasons.

The following inferences may then be deduced in respect to the character of this document with the utmost plausibility:

1. That it was a part, and the most essential part, of the ritual used by the Operative Freemasons about the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, and if anything was wanting toward a complete ritual it was supplemented by the Sloane MS. No. 3329.

2. That it was the ritual familiar to the four Lodges which in 1717 united in the establishment of the Speculative Grand lodge of England.

3. That on the establishment of that Grand Lodge it was accepted as the ritual of the Speculative Freemasons and so used by them until they perfected the transition from wholly Operative to wholly Speculative Freemasonry by the fabrication of degrees and the development of a more philosophical ritual, composed, as it has always been conjectured, by Desaguliers and Anderson, but principally always by the former.

Having premised these views, we may now proceed to investigate, with some prospect of a satisfactory result, the character and condition of Speculative Freemasonry so far as respects a ritual during the earliest years of the Grand Lodge.

In the first place, it may be remarked that internal evidence goes to prove that this catechism is appropriate solely for Operative Freemasons. It was undoubtedly constructed at a time when Speculative Freemasonry, in the modern sense, was not in existence, and when the lodges which were to use it were composed of Operatives, the Theoretic members not being at all taken into consideration.

This is very clearly shown by various passages in the catechism. Thus, Question 2 alludes to the hours of labor; Question 3 is an inquiry whether the brother who is being examined is in want of work, because the old Operative Constitutions directed the Craft "to

receive or cherish strange Fellows when they came over the country and set them to work." Hence, in view of this hospitable duty, the visitor is asked if he is busy, that is to say, if he has work to occupy and support him.

Questions 18 and 19 make reference to the time and duty of setting the men to work, and of dismissing them from labor.

Questions 14 and 21 refer to the square and rule as implements of Operative Masonry employed in the lodge. Question 27 speaks of the ashlar, and 43 and 44 of the orders of architecture. All of these are subjects appropriate and familiar to Operative Masons, and indicate the character of the catechism.

The next point that calls for attention is that in this Operative ritual there is not the slightest reference to degrees. They are not mentioned nor alluded to as if any such system existed. The examination is that of a Freemason, but there is no indication whatever to show that he was a Master, Fellow, or an Apprentice. He could not probably have been the last, because, as a general rule, Apprentices were not allowed to travel. The German *Steinmetzen,* however, sometimes made an exception to this regulation, and the Master who had no work for his Apprentice would furnish him with a mark and send him forth in search of employment.

If a similar custom prevailed among the English Freemasons, of which there is no proof for or against, the wandering Apprentice would, on visiting a strange lodge, doubtless make use of this catechism. There is nothing in its text to prevent him from doing so, for, as has already been said, there is no mention in it of degrees.

There does not seem to be any doubt in the minds of the most distinguished Masonic scholars, with perhaps a very few exceptions, that in the Operative ritual there were no degrees, the words Apprentice, Fellow, and Master referring only to gradations of rank. It is also believed that the ceremonies of admission were exceedingly simple, and that all these ranks were permitted to be present at a reception.

According to this catechism a lodge consisted of five or seven Masons, but it does not say that they must be all Master Masons.

The Sloane MS. says that there should be in a lodge two Apprentices, two Fellow-Crafts, and two Master Masons.

The Statutes of the Scottish Masons explicitly require the presence of two Apprentices at the reception of a Master.

The Old Constitutions, while they have charges specially for Masters and Fellows, between whom they make no distinction, have other "charges in general" which, of course, must include Apprentices, and in these they are commanded to keep secret "the conseils of the lodge," from which it is to be inferred that Apprentices formed a constituent part of that body.

It has been usual to say that from 1717 to 1725 there were only Apprentices' lodges. The phraseology is not correct. They were lodges of Freemasons, and they so continued until the fabrication of a system of degrees. After that period the lodges might properly be called Apprentice lodges, because the first degree only could be conferred by them, though Fellow-Craft and Master Masons were among their members, these having until 1725 been made in the Grand Lodge exclusively.

The fact that this ritual, purposely designed for Operative Freemasons only, and used in the Operative lodges of London at the beginning of the 18th century, was adopted in 1717 when the four Lodges united in the organization of a Grand Lodge, is, I think, a convincing proof that there was no expressed intention at that time to abandon the Operative character of the institution, and to assume for it a purely Speculative condition.

I use the word "expressed" advisedly, because I do not contend that there was no such covert intention floating in the minds of some of the most cultivated Theoretic Freemasons who united with their Operative brethren in the organization.

But these Theoretic brethren were men of sense. They fully appreciated the expediency of the motto, *festina lente.* They were, it is true, anxious to hasten on the formation of an intellectual society, based historically on an association of architects, but ethically on an exalted system of moral philosophy; they perfectly appreciated, however, the impolicy of suddenly and rudely disrupting the ties which connected them with the old Operative Freemasons. Hence, they fairly shared with these the offices of the Grand Lodge until 1723, after which, as has been shown, no Operative held a prominent position in that body. The first laws which they adopted, and which were announced in the "Charges of a Free Mason," compiled by Payne and Anderson about 1719, had all the features of an Operative Code, and the ritual of the Operative Freemasons embodied in the document satirically called *The Grand Mystery*

was accepted and used by the members of the Speculative Grand Lodge until the fabrication of degrees made it necessary to formulate another and more philosophical ritual.

But it is not necessary to conclude that when the system of degrees was composed, most probably in 1720 and 1721, principally by Dr. Desaguliers, the old Operative ritual was immediately cast aside. In all probability it continued to be used in the lodges, where the Fellow-Crafts and Masters' degrees were unknown, until 1725, the conferring of them having been confined to the Grand Lodge until that year. There were even Operative lodges in England long after that date, and the old ritual would continue with them a favorite. This will account for the publication in 1724, with so profitable a sale as to encourage the printing of a second edition with appendices in 1725.

But the newer ritual became common in 1730 or a little before, and the able defense of it by Anderson in the 1738 edition of the *Book of Constitutions* shows that the old had at length been displaced, though some of its tests remained for a long time in use among the Craft, and are continued, in a modified form, even to the present day.

The early Operative ritual, like the Operative laws and usages, has made an impression on the Speculative society which has never been and never will be obliterated while Freemasonry lasts.

The next feature in this Operative ritual which attracts our attention is its well-defined Christian character. This is shown in Question 29, where the three Lights of the Lodge are said to represent "The Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Originating as it did, and for a long time working under ecclesiastical control, being closely connected with the Church, and engaged exclusively in the construction of religious edifices, it must naturally have become sectarian.

In the earliest times, when the Roman Catholic religion was the prevailing faith of Christendom, Operative Freemasonry was not only Christian but Roman Catholic in its tendencies. Hence, the oldest of the manuscript Constitutions contains an invocation to the Virgin Mary and to the Saints. In Germany the patrons of the Freemasons were the Four Crowned Martyrs.

But when in England the Protestant religion displaced the Roman Catholic, then the Operative Freemasons, following the sec-

tarian tendencies of their countrymen, abandoned the reference to the Virgin and to the Saints, whose worship had been repudiated by the reformed religion, and invoked only the three Persons of the Trinity. The Harleian MS. commences thus:

"The Almighty Father of Heaven with the Wisdom of the Glorious Sonne, through the goodness of the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, bee with our beginning & give us grace soe to governe our Lives that we may come to his blisse that never shall have end."

All the other manuscript Constitutions conform to this formula, and hence we find the same feature presented in this catechism, and that in the ritual used when the Grand Lodge was established the three Lights represented the three Persons of the Trinity.

Operative Freemasonry never was tolerant nor cosmopolitan. It was in the beginning ecclesiastical, always Christian, and always sectarian.

Of all the differences that define the line of demarcation between Operative and Speculative Freemasonry, this is the most prominent.

The Theoretic Freemasons, that is, those who were non-Masons, when they united with their Operative fellow-members in the organization of a Grand Lodge, did not reject this sectarian character any more than they did the ritual and the laws of the old association.

But the non-Masonic or non-Operative element of the new Society was composed of men of education and of liberal views. They were anxious that in their meetings a spirit of toleration should prevail and that no angry discussions should disturb the hours devoted to innocent recreation. Moreover, they knew that the attempt to revive the decaying popularity of Freemasonry and to extend its usefulness would not be successful unless the doors were thrown widely open to the admission of moral and intellectual men of all shades of political and religious thought. Hence, they strove to exclude discussions which should involve the bitterness of partisan politics or of sectarian religion.

Dr. Anderson describes the effect produced by this liberality of sentiment when he says, speaking of this early period of Masonic history:

"Ingenious men of all faculties and stations, being convinced that the cement of the lodge was love and friendship, earnestly re-

quested to be made Masons, affecting this amicable fraternity more than other societies then often disturbed by warm disputes."[1]

Thus it was that the first change affected in the character of the institution by which the ultimate separation of Speculative from Operative Freemasons was foreshadowed, was the modification of the sectarian feature which had always existed in the latter.

Therefore, in 1721, the Grand Lodge, "finding fault" with the "Old Gothic Constitutions" or the laws of the Operative Freemasons, principally, as the result shows, on account of their sectarian character, instructed Dr. Anderson "to digest them in a new and better method."

This task was duly accomplished, and the "Charges of a Freemason," which were published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* announce for the first time that cosmopolitan feature in the religious sentiments of the Order which it has ever since retained.

"Though in ancient times," so runs the first of these "Charges," "Masons were charged in every Country to be of the religion of that country or nation, whatever it was; yet it is now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves."

In consequence of this declaration of tolerance, the ritual which was framed after the old Operative one, exemplified in *The Grand Mystery,* ceased to derive any of its symbolism from purely Christian dogmas, though it can not be denied that Christian sentiments have naturally had an influence upon Speculative Freemasonry.

But the institution, in all the countries into which it has since extended, has always, with a very few anomalous exceptions, been true to the declaration made in 1721 by its founders, and has erected its altars, around which men of every faith, if they have only a trusting belief in God as the Grand Architect of the universe, may kneel and worship.

But before this sentiment of perfect toleration could be fully developed, it was necessary that the tenets, the usages, and the influence of the Operative element should be wholly eliminated from the new society. The progress toward this disruption of the two systems, the old and the new, would have to be slow and gradual.

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[1] "Book of Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 114.

Very justly has Bro. Gould remarked that "Speculative Masonry was, so to speak, only on its trial during the generation which succeeded the authors of the Revival. The institution of a society of Free and Accepted Masons on a cosmopolitan and unsectarian basis was one thing; its consolidation, however, opposed as its practical working showed it to be to the ancient customs and privileges of the Operatives, was another and a very different affair."[1]

Therefore, as a matter of sheer policy, and also because it is probable that no intention of effecting such a change had, in the beginning, entered into the minds of the future founders of Speculative Freemasonry, it was deemed necessary to continue the use of the simple ritual which had so long been familiar to the Operatives, and it was accordingly so continued to be used until, in a few years, the opportune time had arrived for the fabrication of a more complex one, and one better adapted to the objects of a Speculative society.

As it appears, then, to be clearly evident that the Operative ritual was practiced by the Grand Lodge from 1717 until 1721 or 1722, and for a much longer period by many of the lodges under its jurisdiction, it is proper that we should endeavor, so far as the materials in our possession will permit, to describe the character of that ritual.

Masonic scholars who have carefully investigated this subject do not now express any doubt that the rite practiced by the mediæval Freemasons of every country, and which, under some modifications, was used by the Operative Freemasons when the Grand Lodge of England was established, was a very simple one, consisting of but one degree.

In fact, as the word degree literally denotes a step in progression, and would import the possible existence of a higher step to which it is related, it would seem to be more proper to say that the Operative rite was without degrees, and consisted of a form of admission with accompanying esoteric instructions, all of which were of the simplest nature.

Master, Fellow, and Apprentice were terms intended to designate the different ranks of the Craftsmen, which ranks were wholly unconnected with any gradations of ritualistic knowledge.

[1] "The Four Old Lodges," p. 33.

Masters were those who superintended the labors of the Craft, or were, perhaps, in many instances the employers of the workmen engaged on an edifice. Paley suggests that they were probably architects, and he says that they must have been trained in one and the same school, just as our clergy are trained in the universities, and were either sent about to different stations or were attached to some church or cathedral, or took up their permanent residence in certain localities.[1]

This description is very suitable to the most flourishing period of Gothic architecture, when such Craftsmen as William of Sens or Erwin of Steinbach were the Masters who directed the construction of those noble works of architecture which were to win the admiration of succeeding ages.

But in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, when there was a decadence in the old science of Gothic architecture, every Fellow who was appointed by an employer or selected by his brethren to govern a lodge and to direct the works of the Craftsmen, became by that appointment or selection a Master Mason.

We know that this usage was for some time observed by the Speculative Freemasons, for in the form of constituting a new lodge as prescribed in 1723 by the Duke of Wharton, who was then Grand Master, it is said that the Master who is to be installed, "being yet among the Fellow-Craft," must be taken from among them, and be inducted into office by the Grand Master; by which act he became a Master Mason, and not by the reception of a degree; and the investiture of certain additional secrets.[2]

The Fellows were workmen who had served an apprenticeship of several years, and had at length acquired a knowledge of the trade. They constituted the great body of the Craft, as is evident from the constant reference to them in the Old Constitutions.

The Apprentices, as the etymology of the word imports, were learners. They were youths who were bound to serve their Masters for a term of five or seven years, on the condition that the Master shall instruct them in the trade, that at the expiration of their term of service they might be admitted into the rank or class of Fellows.

As there was but one ceremony of admission common to all

[1] "Manual of Gothic Architecture," p. 209.

[2] See the form in the 1st edition of Anderson, p. 71.

classes of the Craft, it follows that there could be no secrets of a ritual character which belonged exclusively to either of the three classes, and that whatever was known to Masters and Fellows must also have been communicated to Apprentices; and this is very evident from the well-known fact that the presence of members of each class was necessary to the legal communications of a lodge.

The Mason Word is the only secret spoken of in the minutes of the Scotch lodges, but the German and English rituals show that there were other words and methods of recognition besides an examination which constituted the esoteric instructions of Operative Masonry.

The most important of these points is, however, the fact that at the time of the organization of the Grand Lodge in 1717, and for a brief period afterward, there was but one degree, as it is called, which was known to the Operatives, and that for a brief period of three or four years this simple system was accepted and practiced by the founders of Speculative Freemasonry.

But the discussion of this fact involves a thorough investigation, and can not be treated at the close of a chapter.

The inquiry, so far as it has advanced, has, I think, satisfied us that the Operative ritual was that which was at first adopted by the founders of Speculative Freemasonry.

When, afterward, they discarded this ritual as too simple and as unsuitable to their designs, they were obliged, in the construction of their new system, to develop new degrees.

The task, therefore, to which our attention must now be directed, is first to demonstrate that the primitive ritual accepted in 1717 by the Speculatives consisted of but one degree, if for convenience I may be allowed to use a word not strictly and grammatically correct; and, secondly, to point out the mode in which and the period when a larger ritual, and a system of degrees, was invented.

And these must be the subjects of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE ONE DEGREE OF OPERATIVE FREEMASONS

IN the articles of union agreed to in 1813 by the two Grand Lodges of England, the "Moderns" and the "Ancients" as they were called, it was declared that "pure Ancient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more." If by Ancient Masonry it was intended to designate the system then existing, and no other and earlier one—if the character of antiquity was to be circumscribed within the one hundred preceding years, or thereabouts—then the declaration might be accepted as an historical truth. But if it was designed to refer by these words to the whole period of time, within which included the era of Operative, and of combined Operative and Speculative Freemasonry, as well as that later one when pure Speculative Masonry alone prevailed, then the assertion must be considered as apocryphal and as having no foundation in authentic history.

If our judgment on this subject were to be formed merely on the complete silence of the Old Records, we should be forced to the conclusion that until the close of the second decade of the 18th century, or about the year 1720, when the Speculative element was slowly disintegrating itself from the Operative, there was only one degree known as the word is understood in the present day.

We have evidence that the Operative Freemasons of Scotland in the 15th century adopted, to some extent, the secret ceremonies observed by the mediaeval builders of the continent.[1] We may therefore refer to the records of the Scotch lodges for a correct knowledge of what was the degree system practiced, not only in Scotland but on the continent, at that period.

[1] See Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 234. This is evident from the charter granted to the Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh in 1475, copied by Lyon (p. 230) from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh, where reference is made for their government to the customs "in the towne of Bruges."

Now we have abundant evidence by deduction from the records of the old Scottish lodges that there was in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries only one degree known to the brotherhood.

There were, it is true, three classes or ranks of Masons, namely, Masters, men who made contracts and undertook the work of building for employers; Fellow-Crafts or Journeymen employed by these Masters; and Entered Apprentices, who were received that they might be taught the art of building. But this difference of rank involved no difference of esoteric instruction. There was but one ceremony and one set of secrets for all, and common to and known by everyone, from the youngest Apprentice to the oldest Master. This is plainly deducible from all the Old Records.

Thus, in the Schaw statutes, whose date is December 28, 1498, it is enacted as follows:

"Item that na maister or fellow of craft be ressavit nor admittit without the number of sex maisters and twa enterit prenteissis the wardene of that lodge being one of the said sex."

The same regulation, generally, in very nearly the same words, is to be found in subsequent records, constitutions, and minutes of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Now what deduction must be drawn from the oft-repeated language of this statute? Certainly only this, that if two Apprentices were required to be present at the reception of a Fellow-Craft or a Master, there could have been no secrets to be communicated to the candidates as Fellow-Crafts or Masters which were not already known to the Apprentices. In other words, that these three ranks were not separated and distinguished from each other by any ceremonies or instructions which would constitute degrees in the modern acceptation of the term. In fact, there could have been but one degree common to all.

Upon this subject Bro. Lyon says: "It is upon Schaw's regulation anent the reception of Fellows or Masters, that we found our opinion that in primitive times there were no secrets communicated by lodges to either Fellows of Craft or Masters that were not known to Apprentices, seeing that members of the latter grade were necessary to the legal constitution of communications for the admission of Masters or Fellows."[1]

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23.

We are confirmed in this conclusion by what is said in the same Old Records of the "Mason Word."

The Mason Word and what was connected with it appeared to constitute the only secret known to the Masons of the centuries preceding the 18th. It was, however, not simply a word, but had other mysteries connected with it, as is apparent from an expression in the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane, where it is said that two Apprentices of the Lodge of Kilwinning being examined on their application for affiliation, were found to have "a competent knowledge of the secrets of the Mason Word."[1]

These secrets consisted also probably of a sign and grip. Indeed, the records of Haughfort Lodge in 1707 state the fact that there was a grip, and it is known that as early as the 12th century the German Masons used all these modes of recognition.[2]

There was also a Legend or Allegory, nothing, however, like the modern legend of the Third degree, which connected the Craft traditionally with the Tower of Babel and the Temple of Solomon. This Legend was contained in what we now call the *Legend of the Craft* or the *Legend of the Guild.* This is contained, with only verbal variations, in all the old manuscript Constitutions. That this Legend was always deemed a part of the secrets of the brotherhood, is very evident from the destruction of many of those manuscripts by scrupulous Masons in 1720, from the fear, as Anderson expresses it, that they might fall into strange hands.

But whatever were the secrets connected with the "Mason Word," there is abundant evidence that they were communicated in full to the Apprentice on his initiation.

First, we have the evidence of the Schaw statutes that two Apprentices were required to be present at the reception of a Mason or a Fellow-Craft. Then the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh for 1601, 1606, and 1637, referred to by Bro. Lyon,[3] show that Apprentices were present during the making of Fellow-Crafts. Again, we find the following conclusive testimony in the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, adopted December 27, 1760:

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[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 417.

[2] The English Masons in the beginning of the 18th century, and I suppose before that penod, had two words, the "Jerusalem Word" and the "Universal Word." See the Examination in the last chapter. The German Masons also had two words, at least.

[3] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 74.

"Wee Master Masons and Entered Prentises, all of us underseryvers, doe here protest and vowe as hitherto we ehave done at our entrie when we received the benefit of the Mason Word," &c.[1]

From all of which we are authorized to entertain the opinion, in the language of Bro. Lyon, who has thoroughly investigated the subject, so far at least as relates to Scotland, "that 'the Word' and other secrets peculiar to Masons were communicated to Apprentices on their admission to the lodge, and that the ceremony of passing was simply a testing of the candidate's fitness for employment as a journeyman."[2]

In the English lodges of the same period, that is, up to the beginning of the 18th century, we find no indications of the existence of more than one degree common to the whole Craft. The Apprentices, however, do not occupy in the old English Constitutions so conspicuous a place as they do in the Scotch. We can, for instance, find no regulation like that in the Schaw statutes which requires Apprentices to be present at the making of Fellow-Crafts.

But in the oldest of the English Constitutions which have been unearthed by the labors of Masonic archæologists—namely, the one known as the Halliwell MS., the date of which is supposed to be not later than the middle of the 15th century—we find indications of the fact that the Apprentices were in possession of all the secret knowledge possessed by the Masters and Fellows, and that they were allowed to be present at meetings of the lodge. Thus, the thirteenth article of that early Constitution says:

> "—gef that the mayster a prentes have
> Enterlyche thenne that he hym teche,
> And meserable poyntes that he hym reche,
> That he the crafte abelyche may conne,
> Whersever he go undur the sonne."[3]

That is, if a Master have an Apprentice, he shall give him thorough instruction, and place him in the possession of such points as will enable him to recognize the members of the Craft wheresoever he may go. He was to be invested with the modes of recognition common to all, whereby a mutual intercourse might be held. It

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 423.
[2] Ibid., p. 233.
[3] Halliwell MS., lines 240-244.

was not that he was to know just enough to prove himself to be an Apprentice, but he was to have such knowledge as would enable him to recognize in a stranger a Fellow-Craft or a Master—in other words, he was to have all that they had, in the way of recognition.

But a more important admission, namely, that the Apprentice was permitted to be present at the meetings of a lodge of Masters and Fellows, and to participate in, or at least be a witness of, their private transactions, is found in the third point of this same Constitution, which is in the following words:

"The thrydee poynt must be severele,
With the prentes knowe hyt wele,
Hys mayster cownsel he kepe and close,
And hys fellowes by hys goode purpose;
The prevystye of the chamber telle he no mon,
Ny yn the logge whatsever they done;
Whatsever thon heryst or eyste hem do
Telle hyt no mon, whersever thou go;
The cownsel of halle and yeke of boure,
Kepe hyt wel to gret honoure,
Lest hyt wolde torne thyself to blame,
And brynge the craft ynto gret schame."[1]

That is, the Apprentice was directed to keep the counsel of his Master and Fellows, and to tell to no one the secrets of the chamber nor what he should see or hear done in the lodge.[2]

He was to keep the counsel of "hall and bower," a mediaeval phrase denoting all sorts of secrets, and all this he was to observe lest he should bring the Craft into shame.

Now I do not think we need anything more explicit to prove that Apprentices were admitted to share the secrets of the Fellows and be present at the meetings of the lodge, all of which is a conclusive evidence against the existence of separate degrees,

The same reference to Apprentices as being in possession of the secrets of the Craft, which they were not to communicate unlawfully, is found in subsequent Constitutions, as late as 1693. In the York Constitutions, first published by Bro. Hughan in his *History of Freemasonry in York*, under the title of "The Ap-

[1] Halliwell MS., lines 275-286.

[2] Similar to this is "The Apprentice Charge" contained in the Lodge of Hope MS., the date of which is 1680. It says that the Apprentice "shall keep counsell in all things spoken in lodge or chamber by fellowes or free masons."

prentice Charge," it is said that "he shall keepe councell in all things spoken in Lodg or Chamber by any Masons, Fellowes or Fremasons."

The Masonic student, while carefully perusing the Old Records of the English Masons and comparing them with those of the Scotch, will be struck with one important difference between them. In the Scotch Statutes, Constitutions, and Minutes, the Apprentices assume a prominent position, and are always spoken of as a component and necessary part of the brotherhood.

Thus, the Schaw statutes prescribe the fee for the admission of Fellow-Crafts, followed immediately by another prescribing the fee for the admission of Apprentices; twice in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh (1706 and 1709) it is recorded that a notary who was appointed for the purpose of acting as "clerk to the brethren masons" was initiated as "ane entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft,"[1] and lastly, Apprentices were required to be present at the admission of Fellow-Crafts and Masters.

I think, therefore, that the most eminent Masonic historians of the present day have been justified in the conclusion to which they have arrived after a careful examination of old documents, that until a short time after the organization of the Grand Lodge in the year 1717, there is no evidence of the existence of more than one degree; that all the secrets were communicated to the Apprentices, and that the ceremony of passing to a Fellow-Craft was simply a testing of the candidate's fitness for employment as a journeyman.[2]

Bro. Hughan says that "no record prior to the second decade of the last century ever mentions Masonic degrees, and all the MSS. preserved decidedly confirm us in the belief that in the mere Operative (although partly Speculative) career of Freemasonry the ceremony of reception was of a most unpretentious and simple character, mainly for the communication of certain lyrics and secrets, and for the conservation of ancient customs of the Craft."[3]

In another place the same distinguished writer says: "I have carefully perused all the known Masonic MSS. from the 14th century down to A.D. 1717 (of which I have either seen the originals or

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 43.
[2] Such is the opinion of Bro. Lyon. See "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 233.
[3] *Voice of Masonry*, vol. xii., June, 1874, p. 340.

have certified copies), and have not been able to find any reference to three degrees."[1]

Bro. Findel says: "Originally it seems there was but one degree of initiation in the year 1717; the degrees or grades of Apprentice, Fellow, and Master were introduced about the year 1720."[2]

Bro. Lyon, also, who has thoroughly investigated the customs of the early Scottish lodges, in referring to the Schaw statute, which required two Apprentices to be present at the admission of Fellows, says that in 1693 "the lodge recognized 'passing,' *i.e.*, a promotion to the fellowship, simply as an 'honour and dignity.' " And he adds:

"If the communication by Mason Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a degree—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was under the purely Operative *regime* only one known to Scotch lodges, *viz.*, that in which, under an oath, Apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word and all that was implied in the expression."[3]

Even Dr. Oliver, who, of all writers, is the least skeptical in respect to Masonic traditions, acknowledges that there is no evidence of the existence of degrees in Freemasonry anterior to the beginning of the 18th century.

The only living Masonic scholar of any eminence who, so far as I am aware, denies or doubts this fact is the Rev. Bro. W. A. Woodford, and he asserts his opinion rather negatively, as if he were unwilling to doubt, than positively as if he were ready to deny the fact, that the old Operative system consisted of but one degree.

As Bro. Woodford is one whose learning and experience entitle his opinion on any point of Masonic history to a deferential consideration, it will be proper to examine the weight of his arguments on this subject.

In the year 1874 Bro. Hughan proposed, in the *London Freemason*, to defend in future communications three historical statements against anyone who should oppugn them.

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[1] Cited by Lyon in "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 211.

[2] "History of Freemasonry," p. 150, Lyon's Translation.

[3] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23.

One of these statements was made in the following words:

"The references to Masonic degrees (as we understand the term now) never occur in the ancient minutes; no rituals of degrees prior to 1720 are in existence, and whatever esoteric customs may have been communicated to Craftsmen before the last century, they do not appear to have necessitated the temporary absence of either class of members from the Lodge."[1]

To this challenge Bro. Woodford responded in a subsequent number of the same paper.[2]

The gist of our learned Brother's argument in reply appears to be that though, as Hughan asserts, there may be no ritual evidence of the existence of the three degrees before 1720, yet "such a proposition need not be understood as asserting that they did not exist, but only that, so far, we have no ritual evidence of their distinct existence as now."

As a logical conclusion, it appears to me that such a disposition of the question is wholly untenable. It was an excellent maxim of the schools, which has been adopted in philosophy, in physical science, and in law, that "of things which do not appear and of things which do not exist, the reasoning is the same."[3]

We can only arrive at a correct judgment when we are guided by evidence; without it no judgment can be reasonably formed.

Dr. Hedge, in his excellent manual of logic, says: "The proof that the Romans once possessed Great Britain is made up of a variety of independent arguments: as immemorial tradition; the testimony of historians; the ruins of Roman buildings, camps, and walls; Roman coins, inscriptions, and the like. These are independent arguments; but they all conspire to establish the fact."[4]

Now, if we apply this method of reasoning to the question of the existence of Masonic degrees prior to the year 1720, we shall see clearly how completely the affirmative proposition is without support. We have no immemorial tradition, no historical testimony, no allusion in old documents, such as the manuscript Constitutions, the minutes of the Scottish or of the very few English lodges that are extant, nor in the English or German Freemasons, which tend

[1] *London Freemason*, June 27, 1874.

[2] Ibid., July 27, 1874.

[3] De non apparentibus et de non existentibus, eadem est ratio.

[4] "Elements of Logic," by Levi Hedge, LL.D., Boston, 1827, p. 74.

to prove the existence of degrees in the old system of Operative Freemasonry. On the contrary, we have abundant evidence in these Constitutions and minutes that the secrets of the Craft were common to the three classes, and that Apprentices were required to be present at the admission of Masters.

The other argument of Bro. Woodford is, that, "notwithstanding the Scotch lodges had an open court for their members, that does not preclude the possibility of the existence of other secrets and separate degrees."

It is possible, but it does not thence follow that it is true. In this investigation we seek not possibilities but facts, and, as Bro. Woodford, usually so careful and so accurate in his historical and archæological inquiries, has supplied no proof of the hypothesis which he has advanced, it must be accepted as a mere assumption, and may be fairly met with a contrary one.

But the remarks of Bro. Hughan himself, in reply to the argument of Bro. Woodford, are so conclusive and throw so much light upon this interesting subject that I can not refrain from enriching the pages of this work with the very words of this eminent authority in Masonic archaeology.[1]

"Now what do the old lodge minutes say on this subject? We have had authorized excerpts from these valuable books published (with few exceptions). The whole of the volumes have been most diligently and carefully searched, the result made known, and every Masonic student furnished with the testimony of these important witnesses, all of which, from the 16th century to the first half of the second decade of the 18th century, unite in proving that there is no register of any assembly of Masons working ceremonies or communicating 'secrets' from which any portion of the Fraternity was excluded or denied participation; neither can there be found a single reference in these lodge minutes to justify one in assuming 'three degrees' to be even known to the brethren prior to A.D. 1716-1717.[2] Of course, there can be no doubt as to what may be termed grades in Ancient Masonry, Apprentices had to serve their 'regular time' before being accounted Fellow-Crafts, and then subsequently the office

[1] Contained in article in the *London Masonic Magazine* for August, 1874.

[2] The learned Brother makes here a rather too liberal admission. I have found no evidence of the existence of three degrees in the year 1717, and it will be hereafter seen that their fabrication is assigned to a later date.

or position of Master Mason was conferred upon a select few; but no word is ever said about 'degrees.' All the members were evidently eligible to attend at the introduction of Fellow-Crafts and Master Masons, as well as at the admission of Apprentices; and so far as the records throw light on the customs of our early brethren, the Apprentices were as welcome at the election and reception of Masters—as the latter were required to participate in the initiation of the former.

"We are quite willing to grant, for the sake of argument, that a word may have been whispered in the ear of the Master of the lodge (or of Master Masons) on their introduction or constitution in the lodge; but supposing that such were the case (and we think the position is at least probable), the 'three degrees' are as far from being proved as before, especially as we have never yet traced any intimation, ever so slight, of a special ceremony at the 'passing' of Fellow-Crafts, peculiar to that grade, and from which Apprentices were excluded.

"If we have overlooked such a minute, we shall be only too glad to acknowledge the fact; but at present we must reiterate our conviction, that whatever the ceremonies may have been at the introduction of Fellow-Crafts and Master Masons anterior to the last century, they were not such as to require the exclusion of Apprentices from the lodge meetings; and in the absence of any positive information on the subject, we are not justified in assuming the existence of 'three degrees of Masonry' at that period; or, in other words, we can only fairly advocate that two have existed of which we have evidence, and whatever else we may fancy was known, should only be advocated on the grounds of probability. If the proof of 'three degrees' before 1717 is to rest on the authority of the Sloane MS. 3329, we shall be glad to give our opinion on the subject.

"With all respect, then, for our worthy Brother, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, whose exertions and contributions to Masonic literature have been continuous and most valuable for many years, we feel bound to state we do not believe according to the evidences accumulated that the 'three degrees were distinct grades in the Operative Order; but that the term Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason simply denoted Masonic, relative, or official positions.' "

If, then, there was originally but one degree, the one into which

Freemasons of every class or rank were initiated, according to a very simple form, upon their admission to the Craft, it follows that the degree Fellow-Craft and Master Mason must be of comparatively recent origin. This is legitimately a logical conclusion that can not, I believe, be avoided.

And if so, then the next question that we have to meet and discuss is as to the time and the circumstances of the fabrication of these degrees.

CHAPTER XXXIV

INVENTION OF THE FELLOW-CRAFT'S DEGREE

IT having been satisfactorily shown, first, that during the existence of pure Operative Freemasonry there was but one degree, or ritual, of admission, or system of secret working in a lodge, which was accessible in common to all the members of the Craft, Apprentices as well as Fellows and Masters; secondly, that in the year 1717, when the Speculative element began to assume a hitherto unknown prominence, though it did not at once attempt to dissever the connection with the Operative, the Grand Lodge then formed, accepted, and practiced for some time this system of a single degree; and thirdly, that in the year 1723 we have the authentic documentary evidence of the "General Regulations" published in that year, that two degrees had been superimposed on this original one, and that at that time Speculative Freemasonry consisted of three degrees; it follows as a natural inference, that in the interval of six years, between 1717 and 1723, the two supplemental degrees must have been invented or fabricated.

It must be here remarked, parenthetically, that the word degree, in reference to the system practiced by the Operative Freemasons, is used only in a conventional sense, and for the sake of convenience. To say, as is sometimes carelessly said, that the Operative Freemasons possessed only the Apprentice's degree, is to speak incorrectly. The system practiced by the Operatives may be called a degree, if you choose, but it was not peculiar to Apprentices only, but belonged in common to all the ranks or classes of the Fraternity.

When the Speculative branch wholly separated from the Operative, and three divisions of the Order, then properly called degrees, were invented, this ritual of the latter became the basis of them all. Portions of it were greatly modified and much developed, and became what is now known as the First degree, though it continued

for many years to receive increments by the invention of new symbols and new ceremonies, and by sometimes undergoing important changes. Other portions of it, but to a less extent, were incorporated into the two supplemental degrees, the Second and the Third.

Thus it was that by development of the old ritual, and by the invention of a new one, the ancient system, or, conventionally speaking, the original degree of the Operatives, became the Entered Apprentice's degree of the Speculatives, and two new degrees, one for the Fellow-Crafts and one for the Master Masons, were invented.

Then the important and most interesting question recurs, When and by whom were these two new degrees invented and introduced into the modern system of Speculative Freemasonry?

The answer to this question which, at this day, would probably be given by nearly all the Masonic scholars who have, without preconceived prejudices, devoted themselves to the investigation of the history of Freemasonry, as it is founded on and demonstrated by the evidence of authentic documents, combined with natural and logical inferences and not traditionary legends and naked assumptions, is that they were the invention of that recognized ritualist, Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, with the co-operation of Dr. James Anderson, and perhaps a few others, among whom it would not be fair to omit the name of George Payne. The time of this invention or fabrication would be placed after the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1717, and before the publication of the first edition of its *Book of Constitutions* in 1723.

To the time and manner of the fabrication of the Fellow-Craft's degree the writers who have adopted the theory here announced have not paid so much attention as they have to that of the Master Mason. Recognizing the fact that the two supplementary degrees were fabricated between the years 1717 and 1723, they have not sought to define the precise date, and seem to have been willing to believe them to have been of contemporaneous origin.

But after as careful an investigation as I was capable of making, I have been led to the conclusion that the fabrication of the degree of Fellow-Craft preceded that of Master Mason by three or four years, and that the system of Speculative Freemasonry had been augmented by the addition of a new degree to the original one in or about the year 1719.

There is documentary evidence of an authentic character which

proves the existence of a "Fellow-Craft's part" in the year 1720, while it is not until the year 1723 that we find any record alluding to the fact that there was a "Master's part."

Hence, in a chronological point of view, it may be said that the single degree or ritual in which, and in the secrets of which, all classes of workmen, from the Apprentice to the Master, equally participated, constituted, under various modifications, a part of Operative Freemasonry from the earliest times. The possession of those secrets, simple as they were, distinguished the Freemasons from the Rough Layers in England, from the Cowans in Scotland, and from the *Mürer*, or Wall Builders, in Germany.

This degree, in its English form, was the only one known or practiced in London in the year 1717, at the era which has incorrectly been called the "Revival." The degree of Fellow-Craft, in the modern signification of the word degree, was incorporated into the system, probably a very few years after the organization of the Grand Lodge, and was fully recognized as a degree in the year 1719, or perhaps early in 1720.

Finally, the Third or Master's degree was added, so as to make the full complement of degrees as they now exist, between the years 1720 and 1723—certainly not before the former nor after the latter period.

Of this theory we have, I think, documentary evidence of so authentic a character, that we must be irresistibly led to the conclusion that the theory is correct.

Bro. Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, cites a record which has a distinct relevancy to the question of the time when the Second degree originated. It is contained in the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane, under the date of December 27, 1720, which is about sixteen years prior to the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The minute records that a lawyer, and therefore a Theoretic Mason, who had formerly been entered, had, after a due examination, been "duely passed from the Squair to the Compass and from ane Entered Prentiss to a Fellow of Craft." In commenting on this minute, Bro. Lyon says:

"It would appear from this that what under the modern ritual of the Fraternity is a symbol peculiar to the Second Degree, was, under the system which obtained in Scotland prior to the introduc-

tion of the Third Degree, the distinctive emblem of the Entered Apprentice step—and what is now a leading symbol in the degree of Master Mason, was then indicative of the Fellow-Craft, or highest grade of Lodge membership."[1]

This authentic record surely corroborates the theory just advanced that the Fellow-Craft's degree was formulated in London after the year 1717 and before the close of the year 1720. Here, I think, we are warranted in pursuing the following method of deduction.

If the first notice of the degree of Fellow-Craft being conferred in Scotland, as a degree, occurs in the record of a lodge in the last days of the year 1720; and if, as we know from other sources, that Scotland derived the expanded system of degrees from the sister kingdom; then it is reasonable to suppose that the degree must have been given in Scotland at as early a period after its fabrication in England as was compatible with a due allowance of time for its transmission from the lodges of the latter kingdom to those of the former, and for the necessary preparation for its legal adoption.

The degree must, of course, have been practiced in London for some time before it would be transmitted to other places, and hence we may accept the hypothesis, as something more than a mere presumption, that the Second degree had been invented by Desaguliers and his collaborators on the ritual of the new Grand Lodge in the course of the year 1719, certainly not later than the beginning of the year 1720.

Between the 24th of June, 1717, when the Grand Lodge was established, and the end of the year 1718, the period of less than eighteen months which had elapsed was too brief to permit the overthrow of a long-existing system, endeared to the Craft by its comparative antiquity. Time and opportunity were required for the removal of opposition, the conciliation of prejudices, and the preparation of rituals, all of which would bring us to the year 1719 as the conjectural date of the fabrication of the Second degree.

It is highly probable that the degree was not thoroughly formulated and legally introduced into the ritual until after the 24th of June, 1719, when Desaguliers, who was then Grand Master, and the Proto-Grand Master, Sayer, who was then one of the Grand War-

[1] No reference is here made to the subsequent disseverment of the Third degree which resulted in the composition of the Royal arch degree, as that subject will be hereafter fully discussed.

dens, had, from their official positions, sufficient influence to cause the acceptance of the new degree by the Grand Lodge.

We can gather very little, except inferentially, from the meager records of Anderson, and yet he shows us that there was certainly an impetus given to the Order in 1719, which might very well have been derived from the invention of a new and more attractive ritual.

Anderson says, referring to the year 1719, that "now several old brothers, that had neglected the Craft, visited the lodges; some noblemen were also made brothers, and more new lodges were constituted."

The record of the preceding year tells us that the Grand Master Payne had desired the brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old writings concerning Masonry "in order to shew the usages of ancient times."

Northouck, a later but not a discreditable authority, expanding the language of his predecessor, says that "the wish expressed at the Grand Lodge for collecting old manuscripts, appears to have been preparatory to the compiling and publishing a body of Masonical Constitutions."

I can see in this act the suggestion of the idea then beginning to be entertained by the Speculative leaders of the new society to give it a more elevated character by the adoption of new laws and a new form of ceremonies. To guide them in this novel attempt, they desired to obtain all accessible information as to old usages.

And now, some of the older Operative Craftsmen, becoming alarmed at what they believed was an effort to make public the secrets which had been so scrupulously preserved from the eyes of the profane by their predecessors, and who were unwilling to aid in the contemplated attempt to change the old ritual, an attempt which had been successful in the fabrication of a Second degree, and the modification of the First, resolved to throw obstructions in the way of any further innovations.

This will account for the fact recorded by Anderson that, between June, 1719, and June, 1720,[1] several valuable manuscripts concerning the ancient "regulations, charges, secrets, and usages"

[1] Dr. Anderson, in his chronological records, counts the years from the installation of one Grand Master in June to that of the next in June of the following year.

were "burnt by some scrupulous brothers, that those papers might not fall into strange hands."

The records do not say so, in as many words, but we may safely infer from their tenor that the conflict had begun between the old Operative Freemasons who desired to see no change from the ancient ways, and the more liberal-minded Theoretic members, who were anxious to develop the system and to have a more intellectual ritual—a conflict which terminated in 1723 with the triumph of the Theoretics and the defeat of the Operatives, who retired from the field and left the institution of Speculative Freemasonry to assume the form which it has ever since retained, as "a science of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols," a definition which would be wholly inapplicable to the old Operative system.

In the minute of the Dunblane Lodge which has been cited through Bro. Lyon, it was said that the candidate in being advanced from an Entered Apprentice to a Fellow-Craft had "passed from the Square to the Compass."

It is curious and significant that this expression was adopted on the Continent at a very early period of the 18th century, when the *hautes grades* or high degrees began to be manufactured. With the inventors of these new degrees the Square was the symbol of Craft Masonry, while the Compass was the appropriate emblem of what they called their more elevated system of instruction. Hence, instead of the Square which is worn by the Master of an Ancient Craft Lodge, the Master of a Lodge of Perfection substitutes the Compasses as the appropriate badge of his office.

But in Ancient Craft Masonry, with whose history alone we are now dealing, the Compass is at this day a symbol peculiar to the Third degree, while it would seem from the above-cited minute that in the beginning of the 18th century it was appropriate to the Fellow-Crafts.

In commenting on this phrase in the record of the Lodge of Dunblane, Bro. Lyon makes the following remarks:

"To some it will appear to favor the theory which attributes the existence of the Third degree to a disjunction and a rearrangement of the parts of which the Second was originally composed."

I have no objection to accept this theory in part. I believe, and the hypothesis is a very tenable one, that when the Second degree was fabricated, the secrets, the ritual, and instructions which were

formerly comprised in the single degree which was then given to the whole Craft, indiscriminately, to Apprentices, to Fellows, and to Masters alike, were divided between the two degrees which were then formulated, with certain new additions; and that subsequently, when the Third degree was invented, there was a further disintegration, and a portion of that which had constituted the "part of a Fellow-Craft" was, with many new points, transferred to that of the Master.

I have thus, by what I believe to be a tenable hypothesis, sought to fix the time of the first expansion of the old ritual of the Operatives, which was for a short time made use of, in all its simplicity, by the Speculative Grand Lodge.

The next step in this expansion was the fabrication of the Third or Master Mason's degree. To the time when this important event took place and to the circumstances attending it we are now to direct our attention. This shall therefore be the subject to be treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV

NON-EXISTENCE OF A MASTER MASON'S DEGREE AMONG THE OPERATIVE FREEMASONS

HE history of the origin of the Third or Master's degree—that is, so much of it as refers to the precise time of its invention—has, at this day, been involved in much doubt, and been the source of earnest controversy in consequence of the searching investigations of recent scholars, whose incisive criticism has shown many theories to be untenable which were once held to be plausible.

Until within a few years the opinion was universally entertained that the Third degree must have been in existence from the time of the invention of the Masonic system, and at whatever period that event was placed, the doctrine was held as indisputable that the First, the Second, and the Third degrees must have had a contemporaneous origin, no one preceding the other in point of time, but all springing at the same epoch into form and practice.

The theory that Freemasonry originated at the Temple of Solomon was for a very long time a universally accepted proposition, constituting, in fact, the orthodox creed of a Freemason, and conscientiously adopted, not merely by the common and unlearned masses of the Fraternity, but even by Masonic scholars of distinguished reputation.

Consequent upon this theory was another, that at the same time the Master's degree was invented and that the builders of the Temple were divided into the same three classes distinguished as degrees, which constitute the present system of Freemasonry.

This theory was derived from the esoteric narrative contained in the modern ritual of the Third degree. If this narrative is accepted as an authentic history of events which actually occurred at that time, then there need be no more difficulty in tracing the invention of the Third degree to the time of King Solomon than

there can be in placing the origin of Freemasonry at the same remote period.

But unfortunately for the repose of those who would be willing to solve a difficult problem by the Alexandrian method of cutting the Gordian knot, rather than by the slower process of analytical investigation, the theory of the Temple origin of the Master's degree has now been repudiated by nearly all Masonic scholars. A few may be accepted who, like Bro. Woodford, still express a doubtful recognition of the possibility that the legend may be true.[1]

Thus Bro. Woodford, referring to the Temple legend, says: "As there is no *à priori* reason why an old Masonic tradition should not be true in the main, we see no reason to reject the world-wide story of King Solomon's protection of a Masonic association. Indeed, modern discovery seems to strengthen the reality of our Masonic legends, and we should always, as it appears to us, distinguish between what is possible and probable and what is actually provable or proved by indubitable evidence." In reply to this it must be remembered that of all the arguments in favor of an event, the possibility of its occurrence is the weakest that can be adduced. In dialectics there is an almost illimitable gulf between possibility and actuality. A hundred things may be possible or even probable, and yet not one of them may be actual. With the highest respect for the scholarship of our reverend Brother, I am compelled to dissent from the views he has here expressed. Nor am I prepared to accept the statement that "modern discovery seems to strengthen the reality of our Masonic legends." A contrary opinion now generally prevails, though it must be admitted that the modern interpretations of these legends have given them a value, as the expression of symbolic ideas, which does not pertain to them when accepted, as they formerly were, as truthful narratives.

The Temple legend, however, must be retained as a part of the ritual as long as the present system of Speculative Freemasonry exists, and the legendary and allegorical narrative must be repeated by the Master of the lodge on the occasion of every initiation into the mysteries of the Third degree, because, though it is no longer to be accepted as an historical statement, yet the events which it records are still recognized as a myth containing within itself, and

[1] Kenning's "Masonic Cyclopædia," art. Temple of Solomon, p. 612.

independent of all question of probability, a symbolical significance of the highest importance.

This mythical legend of the Temple, and of the Temple Builder, must ever remain an inseparable part of the Masonic ritual, and the narrative must be repeated on all appropriate occasions, because, without this legend, Speculative Masonry would lose its identity and would abandon the very object of its original institution. On this legend, whether true or false, whether a history or a myth, is the most vital portion of the symbolism of Freemasonry founded.

In the interpretation of a legendary symbol or an allegory it is a matter of no consequence to the value of the interpretation whether the legend be true or false; the interpretation alone is of importance. We need not, for instance, inquire whether the story of Hiram Abif is a narrative which is true in all its parts, or merely a historical myth in which truth and fiction are variously blended, or, in fact, only the pious invention of some legend-maker, to whose fertile imagination it has been indebted for all its details.

It is sufficient when we are occupied in an investigation of subjects connected with the science of symbolism, that the symbol which the legend is intended to develop should be one that teaches some dogma whose truth we can not doubt. The symbologist looks to the truth or fitness of the symbol, not to that of the legend on which it is founded. Thus it is that we should study the different myths and traditions which are embodied in the ritual of Freemasonry.

But when we abandon the rôle of the symbologist or ritualist, and assume that of the historian—when, for the time, we no longer interest ourselves in the lessons of Masonic symbolism, but apply our attention to the origin and the progress of the institution, then it really becomes of importance that we should inquire whether the narrative of certain supposed events which have hitherto been accepted as truthful, are really historical or merely mythical or legendary.

And, therefore, when the question is asked in an historical sense, at what time the Third degree was invented, and in the expectation that the reply will be based on authentic historical authority, we at once repudiate the whole story of its existence at the Temple of Solomon as a mere myth, having, it is true, its value as a symbol,

but being entitled to no consideration whatever as an historical narrative.

It is, however, most unfortunate for the study of Masonic history that so many writers on this subject, forgetting that all history must have its basis in truth, have sought rather to charm their readers by romantic episodes than to instruct them by a sober detail of facts. One instance of this kind may be cited as an example from the visionary speculations of Ragon, a French writer of great learning, but of still greater imagination.

In his *Orthodoxie Maçonnique* he has attributed the invention of all the degrees to Elias Ashmole, near the end of the 17th century. He says that the degree of Master Mason was formulated soon after the year 1648, but that the decapitation of King Charles I., and the part taken by Ashmole in favor of the House of Stuart, led to great modifications in the ritual of the degree, and that the same epoch saw the birth of the degrees of Secret Master, Perfect Master, Elect, and Irish Master, of all of which Charles the First was the hero, under the name of Hiram.[1]

Assertions like this are hardly worth the paper and ink that would be consumed in refuting them. Unlike the so-called historical novel which has its basis in a distortion of history, they resemble rather the Arabian Tales or the Travels of Gulliver, which owe their existence solely to the imaginative genius of their authors.

Still there are some writers of more temperate judgment who, while they reject the Temple theory, still claim for the Third degree an antiquity of no certain date, but much anterior to the time of the organization of the Grand Lodge in the beginning of the 18th century.

Thus, Bro. Hyde Clark, in an article in the London *Freemasons' Magazine,* says that "the ritual of the Third degree is peculiar and suggestive of its containing matter from the old body of Masonry," whence he concludes that it is older than the time of the so-called Revival in 1717, and he advances a theory that the First degree was in that olden time conferred on minors, while the Second and Third were restricted to adults.[2]

This view of the origin of the degrees can only be received as a

[1] "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," par J. M. Ragon, Paris, 1853, p. 29.

[2] "Old Freemasonry before Grand Lodges," by Hyde Clark, in the London *Freemasons' Magazine,* No. 534.

bare assumption, for there is not a particle of authentic evidence to show that it has an historical foundation. No old document has been yet discovered which gives support to the hypothesis that there were ceremonies or esoteric instructions before the year 1719 which were conferred upon a peculiar class. All the testimony of the Old Records and manuscript Constitutions is to the effect that there was but one reception for the Craftsmen, to which all, from the youngest to the oldest Mason, were admitted.

It is true that one of the Old Records, known as the Sloane MS. 3329, mentions different modes of recognition, one of which was peculiar to Masters, and is called in the manuscript "their Master's gripe," and another is called "their gripe for fellow-crafts."

Of the many Masonic manuscripts which, within the last few years have been discovered and published, this is perhaps one of the most important and interesting. Findel first inserted a small portion of it in his *History of Freemasonry*, but the whole of it in an un. mutilated form was subsequently published by Bro. Woodford in 1872, and also by Hughan in the same year in the *Voice of Masonry*. It was discovered among the papers of Sir Hans Sloane which were deposited in the British Museum, and there is numbered 3329. Bro. Hughan supposes that the date of this manuscript is between 1640 and 1700; Messrs. Bond and Sims, of the British Museum, think that the date is "probably of the beginning of the 18th century." Findel thinks that it was originally in the possession of Dr. Plot, and that it was one of the sources whence he derived his views on-Freemasonry. He places its date at about the end of the 17th century. Bro. Woodford cites the authority of Mr. Wallbran for fixing its date in the early part of that century, in which opinion he coincides. The paper-mark of the manuscript in the British Museum appears to have been a copy of an older one, for Bro. Woodford states that though the paper-mark is of the early part of the 18th century, experts will not deny that the language is that of the 17th. He believes, and very reasonably, that it represents the ceremonial through which Ashmole passed in 1646.

As this is the only Old Record in which a single passage is to be found which, by the most liberal exegesis, can be construed even into an allusion to the existence of a Third degree with a separate ritual before the end of the second decade of the 18th century, it

may be well to quote such passages of the manuscript as appear to have any bearing on the question.

The methods of recognition for Fellow-Crafts and Masters is thus described in the Sloane MS.:

"Their gripe for fellow craftes is grasping their right hands in each other, thrusting their thumb naile upon the third joynt of each others first Fing'r; their masters gripe is grasping their right hands in each other; placing their four fingers nailes hard upon the carpus or end of others wrists, and their thumb nailes thrust hard directly between the second joynt of the thumb and the third joynt of the first Finger; but some say the mast'rs grip is the same I last described, only each of their middle Fing'rs must reach an inch or three barley corns length higher to touch upon a vein y't comes from the heart."

No indication is to be found in this passage of the existence at the time of three degrees and three separate rituals. All that it tells us is that the Fellow-Crafts were provided with one form of salutation and the Masters with another, and we are left in uncertainty whether these forms used by one class were unknown to the other, or whether the forms were openly used only to distinguish one class from the other, as the number of stripes on the arm distinguish the grades of non-commissioned officers in the army.

That the latter was the use would appear evident from the fact that the close of the passage leaves it uncertain that the "gripes" were not identical, or at least with a very minute difference. "Some say," adds the writer, "the Master's grip is the same" as the Fellow-Craft's — "only" — and then he gives the hardly appreciable variation.

Here is another passage which appears to show that no value was attached to the use of the grip as marking a degree, though it might be employed to distinguish a rank or class.

"Another salutation," says the manuscript, "is giving the Mast'rs or fellows grip, saying the right worshipful the mast'rs and fellows in that right worshipful lodge from whence we last came, greet you, greet you, greet you well, then he will reply, God's good greeting to you, dear brother."

Here I take it that all that is meant is that the Masters saluted with the grip peculiar to their class, and the Fellows that peculiar to theirs. But what has become of the Apprentices? Did they salute with the grip of the Fellows or that of the Masters? If so, they

must have been acquainted with one or both, and then the secret instruction incidental to the condition of degrees and a distinct ritual must be abandoned, or the Apprentices were not admitted to the privileges of the Craft, and were debarred from a recognition as members of a lodge.

Let the following questions and answers decide that point. They are contained in the manuscript, and there called "a private discourse by way of question and answer."

"Q. Where were you made a mason?

"A. In a just and perfect or just and lawful lodge.

"Q. What is a perfect or just and lawful lodge?

"A. A just and perfect lodge is two Interprintices two fellow crafts, and two Mast'rs, more or fewer, the more the merrier, the fewer the better chear, but if need require five will serve, that is, two Interprintices, two fellow craftes, and one Mast'r on the highest hill or the lowest valley of the world without the crow of a cock or the bark of a dog."

This was no lodge of Master Masons, nor of Fellow-Crafts, nor of Entered Apprentices, as they have been distinguished since the establishment of degrees. It was simply a lodge of Freemasons to legalize and perfect whose character it was necessary that representatives of all the classes should be present. The Apprentices forming a part of the lodge must have been privy to all its secrets; and this idea is sustained by all the Old Constitutions and "Charges" in which the Apprentices are enjoined to keep the secrets of the lodge.

The manuscript speaks of two words, "the Mast'r Word" and "the Mason word." The latter is said to have been given in a certain form, which is described. It is possible that the former may have been communicated to Masters as a privilege attached to their rank, while the latter was communicated to the whole Craft. In a later ritual it has been seen that there were two words, "the Jerusalem Word" and "the universal word," but both were known to the whole Fraternity. The Sloane MS. does not positively state that the two words used in its ritual were like these two, or that the Master's was confined to one class. It is, however, likely that this Word was a privileged mark of distinction to be used only by the Masters,
though possibly known to the rest of the Fraternity. How else could it be given in the lodge where the three classes were present? Bro. Lyon has arrived at the same conclusion. He says: "It is our opin-

ion that in primitive times there were no secrets communicated by Lodges to either fellows or craft or master's that were not known to apprentices, seeing that members of the latter grade were necessary to the legal constitution of communications for the admission of masters or fellows."[1] The argument, indeed, appears to be unanswerable.

The Word might, however, as has been suggested, have been whispered by the Master communicating it to the one to whom it was communicated. If this were so, it supplies us with the origin of the modern Past Master's degree. But even then it could only be considered as a privileged mark of a rank or class of the Craftsmen and not as the evidence of a degree.

I will merely suggest, but I will not press the argument, that it is not impossible that by a clerical mistake, or through some confusion in the mind of the writer, "Mast'r Word" may have been written for "Mason Word," an expression which has been made familiar to us in the minutes of the Scottish lodges, and which is the only word the secrecy of which is required by the oath that is contained in the manuscript. On the other hand, "Master Word" is a phrase not met with in any other manuscript, Scotch or English.

The "Oath," which forms a part of the Sloane MS., supplies itself the strongest proof that, during the period in which it formed a part of the ritual, that ritual must have been one common to the three classes; in other words, there could have been but one degree, because there was but one obligation of secrecy imposed, and the secrets, whatever they were, must have been known to all Freemasons, to the Apprentices as well as to the Master. The "Oath" is in the following words:

"The Mason Word and everything therein contained you shall keep secret, you shall never put it in writing directly or indirectly; you shall keep all that we or your attenders shall bid you keep secret from man, woman or child, stock or stone, and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons, and truly observe the charges in the Constitution; all this you promise and swear faithfully to keep and observe, without any manner of equivocation or mental reservation, directly or indirectly; so help you God and the contents of this Book."

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23.

The "Mason Word," with the secrets connected with it, formed a very prominent part of the ritual of the Scotch Freemasons, though there is no reference to it in any of the English manuscripts except in the Sloane.

In fact, so important was this word considered as to be sometimes figuratively employed to designate the whole body of the Fraternity. Thus, in a record of the Musselburgh Lodge, in December, 1700, where complaint is made of the great disorders into which the lodge had fallen, it is said, among other evils, that the practice of Fellow Crafts encouraging Apprentices to take work as journeymen, "at last, by degrees, will bring all law and order and consequently the Mason Word to contempt"[1]—where, evidently by a figure of speech, it is meant that the Fraternity or Craft of Masonry will be brought to contempt.

In the Lodge of Edinburgh, which was the principal Lodge of Scotland, and whose records have been best preserved, the Masons or employers were, up to the beginning of the 18th century, the dominant power, and seldom called the Fellows or Craftsmen of an inferior class, who were only journeymen, into their counsel.

The controversy between the Masters and journeymen, which led, in 1712, to the establishment of a new lodge, are faithfully described by Bro. Lyon from the original records.[2] It is sufficient here to say that one of the principal grievances complained of by the latter was in respect to the giving of the Mason Word, with the secrets connected with it and the fees arising from it. The Masters claimed the right to confer it and to dispose of the fee, so to speak, of initiation.

Finally, the controversy was partially ended by arbitration. The "Decreet-Arbitral," as is the Scottish legal phrase, or award of the arbitrators made on January 17, 1715, has been recorded, and has been published by Bro. Lyon. The only point of importance to the present subject is that the arbitrators decreed that the journeymen Masons, that is, the Fellow-Crafts, should be allowed "to meet together by themselves, as a Society for giving the Mason Word and to receive dues therefor."

From this fact it is clearly evident that the knowledge of the

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 175.

[2] Ibid., p. 140.

"Mason Word" and the secrets pertaining to it formed no part of a degree exclusively confined to the Masters, but that all esoteric knowledge in connection with this subject was also the property of the Fellow-Crafts, and of the Apprentices, too, because it has been shown that they were required to be present at all lodge meetings.

The expression, "Mason Word," which is common in the Scottish lodge records, has been, so far, found only in one English manuscript, the Sloane 3329. But as the theory is now generally accepted as having been proved, that the Scottish Freemasons derived their secrets from their English brethren, there can hardly be a doubt that the regulations relative to this Word must have been nearly the same in both countries.

That this was the case after the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, there can be no doubt. It is proved by the visit of Dr. Desaguliers to Edinburgh in 1721, and long before. Bro. Lyon was aware of that visit. He had, from other considerations, expressed the opinion "that the system of Masonic degrees which for nearly a century and a half has been known in Scotland as Freemasonry, was an importation from England."[1]

What this "Mason Word" was, either in England or Scotland, we have, at this day, no means of knowing. But we do know from the records of the 17th century, which have been preserved, that it was the most important, and in Scotland perhaps the only, secret that was communicated to the Craft.

"The Word," says Bro. Lyon, "is the only secret that is even alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel, or in those of Kilwinning, Acheson's Haven, or Dunblane, or any other that we have examined of a date prior to the erection of the Grand Lodge."[2]

We know also that in England, in Scotland, and in Germany, the giving of the Word was accompanied by a grip and by the communication of other secrets.

But we know also, positively, that this Word and these secrets were bestowed upon Fellows as well as Masters, and also, as we have every reason to infer, upon Apprentices.

Besides the proofs that we derive from old Masonic records, we have a right to draw our inferences from the prevalence of similar customs among other crafts.

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[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 153.

[2] Ibid., p. 22,

Thus, the carpenters, wrights, joiners, slaters, and other crafts who were connected in the art of building with the Masons, were called in Scotland "Squaremen," and they had a secret word which was called the "Squaremen Word." This word, with a grip and sign, was communicated to both journeymen and apprentices in a ceremony called the "brithering." A portion of this ceremony which was performed in a closely guarded apartment of a public-house was the investiture with a leather apron.[1]

I can not doubt that the communication of the "Mason Word and the secrets pertaining to it" was accompanied by similar ceremonies in Scotland, and by a parity of reasoning also in England.

The final conclusion to which we must arrive from the proofs which have been adduced, is that as there was no such system as that of degrees known to the mediaeval Operative Freemasons, that no such system was practiced by the Speculative Freemasons who in 1717 instituted the Grand Lodge of England, until at least two years after its organization; that in 1719 the two degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft were invented; and that subsequently the present system of symbolic or ancient Craft degrees was perfected by the fabrication of a new degree, now recognized as the Third or Master Mason's degree.

At what precise time and under what circumstances this Third degree was invented and introduced into the Grand Lodge system of modern Freemasonry, is the next subject that must engage our attention.

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[1] Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 33.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE INVENTION OF THE THIRD OR MASTER MASON'S DEGREE

E have seen that up to the year 1719 the Masonic ritualistic system consisted of but one degree, which was common to the whole, and the secrets of which were communicated to the Apprentice at his initiation, or as it was, perhaps, more properly called, in reference to the paucity of ceremonies, his admission. At that time Desaguliers and his collaborators originated a Second degree, to be appropriated to the Fellow-Crafts. To do this it was necessary, or, at least, it was deemed expedient, to disintegrate the primitive degree and out of it to make two degrees, those of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft.

For a short time—how long is to be hereafter seen—the Masonic system consisted of two degrees, and the summit of the system was the Fellow-Craft's degree.

From this time the Fellow-Crafts began to take a prominent place in the business of Masonry, and the Apprentice lost some of the importance he had obtained in early times as a component part of the Craft and an equal participant with Masters and Fellows in its secrets. He was permitted, it is true, to be present at the meetings of the lodge, and to take his share in its business (except, of course, where candidates were to be "passed"), and even to vote in the Grand Lodge on the question of an alteration of the "General Regulations," but the offices were to be held and the lodge represented in the Grand Lodge by Fellow-Crafts only. Of this there is abundant evidence in contemporary documents.

The first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* contains "the Charges of a Free-mason, extracted from the Records of Lodges beyond Sea." The exact date when these "Charges" were compiled is not known. It must have been after 1718, for they distinctly refer to the Fellow-Craft's degree, and it must have been before

the beginning of 1723, for that is the year of their publication. It is, however, certain from their phraseology that when they were compiled for the use of the lodges, the Fellow-Craft's degree had been instituted, but the Master's degree was not yet known. For this reason I am inclined to place the date between 1718, in which year Anderson tells us that "several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated," and 1721, when he submitted his manuscript, including the "Charges" and "Regulations" to the Grand Lodge. There is no date prefixed to the "Charges," but I think it not improbable that they were constructed by Payne in 1720, at the same time that he compiled the "General Regulations." It is certain that they must have been in existence on December 27, 1721, when a committee was appointed by the Grand Lodge to examine them and the Constitutions. And this date sufficiently accounts for the fact that there are no allusions in them to the Master's degree.

These "Charges," therefore, give us a very good idea of the status of Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts in English Masonry at the time when the system consisted of two degrees, and the "part of Master" had not yet been composed.

In Charge IV. it is said that if the Apprentice has learned his art, he then may in due time be made a Fellow-Craft, and then if otherwise qualified may become a Warden and successively Master of his lodge, the Grand Warden, and at length the Grand Master.

Here we see that at that time the Fellow-Craft was at the summit of the Fraternity so far as degrees and qualifications for promotions in rank were concerned. Nothing is said of the degree of Master; it was still simply as in primitive times—a gradation of rank.

In the same Charge we are told that "no Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow-Craft, nor a Master[1] until he has acted as a Warden; nor Grand Warden until he has been Master of a lodge; nor Grand Master unless he has been a Fellow-Craft before his election."

It is very evident that at this time there could be no degree higher than that of the Fellow-Craft. If there had been, that higher degree would have been made the necessary qualification

[1] That is, Master of a Lodge, as the context shows.

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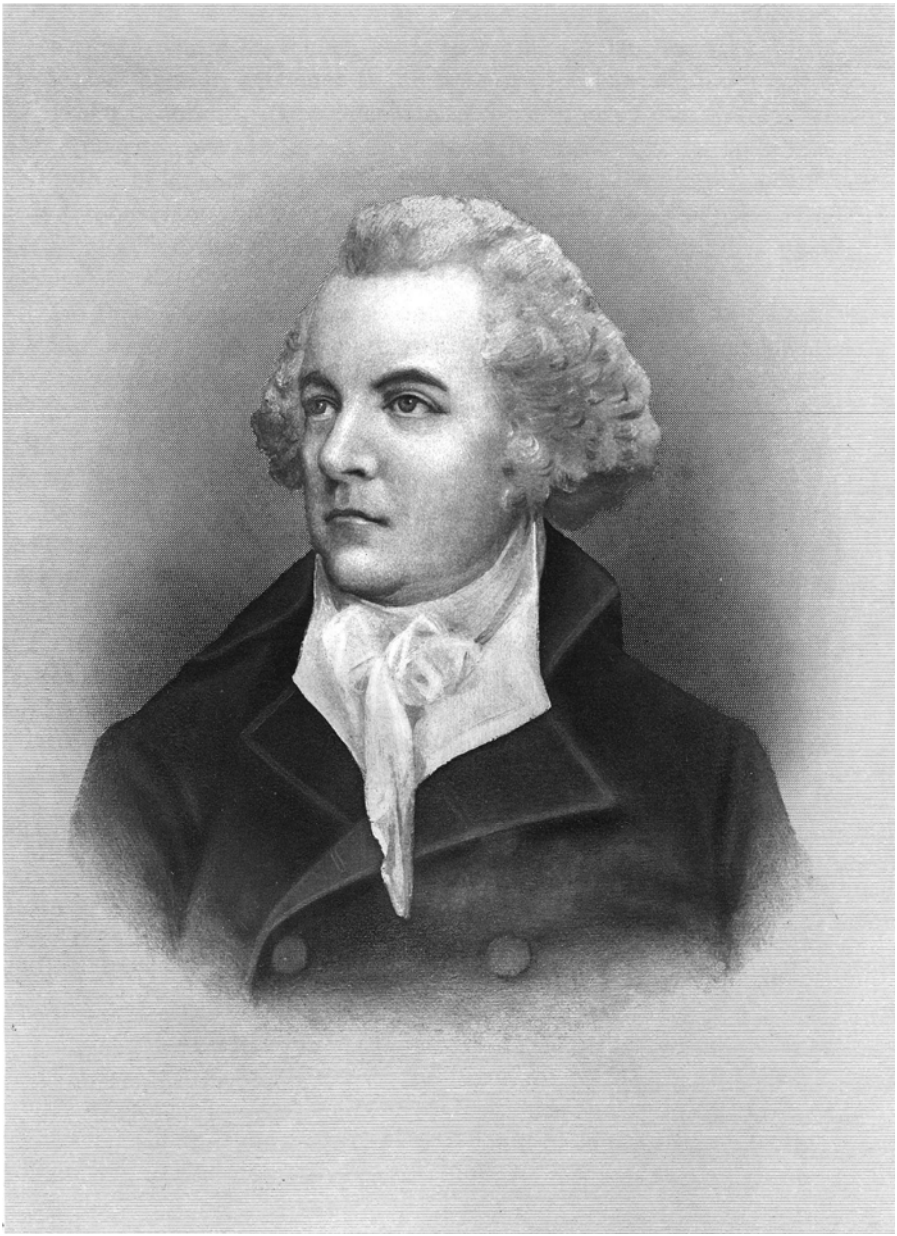

for these high offices. We are not without the proof of how these "Charges" would have been made to read had the degree of Master Mason been in existence at the time of their compilation.

Notwithstanding that Speculative Freemasonry owes much to Dr. Anderson, we are forced to reluctantly admit that, as an historian, he was inexact and inaccurate, and that while he often substituted the inventions of tradition for the facts of history, he also often modified the phraseology of old documents to suit his own views.

In 1738 he published a second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, a work which, although at first perhaps carelessly approved, was subsequently condemned by the Grand Lodge. In this work he inserted a copy of these "Charges." But now the Master's degree had been long recognized and practiced by the lodges as the summit of the ritual.

Now let us see how these "Charges" were modified by Dr. Anderson in this second edition, so as to meet the altered condition of the Masonic system. The Apprentice is no longer admonished, as he was in the first edition, that his ambition should be to become a Fellow-Craft and in time a Warden, a Master of a Lodge, a Grand Warden, and even a Grand Master. But in the copy of 1738 he is told that "when of age and expert he may become an Entered Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due improvement a Fellow-Craft and a Master Mason."

Again, in the "Charges" of 1720,[1] it is said that "no brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow-Craft."

In the "Charges" of 1738, it is said that "the Wardens are chosen from among the Master Masons."

In Charge V. of 1720 it is directed that "the most expert of the Fellow-Crafts shall be chosen or appointed the Master or Overseer of the Lord's Work."

In the same Charge, published in 1738, it is prescribed that "a Master Mason only must be the Surveyor or Master of Work."

Now, what else can be inferred from this collation of the two editions (which, if deemed necessary, could have been much further extended), except that in 1720 the Fellow-Craft was the highest de-

[1] I assume this date for convenience of reference, and because, as I have already shown, it is probably correct.

gree, and that after that year and long before 1738 the Master's degree had been invented.

But let us try to get a little nearer to the exact date of the introduction of the Third degree into the Masonic system.

The *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, commonly called the *Book of Constitutions*, was ordered by the Grand Lodge, on March 25, 1722, to be printed,[1] and was actually printed in that year, for it was presented by Dr. Anderson to the Grand Lodge "in print" on January 17, 1723. So that although the work bears on its title-page the imprint of 1723, it must really be considered as having been controlled in its composition by the opinions and the condition of things that existed in the year 1722.

Now, in the body of this book there is no reference to the degree of Master Mason. It is true that on page 33 the author speaks of "such as were admitted Master Masons or Masters of the Work," by which expression he evidently meant not those who had received a higher degree, but those who in the "Charges" contained in the same book were said to be "chosen or appointed the Master or Overseer of the Lord's Work," and who the same Charge declares should be "the most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen."

On the contrary, when speaking of the laws, forms, and usages practiced in the early lodges by the Saxon and Scottish kings, he says: "Neither what was conveyed nor the manner how, can be communicated by writing; as no man can indeed understand it without the key of a Fellow-Craft."[2]

So that in 1722, when this note was written, there was no higher degree than that of Fellow-Craft, because the Fellow-Crafts were, as being at the summit of the ritual, in possession of the key to all the oral and esoteric instructions of the Craft.

Guided by the spirit of the "General Regulations," printed in the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*, I am induced to place the invention of the Third degree in the year 1722, although, as will be hereafter seen, it did not get into general use until a later period. The investigations which have led me to this conviction were pursued in the following train, and I trust that the reader, if he will follow

[1] Its preparation by Dr. Anderson had been previously directed on September 29, 1721. This and the date of its publication in January, 1723, lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that the work was written in 1722.

[2] Anderson's "Constitutions," 2st edition, p. 29, note.

the same train of investigation with me, will arrive at the same conclusion. In pursuing this train of argument, it will be unavoidably necessary to repeat some of what has been said before. But the subject is so important that a needful repetition will be surely excused for the sake of explicitness in the reasoning.

The "General Regulations" were published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* edited by Anderson. This edition bears the imprint of 1723, but Anderson himself tells us that the work was "in print" and produced before the Grand Lodge on the 17th of January in that year. Hence, it is evident that although the work was published in 1723, it was actually printed in 1722. Whatever, therefore, is contained in the body of that work must refer to the condition of things in that year, unless Anderson may (as I shall endeavor to show he has done) have made some slight alteration or interpolation, toward the end of 1722 or the very beginning of 1723, while the book was passing through the press.

I have shown by the "Old Charges," whose assumed date is 1720, that at that time the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest recognized or known in Speculative Freemasonry, and I shall now attempt to prove from the "General Regulations" that the same condition existed in 1722, the year in which those "Regulations" were printed.

The "General Regulations" consist of thirty-nine articles, and throughout the whole composition, except in one instance, which I believe to be an interpolation, there is not one word said of Master Masons, but the only words used are Brethren and Fellow-Crafts—Brethren being a generic term which includes both Fellows and Apprentices.

Thus it is said (art. vi.), that "no man can be entered a Brother in any particular Lodge or admitted to be a Member thereof without the unanimous consent of all the members."

That is, no man can be made an Entered Apprentice, nor having been made elsewhere, be affiliated in that particular lodge.

Again (art. vii.), "every new Brother, at his making, is decently to cloath the Lodge." That is, every Apprentice at his making, etc.

The word "Brother," although a generic term, has in these instances a specific signification which is determined by the context of the sentence.

The making of a Brother was the entering of an Apprentice, a

term we still use when speaking of the making of a Mason. The Fellow-Craft was admitted, or, as Ashmole says in his Diary, "admitted into the Fellowship of Freemasons."

Lyon,[1] referring to the nomenclature of the Scottish lodges "of the olden time," says, that the words "made" and "accepted" were frequently used as indicating the admission of Fellow-Crafts, but he adds that the former was sometimes, though rarely, used to denote the entry of Apprentices. He states, however, that toward the end of the 17th century these words gave way to the expression "passed," to indicate the reception of a Fellow-Craft, and that the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, at about that time, used the word "accepted" as equivalent to the making or passing of a Fellow-Craft. But the Schaw statutes of 1598, which are among the very oldest of the Scottish records extant, employs the word "entered" in reference to the making of an Apprentice, and received or "admitted" in reference to the making of a Fellow-Craft.

I think, however, that in the English lodges, or at least in the "General Regulations" of 1720, the words "making a Brother" meant, as it does in the present day, the initiation of an Entered Apprentice, and that Fellow-Crafts were "admitted." The word "passed" soon afterward came into use.

With this explanation of certain technical terms which appeared to be necessary in this place, let us proceed to examine from the document itself what was the status of Fellow-Crafts at the time of the compilation of the "General Regulations" by Grand Master Payne, in 1720, and their adoption in 1722 by the Grand Lodge. From this examination I contend that it will be found that at that period there was in Freemasonry only two degrees, those of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft.

It will be admitted that in a secret society no one has such opportunities of undetected "eavesdropping" as the guardian of the portal, and hence, the modern ritual of Freemasonry requires that the Tiler shall be in possession of the highest degree worked by the body which he tiles.

Now the 13th General Regulation prescribes that a Brother "who must be a Fellow-Craft should be appointed to look after the door of the Grand Lodge."

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[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 76.

But it may be argued that the Grand Lodge always met and worked in the Entered Apprentices' degree, and that Apprentices as well as Fellow-Crafts were present at its communications.

I admit the fact, and acknowledge that from this point of view my argument would be untenable. But why was not the office of Tiler entrusted to an Entered Apprentice? Because, if there were three degrees at the time, it would have been manifestly improper to have bestowed this trustworthy and responsible office on one who was in possession of only the lowest. And if it was prudent and proper, as I suppose will be admitted, that it should have been bestowed on one of the highest degree, why was it not given to a Master Mason? Simply, I reply, because there were no Master Masons, as a degree class, from whom the selection could be made. As the laws of every lodge at the present day prescribe that the Tiler must be a Master Mason, because the Third degree is the highest one known to or practiced in the lodge, so the laws of the Grand Lodge in 1723, or the "General Regulations," required the Tiler to be a Fellow-Craft because the Second degree was the highest one known to or practiced in the Grand Lodge at that time. It would seem hardly to need an argument to prove that if the Third degree had been in practical existence when these "Regulations" were approved by the Grand Lodge, they would have directed that the guardian of the door should be in possession of that degree.

Another clause in this 13th Regulation is very significant. The Treasurer and Secretary of the Grand Lodge are permitted to have, each, a clerk, and it is directed that he "must be a Brother and Fellow-Craft." Again, and for a similar reason, the officer is selected from the highest degree. Had the Third degree been known at that time, these assistants would surely have been chosen from among the Master Masons; for if not, they would have had to be sometimes entrusted with the records of the transactions of a degree of which they had no right to possess a knowledge.

In the 14th Regulation it is prescribed that in the absence of the Grand Wardens the Grand Master may order private Wardens, that is, the Wardens of a subordinate lodge, to act as Grand Wardens *pro tempore,* and then, that the representation of that lodge in the Grand Lodge may be preserved, the lodge is to supply their place, not by two Master Masons, but "by two Fellow-Crafts of the

same lodge, called forth to act or sent thither by the particular Master thereof."

The fact that the second was the highest degree known in the early part of the year 1723 is confirmed by the formula inserted in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* and which is there entitled "the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, as practiced by his Grace the Duke of Wharton, the present Right Worshipful Grand Master, according to the ancient usages of Masons." It was, according to Anderson's record in the second edition, presented to the Grand Lodge and approved on January 17, 1723. It is therefore a fair testimony as to the condition of the degree question at that date.

In this formula it is said that "the new Master and Wardens being yet among the Fellow-Craft" the Grand Master shall ask his Deputy if he has examined them and finds the Candidate well skilled, etc. And this being answered in the affirmative, he is duly installed, after which the new Master, "calling forth two Fellow-Craft, presents them to the Grand Master for his approbation," after which they are installed as Wardens of the lodge.[1]

This, I think, is conclusive evidence that the degree of Fellow-Craft was then the highest known or used. In January, 1723, it did not require a Mason to be more than a Fellow-Craft to prove himself, as Wharton's form of Constitution has it, "well skilled in the noble science and the Royal Art, and duly instructed in our mysteries, and competent to preside as Master over a lodge."

In the 25th of these "General Regulations" it is directed that a committee shall be formed at the time of the Grand Feast, to examine every person bringing a ticket, "to discourse him, if they think fit, in order to admit or debar him as they shall see cause." It was, in fact, an examining committee, to inquire into the qualifications of applicants for admission to the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge. The members of such a committee must necessarily have been in possession of the highest degree practiced by the Grand Lodge. It is very evident that a Fellow-Craft was not competent to examine into the qualifications and attainments of a Master Mason. Yet the Regulation prescribes that to compose

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," edition of 1723, pp. 71, 72.

Such a committee "the Masters of lodges shall each appoint one experienced and discreet Fellow-Craft of his lodge."

But there is evidence in these "Regulations," not only that Fellow-Crafts were in 1723 appointed to the responsible offices of Tilers, Wardens, and Committees of Examination, but that they were competent to fill the next to the highest office in the Craft. The 17th Regulation says that "if the Deputy Grand Master be sick, or necessarily absent, the Grand Master may chuse any Fellow-Craft he pleases to be his Deputy *pro tempore*."

This, I think, is as conclusive proof as legitimate logical deduction can produce, that at the beginning of the year 1723, which was the date of the publication of these "Regulations" for the government of the Grand Lodge, the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest practiced by the Grand Lodge, and that the degree of Master Mason was not then known or recognized in the system of Speculative Freemasonry. A Fellow-Craft presiding over Master Masons would indeed be a Masonic anomaly of which it would require something more than a blind reverence for the claims of antiquity to extort belief.

The citations that I have made seem to me to leave no doubt on the mind. The whole spirit and tenor of these "General Regulations," as well as the "Form of Constituting a new Lodge," which is so closely appended to them as to make, as it were, a part of them, go to prove that at the time they were approved by the Grand Lodge, which was on January 17, 1723, there were but two degrees recognized in Speculative Freemasonry, namely, those of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft; and that at that time the degree of Master Mason constituted no part of the system.

That Anderson himself placed the same interpretation on these passages, and was perfectly aware of the deduction to be made from them, is evident from the fact that when he next published these "General Regulations," which was in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, in 1738, at which time there is no doubt of the existence of the Master's degree, he almost invariably changed the words "Fellow-Craft" to "Master Mason."

And, accordingly, we find that in 1738 the Wardens, the Tiler, and the Assistant Treasurer and Secretary were required to be Master Masons. The change had taken place, and the Third degree had been adopted between the years 1723 and 1738.

But those who deny this theory and contend that the Third degree is of greater antiquity, and was known and practiced long before the beginning of the 18th century, would quote against my argument the words contained in the 13th Regulation, which words are as follows:

"Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here (in the Grand Lodge) unless by a dispensation."

I candidly admit that if this passage be proved to be a genuine part of the original "General Regulations," compiled in 1720 by Grand Master Payne and approved in 1723 by the Grand Lodge, the question would be decided at once and we could no longer doubt that the Third degree was in existence not only in 1723, but three years before, that is, in 1720.

But I do not hesitate to assert that this passage is an interpolation by Anderson and Desaguliers, made for a certain purpose, and I think that this assertion is capable of critical proof.

In criticism there are two methods of determining whether a suspected passage in an ancient work or an old document is genuine or spurious.

The first method is by the collation of other editions or manuscripts. If, in the examination of an ancient manuscript, a certain passage is found which is not met with in any other manuscripts of an anterior or a contemporary date, it is deduced from this collation that the passage is an interpolation by the writer of that particular manuscript, because if it were genuine and a part of the original writing it would have been found in all the older manuscripts, from one of which it must have been copied.

It is by this method of reasoning that the most eminent Biblical critics have arrived at the conclusion that the celebrated passage in the First Epistle General of St. John (v. 7) is an interpolation. Since it is not found in any of the earlier Greek manuscripts of the Epistle, it must, they argue, have been subsequently inserted, perhaps from a marginal commentary, either carelessly or designedly, by some later copyist whose error has been followed by all succeeding scribes. This is criticism from external evidence.

But there are other instances in which it is not possible to collate the book or manuscript which contains the suspected passage with others of an earlier date. Where there is but one copy extant, there can. of course, be no comparison. In such cases it becomes

necessary to determine whether the passage be genuine or spurious by what the critics call the method by internal evidence.

If the suspected passage is found to contain the expression of opinions which, we are led to believe from the known character of the author, he could not have uttered; or, if the statements which it sets forth are plainly in conflict with other statements made in the same work; or if it be found in a part of the work where it does not harmonize with the preceding and following portions of the context; or, in short, if the whole spirit and tenor of the other writings of the same author are in unmistaken opposition to the spirit and tenor of the passage under review; and, above all, if a reasonable motive can be suggested which may have given occasion to the interpolation, then the critic, guided by all or most of these reasons, will not hesitate to declare that the suspected passage is spurious; that it formed no part of the original book or manuscript, and that it is an interpolation made subsequent to the original composition. This is criticism from internal evidence.

It is by this method that the critics have been led to the conclusion that a certain passage in the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, in which he eulogizes Jesus, was not written, and could not have been written, by the Jewish historian. Not only does its insertion very awkwardly interrupt the continuity of the narrative in which the author was engaged at the time, but the sentiments of the passage are wholly irreconcilable with the character of Josephus. As a Pharisee, at least professedly, he was influenced by all the prejudices of his sect and his nation against the new sect of Christians and its founder. Such a man never could have vouched, as the writer of this passage does, for the Messiahship, the miraculous powers, and the resurrection of Jesus.

Hence it is now believed by nearly all scholars that the passage was interpolated as a "pious fraud" by some early Christian who was anxious to enlist in favor of his religion the authority of one of the most eminent of its adversaries.

It is now my purpose to apply these principles to an investigation of the only passage in the "General Regulations" which furnishes any evidence of the existence of the Third degree at the time when they were compiled.

As the copy of the "General Regulations" contained in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 is the first edition; as the original

manuscript copy is lost; and as there were no previously printed copies, it is impossible, through comparison and collation, to prove from external evidence that the passage referring to the Third degree is spurious.

We must then have recourse to the second method of critical investigation, that is, by internal evidence.

And submitted to this test, the suspected passage fails, I think, to maintain a claim to genuineness.

Although the first edition of the *Constitutions* is now readily accessible in consequence of its numerous reprints, still, for the sake of convenience to the reader, in the discussion I shall copy the whole of the paragraph in which the suspected passage is contained, marking that passage by italics.

The passage will be found in the first paragraph of Article XIII. of the "General Regulations," and is in these words:

"At the said Quarterly Communications, all Matters that concern the Fraternity in general, or particular Lodges or single Brothers, are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discours'd of and transacted: *Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here unless by a Dispensation.* Here also all Differences that can not be made up and accommodated privately, nor by a particular Lodge, are to be seriously considered and decided; And if any Brother thinks himself aggrieved by the decision of this Board, he may appeal to the annual Grand Lodge next coming, and leave his Appeal in Writing, with the Grand Master or his Deputy, or the Grand Wardens."

Anyone not prepossessed with the theory of the antiquity of the Third degree who will look at this paragraph will, I think, be struck with the suspicious incongruity of the clause in italics in relation to the parts that precede and follow it. I will endeavor to demonstrate this point as follows:

The 13th Article of the "General Regulations" is divided into eight paragraphs. Each of these paragraphs is wholly independent and homogeneous in respect to its subject-matter. Each is devoted to the consideration of one subject only, to the exclusion of all others.

Thus the first paragraph relates to matters that concern lodges and private brethren, such as differences that can not be settled otherwise than by the Grand Lodge. The second paragraph relates to

the returns of lodges and the mode and manner of making them. The third relates to the charity fund and the most effectual method of collecting and disposing of money for that purpose. The fourth to the appointment of a Treasurer and a Secretary for the Grand Lodge, and to their duties. The fifth to the appointment of a clerk for each of those officers. The sixth to the mode of inspecting their books and accounts. The seventh to the appointment of a Tiler to look after the door of the Grand Lodge. And the eighth provides for the making of a new regulation for the government of these officers whenever it may be deemed expedient.

Thus it will be seen, from this synopsis, that each of these paragraphs embraces but one subject. Whatever is begun to be treated at the opening of a paragraph is continued without interruption and without the admission of any other matter to its close.

This methodical arrangement has, in fact, been preserved throughout the whole of the thirty-nine "Regulations." No Regulation will be found which embodies the consideration of two different and irrelevant subjects.

So uniformly is this rule observed that it may properly be called a peculiar characteristic of the style of the writer, and a deviation from it becomes, according to the axioms of criticism, at once suspicious.

Now this deviation occurs only in the first paragraph of the 13th Article, the one which has been printed above.

That paragraph, as originally written, related to the disputes and difference which might arise between particular lodges and between single brethren, and prescribed the mode in which they should be settled when they could not "be made up and accommodated privately." Leaving out the lines which I have printed in italics, we will find that the paragraph is divided into three clauses, each separated from the other by a colon.

The first clause directs that all matters that concern the Fraternity in general, particular lodges or single brethren, "are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discoursed of and transacted" in the Grand Lodge. It is to questions that might arise between lodges and brethren—questions which in modern phraseology are called grievances—that the clause evidently refers. And in the Grand Lodge only are such questions to be discussed, because it is only there that they can be definitely settled.

The second clause continues the same subject, and extends it to those differences of brethren which can not be accommodated privately by the lodges of which they are members.

And the third clause provides that if the decision made by the Grand Lodge at its Quarterly Communication is not satisfactory to the parties interested, it may be carried up, by appeal, to the Grand Lodge in its Annual Communication.

Now, it is evident that this whole paragraph is intended to explain the duties of the Quarterly Communication as a Board of Inquiry in respect to matters in dispute between lodges and between the Craft, and the paragraph itself calls the decision of the Grand Lodge on these occasions the "Decision of this Board."

Viewed in this way, this first paragraph of the 13th Article is entirely congruous in all its parts, refers to but one subject, and is a perfect specimen of the style adopted by the compiler and pursued by him in all the other portions of the "Regulations" without a single exception—a style plain, simple, and methodical, yet as marked and isolated from other styles as is the Doric roughness of Carlyle or the diffusiveness of De Quincey from the manner of composition of other authors in a more elevated class of literature.

But if we insert the passage printed in italics between the first and second clauses, we will at once see the incongruity which is introduced by the interpolation.

Placed as it is between the first and second clauses, it breaks the continuity of the subject. A regulation which refers to the differences and disputes among the Craft, and the mode of settling them, is disjointed and interrupted by another one relating to an entirely different subject—namely, the initiation of Master Masons and Fellow-Crafts.

What has the subject of initiation to do with that of fraternal or lodge disputes? Why should a regulation relating to degrees be mixed up with another of a totally distinct and different character?

Judging, as we are not only authorized but compelled, as critical observers, to do, from the style of the compiler of the "Regulations" and the uniform custom pursued by him, we feel certain that if this passage formed a genuine part of the "Regulations," he would have placed it in an independent paragraph. That this has not been done affords a strong presumption that the passage is an interpolation, and that it formed no part of the "Regulations"

when compiled about the year 1720, most probably by Grand Master Payne, at the same time that he compiled the "Charges" printed in the same volume.

Still more suspicious is the fact that except in this passage there is not in the "General Regulations" the slightest allusion to Master Masons or to the Master's degree. As has already been shown, the whole spirit and tenor of the "Regulations" is to the effect that the highest grade in Freemasonry at that time, and the one from which all officers were to be selected, was that of Fellow-Craft. It is impossible to believe that if, at the time of the preparation of the "Regulations" and their approval by the Grand Lodge, the degree of Master Mason was in existence, it would have been passed over in such complete silence, and all important matters referred to a subordinate degree.

Hence I again deduce the conclusion that at the time of the compiling of these "Regulations" and their approval by the Grand Lodge, the Third degree was not in existence as a part of Speculative Masonry.

And then I assume as a logical deduction from these premises that the clause in the first paragraph of the 13th General Regulation is an interpolation inserted in those "Regulations" between the time of their being approved and the time of their final passage through the press.

It is barely possible that the suspected clause may have been inserted in the copy presented to the Grand Lodge on March 25, 1722, for examination and approval, and have escaped the attention of the reviewers from the fact that it was obscurely placed in the center of a paragraph relating to an entirely different subject. Or the Committee may have concurred with Desaguliers and Anderson in the policy of anticipating the control of the degree when it should be presented to the Craft, by an *ante factum* regulation.

Be that as it may, the passage formed neither then nor at any time thereafter a genuine part of the "General Regulations," although from its appearance in the printed copies it was as a mere matter of course accepted as a part of the law. It was, however, soon afterward repealed and a regulation was adopted on November 22, 1725, which remitted to the Master and Wardens, with a competent number of the lodge, the power of making Masters and Fellows at discretion.

The questions next arise, by whom, at what time, and for what purpose was this interpolation inserted?

By whom? I answer, by Anderson at the instigation of Desaguliers, under whose direction and with whose assistance the former had compiled the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.[1]

At what time? This question is more difficult to answer than the preceding one. At the communication of the Grand Lodge, September 29, 1721, Anderson was ordered to prepare the *Book of Constitutions.* On December 27, 1721, the manuscript was presented to the Grand Lodge and referred to a committee. On March 25, 1722, the Committee reported and the work was ordered to be printed. On January 17, 1723, Anderson produced the new *Book of Constitutions,* which was again approved, "with the addition of the Ancient manner of constituting a lodge."

Now, between September, 1721, when the book was ordered to be prepared, and March, 1722, when the work was approved and ordered to be printed, the passage could not have existed as a regulation, because, in the first place, it was directly antagonistic to the body of the work, in which there is no mention of the Third degree;[2] but, on the contrary, it is distinctly stated that the Fellow-Crafts were in possession of all the secrets, and they alone could understand them.[3] And, secondly, any such regulation would come in direct conflict with the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge" approved at the same time, and which, completely ignoring the Master's degree, directed the Master and Wardens to be selected from among the Fellow-Crafts of the lodge. The Master's degree could not have been known at that time as a part of the system of

[1] This edition is dedicated to the Duke of Montague, not by Anderson, but by Desaguliers, with an air of patronage to the author, as if it were a work accomplished by his direction.

[2] In describing the Temple of Solomon, Anderson, it is true, enumerates among the workmen "3,600 Princes or Master Masons, to conduct the work according to Solomon's directions." (Page 10.) But it is very clear that these were simply "Masters of the Work"—the "Magistri Operis" of the old Operative Freemasons—skilled Craftsmen appointed to superintend the bands or lodges of workmen engaged in the construction of the building.

[3] In a note on a page of the "Book of Constitutions," Anderson says: "No man can indeed understand it (Masonry) without the key of a Fellow-Craft." Certainly, he at that time knew nothing of a higher degree. This passage was probably written in 1721, when he was directed by the Grand Lodge to compile a "Book of Constitutions." Much Of the proposed work was then in manuscript.

Freemasonry, and no regulation in reference to it was therefore accessary.

Anderson has by implication admitted the soundness of this reasoning, because when he published the second edition of the *Constitution* in 1738, the Third degree being then a recognized part of the system, he changed the words "Fellow Crafts" wherever they occurred in the "Charges," as indicating the highest degree in the "Regulations," and in the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge," to the words "Master Mason."

I think, therefore, that the suspected clause was inserted in the 13th Regulation at the beginning of the year 1723, just before the work was issued from the press. There was neither time nor opportunity to make any other changes in the book and its appendices, and therefore this clause stands in reference to all the other parts of the Constitutions, Regulations, etc., in all the incongruity which I have endeavored to demonstrate.

For what purpose? The reply to this question will involve the determination of the time at which the Third degree was introduced into the ritual of Freemasonry. The theory which I present on this subject is as follows:

If the suspected clause which has been under consideration be admitted to be no genuine part of the *Book of Constitutions,* then it must follow that there is not the slightest evidence of the existence of the Third degree in the Ritual of Speculative Masonry up to the year 1723.

It is now very generally admitted that the arrangement of Freemasonry into the present system of three degrees was the work of Dr. Desaguliers, assisted by Anderson, Payne, and perhaps some other collaborators. The perfecting of this system was of very slow growth. At first there was but the one degree, which had been derived from the Operative Masons of preceding centuries. This was the degree practiced in 1717, when the so-called "Revival" took place. It was no doubt improved by Desaguliers, who was Grand Master in 1719, and who probably about that time began his ritualistic experiments. The fact that Payne, in 1718, "desired any brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old writings and records concerning Masons and Masonry in order to shew the usages of antient times,"[1] exhibits a disposition and preparation for improvement.

[1] "Book of Constitutions," 2d edition, 1738.

The First and Second degrees had been modeled out of the one primitive degree about the year 1719. The "Charges" compiled in 1720 by Grand Master Payne recognize the Fellow-Craft as the leading degree and the one from which the officers of lodges and of the Grand Lodge were to be selected. The same recognition is found in the "General Regulations," and in the *Constitutions* which were printed in 1723.

Up to this time we find no notice of the Third degree. The "particular lodges" conferred only the First degree. Admission or initiation into the Second degree was done in the Grand Lodge. This was perhaps owing to the fact that Desaguliers and the inventors of the new degree were unwilling to place it out of their immediate control, lest improper persons might be admitted or the ceremonies be imperfectly performed.

In 1722 I imagine that Desaguliers and his collaborators had directed their attention to a further and more complete organization.

The Operative Masons had always had three different ranks or classes of workmen, but not degrees in the modern Masonic sense of that word. These were the Masters, who undertook the work and superintended it; the Fellow-Crafts or Journeymen, who did the manual labor; and the Apprentices, who were engaged in acquiring a knowledge of their handicraft.

After the "Revival," in 1717 (I use the term under protest), Desaguliers had divided the one degree which had been common to the three classes into two, making the degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft. It is not to be supposed that this was a mere division of the esoteric instruction into two parts. All is here, of course, mere guess-work. The rituals were oral, and there is no memorial of them left except what we can learn from *The Grand Mystery* and the Sloane MS. 3329. But we may believe that taking the primitive degree of the Operatives as a foundation, there was built upon it an enlarged superstructure of ceremonies and lectures. The catechism of the degree was probably changed and improved, and the "Mason Word," as the Operatives had called it, with the secrets connected with it, was transferred to the Second degree, to be afterward again transferred to the Third degree.

After this, Desaguliers continued to exercise his inventive genius, and consummated the series of degrees by adding one to be appropriated to the highest class, or that of the Masters. But not having

thoroughly perfected the ritual of the degree until after the time of publication of the *Book of Constitutions*, it was not probably disseminated among the Craft until the year 1723.

The Second degree, as we have seen, had been invented in the year 1719. Its ritual had been completed, but the Masters of the lodges had not yet become so well acquainted with its forms and ceremonies as to be capable of managing an initiation.

The lodges, therefore, between 1719 and 1723, did not confer the Second degree. They were not restricted from so doing by any regulation, for there were no regulations on the subject enacted until the approval of the *Book of Constitutions* by the Grand Lodge in January, 1723. Besides, if there had been any law restricting the conferring of the Second degree to the Grand Lodge, Desaguliers would not have violated the law, which was of his own making, by conferring it in 1721 in a lodge in Edinburgh.

The fact undoubtedly is, that the lodges did not confer the Second degree in consequence of a usage derived from necessity. Dr. Desaguliers and his collaborators were the only persons in possession of the ritual, and therefore qualified to confer the degree, which they always did in the Grand Lodge, for two reasons: first, for their own convenience, and secondly, because they feared that if the ceremony of initiation was intrusted to the officers of the lodges who were inexperienced and unskillful, it might be mutilated or unsatisfactorily performed.

In the meantime Desaguliers had extended his labors as a ritual-maker, and had invented a supplementary or Third degree. But as is said of a cardinal whose appointment the Pope has made but has not yet announced to the college of Cardinals, the degree was still *in petto*. The knowledge of it was confined to Dr. Desaguliers and a few of his friends.

It is absolutely impossible that the degree could have been known generally to the members of the Grand Lodge. For with the knowledge that the establishment of such a degree was even in contemplation, they would not have approved a series of regulations which recognized throughout the Second or Fellow-Craft as the highest degree in Speculative Freemasonry, and the one from which Grand Masters were in future to be selected.

But a code of laws was about to be established for the government of the Craft—a code expressly appropriated to the new sys-

tern of Speculative Freemasonry, which by this time had completely dissevered itself from the Operative institution.

This code was to be published for the information of the Fraternity, so that every Freemason might know what was to be henceforth his duties and his rights. Law was now to become paramount to usage, and if there were no positive regulation which restricted the conferring of the Second degree to the Grand Lodge, it would, if permanently adopted as a part of the new system, fall into the hands of the Masters of the particular lodges.

This was an evil which, for the reason already assigned, was, if possible, to be avoided. It would also apply to the Third degree, which, though not yet in practical existence, was, soon after the adoption of the "General Regulations," to be presented to the Grand Lodge and put in working order.

Therefore, anticipating the dissemination of the Third degree, and being desirous to restrict it as well as the Second, by a positive law, to the Grand Lodge, he, with Anderson, interpolated, at the last moment, into the 13th of the "General Regulations" the words, "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here, unless by dispensation."

This is a serious charge to make against any writer of good reputation, and it would be an act of great temerity to do so, unless there were ample proof to sustain it. But I think the arguments I have advanced, though only based on legitimate inferences and the internal evidence afforded by the document itself, have shown that this passage could never have formed a part of the "Regulations" as originally compiled by Payne and afterward approved and adopted by the Grand Lodge.

But while we pay all due respect to the memory of Dr. Anderson, and hold in grateful remembrance his zeal and devotion in the foundation and advancement of Speculative Freemasonry, it is impossible to concede to him the possession of those virtues of accuracy and truthfulness which are essential to the character of an historian.

The motive of Desaguliers and Anderson for inserting the interpolated clause into the "General Regulations" was to prevent the two new degrees from falling into the hands of unskilled Masters of lodges, until by future experience they should become qualified to confer them.

(Facsimile rerrint from the original edition of the "Book of Constitutions.")

THE

CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE

FREE-MASONS.

CONTAINING THE

Hiſtory, Charges, Regulations, &c. of that moſt Ancient and Right Worſhipful *FRATERNITY.*

For the Uſe of the LODGES.

LONDON:

Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER, for JOHN SENEX at the *Globe*, and JOHN HOOKE at the *Flower-de-luce* over-againſt *St. Dunſtan's Church*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

In the Year of Maſonry —— 5723
Anno Domini —— —— 1723

THE

CONSTITUTION,

History, Laws, Charges, Orders, Regulations, and *Usages,*

OF THE

Right Worshipful FRATERNITY of

Accepted Free MASONS;

COLLECTED

From their general RECORDS, and their faithful TRADITIONS of many Ages.

TO BE READ

At the Admission of a NEW BROTHER, when the *Master* or *Warden* shall begin, or order some other Brother to read as follows:

DAM, our first Parent, created after the Image of God, *the great Architect of the Universe*, must have had the Liberal Sciences, particularly *Geometry*, written on his Heart; for even since the Fall, we find the Principles of it in the Hearts of his Offspring, and which, in process of time, have been drawn forth into

Year of the World 1. 4003. before Christ.

a con-

THE

CHARGES

OF A

FREE-MASON,

EXTRACTED FROM

The ancient RECORDS of LODGES beyond Sea, and of those in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for the Use of the *Lodges* in LONDON:

TO BE READ

At the making of NEW BRETHREN, or when the *MASTER* shall order it.

The General Heads, viz.

I. OF GOD and RELIGION.

II. Of the CIVIL MAGISTRATE supreme and subordinate.

III. Of LODGES.

IV. Of MASTERS, *Wardens*, *Fellows*, and *Apprentices*.

V. Of the Management of the *Craft* in working.

VI. Of BEHAVIOUR, *viz.*

1. In the Lodge while *constituted*.
2. After the Lodge is over and the *Brethren* not gone.
3. When Brethren meet without *Strangers*, but not in a *Lodge*.
4. In Presence of *Strangers not Masons*.
5. At *Home*, and in the *Neighbourhood*.
6. Towards a *strange Brother*.

I *Concerning* God *and* Religion.

A *Mason* is oblig'd, by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular Opinions to themselves; that is, to be *good Men and true*, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the *Center* of *Union*, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance.

II. *Of the* Civil Magistrate *supreme and subordinate.*

A *Mason* is a peaceable Subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concern'd in Plots and Conspiracies against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, nor to behave himself undutifully to inferior Magistrates; for as Masonry hath been always injured by War, Bloodshed, and Confusion, so ancient Kings and Princes have been much dispos'd to encourage the Craftsmen, because of their Peaceableness and *Loyalty*, whereby they practically answer'd the Cavils of their Adversaries, and promoted the Honour of the Fraternity, who ever flourish'd in Times of Peace. So that if a Brother should be a Rebel against the State, he is not to be countenanc'd in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy Man; and, if convicted of no other Crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his Rebellion, and give no Umbrage or Ground of political Jealousy to the Government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the *Lodge*, and his Relation to it remains indefeasible.

III. *Of* Lodges.

A Lodge is a Place where *Masons* assemble and work: Hence that Assembly, or duly organiz'd Society of Masons, is call'd a Lodge, and every Brother ought to belong to one, and to be subject to its *By-Laws* and the General Regulations. It is either *particular* or *general*, and will be best understood by attending it, and by the Regulations of the *General* or *Grand Lodge* hereunto annex'd. In ancient Times, no *Master* or *Fellow* could be absent from it, especially when warn'd to appear at it, without incurring a severe Censure, until it appear'd to the *Master* and *Wardens*, that pure Necessity hinder'd him.

The Persons admitted Members of a *Lodge* must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report.

IV. *Of* Masters, Wardens, Fellows, *and Apprentices.*

All Preferment among *Masons* is grounded upon real Worth and personal Merit only; that so the *Lords* may be well served, the Brethren not put to Shame, nor the *Royal Craft* despis'd: Therefore no *Master* or *Warden* is chosen by Seniority, but for his Merit. It is impossible to describe these things in writing, and every Brother must attend in his Place, and learn them in a way peculiar to *this Fraternity:* Only *Candidates* may know, that no *Master* should take an *Apprentice*, unless he has sufficient Imployment for him, and unless he be a perfect Youth, having no Maim or Defect in his Body, that may render him uncapable of learning the *Art*, of serving his *Master*'s Lord, and of being made a *Brother*, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time, even after he has served such a Term of Years as the Custom of the Country directs; and that he should be descended of honest Parents; that so, when otherwise qualify'd, he may arrive to the Honour of being the Warden, and then the *Master* of the *Lodge*, the *Grand Warden*, and at length the Grand-Master of all the *Lodges*, according to his Merit.

No Brother can be a WARDEN until he has paſs'd the part of a *Fellow-Craft*; nor a MASTER until he has acted as a *Warden*, nor GRAND-WARDEN until he has been *Maſter* of a *Lodge*, nor **Grand Maſter** unleſs he has been a *Fellow-Craft* before his Election, who is alſo to be nobly born, or a *Gentleman* of the beſt Faſhion, or ſome eminent *Scholar*, or ſome curious *Architect*, or other *Artiſt*, deſcended of honeſt Parents, and who is of ſingular great Merit in the Opinion of the *Lodges*. And for the better, and eaſier, and more honourable Diſcharge of his Office, the *Grand-Maſter* has a Power to chuſe his own DEPUTY GRAND-MASTER, who muſt be then, or muſt have been formerly, the *Maſter* of a particular *Lodge*, and has the Privilege of acting whatever the GRAND-MASTER, his *Principal*, ſhould act, unleſs the ſaid *Principal* be preſent, or interpoſe his Authority by a Letter.

Theſe Rulers and Governors, *ſupreme* and *ſubordinate*, of the ancient *Lodge*, are to be obey'd in their reſpective Stations by all the Brethren, according to the *old Charges* and *Regulations*, with all Humility, Reverence, Love, and Alacrity.

V. *Of the Management of the* CRAFT *in working.*

All *Maſons* ſhall work honeſtly on working Days, that they may live creditably on *holy Days*; and the time appointed by the Law of the Land, or confirm'd by Cuſtom, ſhall be obſerv'd.

The moſt expert of the *Fellow-Craftſmen* ſhall be choſen or appointed the *Maſter*, or Overſeer of the *Lord's* Work; who is to be call'd MASTER by thoſe that work under him. The *Craftſmen* are to avoid all ill Language, and to call each other by no diſobliging Name, but *Brother* or *Fellow*; and to behave themſelves courteouſly within and without the *Lodge*.

The *Maſter*, knowing himſelf to be able of Cunning, ſhall undertake the *Lord's* Work as reaſonably as poſſible, and truly diſpend his Goods as if they were his own; nor to give more Wages to any Brother or *Apprentice* than he really may deſerve.

Both the **Maſter** and the *Maſons* receiving their Wages juſtly, ſhall be faithful to the *Lord*, and honeſtly finiſh their Work, whether *Task*

or

or *Journey*; nor put the Work to *Task* that hath been accustom'd to *Journey*.

None shall discover Envy at the Prosperity of a Brother, nor supplant him, or put him out of his Work, if he be capable to finish the same; for no Man can finish another's Work so much to the *Lord*'s Profit, unless he be thoroughly acquainted with the Designs and Draughts of him that began it.

When a *Fellow-Craftsman* is chosen *Warden* of the Work under the *Master*, he shall be true both to *Master* and *Fellows*, shall carefully oversee the Work in the *Master*'s Absence to the *Lord*'s Profit; and his Brethren shall obey him.

All *Masons* employ'd, shall meekly receive their Wages without Murmuring or Mutiny, and not desert the *Master* till the Work is finish'd.

A *younger* Brother shall be instructed in working, to prevent spoiling the Materials for want of Judgment, and for encreasing and continuing of *Brotherly Love*.

All the Tools used in working shall be approved by the Grand Lodge.

No *Labourer* shall be employ'd in the proper Work of *Masonry*; nor shall **Free Masons** work with those that are *not free*, without an urgent Necessity; nor shall they teach *Labourers* and *unaccepted* Masons, as they should teach a *Brother* or *Fellow*.

VI. *Of* Behaviour, viz.

1. *In the* Lodge *while* constituted.

You are not to hold private Committees, or separate Conversation, without Leave from the *Master*, nor to talk of any thing impertinent or unseemly, nor interrupt the *Master* or *Wardens*, or any Brother speaking to the *Master*: Nor behave yourself ludicrously or jestingly while the *Lodge* is engaged in what is serious and solemn; nor use any unbecoming Language upon any Pretence whatsoever;

but

but to pay due Reverence to your *Master*, *Wardens*, and *Fellows*, and put them to worship.

If any Complaint be brought, the Brother found guilty shall stand to the Award and Determination of the *Lodge*, who are the proper and competent Judges of all such Controversies, (unless you carry it by *Appeal* to the GRAND LODGE) and to whom they ought to be referr'd, unless a *Lord*'s Work be hinder'd the mean while, in which Case a particular Reference may be made; but you must never go to Law about what concerneth *Masonry*, without an absolute Necessity apparent to the *Lodge*.

2. **Behaviour** *after the* LODGE *is over and the* **Brethren** *not gone.*

You may enjoy yourselves with innocent Mirth, treating one another according to Ability, but avoiding all Excess, or forcing any Brother to eat or drink beyond his Inclination, or hindering him from going when his Occasions call him, or doing or saying any thing offensive, or that may forbid an *easy* and *free* Conversation; for that would blast our Harmony, and defeat our laudable Purposes. Therefore no private Piques or Quarrels must be brought within the Door of the *Lodge*, far less any Quarrels about *Religion*, or *Nations*, or *State Policy*, we being only, as *Masons*, of the *Catholick Religion* above-mention'd; we are also of all *Nations*, *Tongues*, *Kindreds*, and *Languages*, and are resolv'd against **all Politicks**, as what never yet conduc'd to the Welfare of the *Lodge*, nor ever will. This *Charge* has been always strictly enjoin'd and observ'd; but especially ever since the *Reformation* in BRITAIN, or the Dissent and Secession of these Nations from the *Communion* of ROME.

3. **Behaviour** *when* Brethren *meet without* Strangers, *but not in a* **Lodge form'd.**

You are to salute one another in a courteous manner, as you will be instructed, calling each other *Brother*, freely giving mutual Instruction as shall be thought expedient, without being overseen or over-

 heard,

heard, and without encroaching upon each other, or derogating from that Respect which is due to any Brother, were he not a Mason: For though all *Masons* are as *Brethren* upon the same *Level*, yet *Masonry* takes no Honour from a Man that he had before; nay rather it adds to his Honour, especially if he has deserv'd well of the Brotherhood, who must give Honour to whom it is due, and avoid *ill Manners*.

4. Behaviour *in Presence of* Strangers *not* Masons.

You shall be cautious in your Words and Carriage, that the most penetrating Stranger shall not be able to discover or find out what is not proper to be intimated; and sometimes you shall divert a Discourse, and manage it prudently for the Honour of the *worshipful Fraternity*.

5. Behaviour *at* Home, *and in your* Neighbourhood.

You are to act as becomes a moral and wise Man; particularly, not to let your Family, Friends, and Neighbours know the *Concerns* of the *Lodge*, *&c.* but wisely to consult your own Honour, and that of the *ancient Brotherhood*, for Reasons not to be mention'd here. You must also consult your Health, by not continuing together too late, or too long from home, after Lodge Hours are past; and by avoiding of Gluttony or Drunkenness, that your Families be not neglected or injured, nor you disabled from working.

6. Behaviour *towards a* strange *Brother*.

You are cautiously to examine him, in such a Method as Prudence shall direct you, that you may not be impos'd upon by an ignorant false *Pretender*, whom you are to reject with Contempt and Derision, and beware of giving him any Hints of Knowledge.

But if you discover him to be a true and genuine *Brother*, you are to respect him accordingly; and if he is in want, you must relieve him if you can, or else direct him how he may be reliev'd: You must em-

ploy

ploy him ſome Days, or elſe recommend him to be employ'd. But you are not charged to do beyond your Ability, only to prefer a poor *Brother*, that is a *good Man* and *true*, before any other poor People in the ſame Circumſtances.

FINALLY, All theſe Charges you are to obſerve, and alſo thoſe that ſhall be communicated to you in *another way*; cultivating BROTHERLY-LOVE, the Foundation and Cape-ſtone, the *Cement* and *Glory* of this ancient *Fraternity*, avoiding all Wrangling and Quarrelling, all Slander and Backbiting, nor permitting others to ſlander any honeſt Brother, but defending his Character, and doing him all good Offices, as far as is conſiſtent with your *Honour* and *Safety*, and no farther. And if any of them do you Injury, you muſt apply to your own or his *Lodge*; and from thence you may appeal to the GRAND LODGE at the *Quarterly Communication*, and from thence to the *annual* GRAND LODGE, as has been the ancient laudable Conduct of our Fore-fathers in every Nation; never taking a *legal Courſe* but when the Caſe cannot be otherwiſe decided, and patiently liſtning to the honeſt and friendly Advice of *Maſter* and *Fellows*, when they would prevent your going to Law with *Strangers*, or would excite you to put a ſpeedy Period to all *Law-Suits*, that ſo you may mind the *Affair* of MASONRY with the more Alacrity and Succeſs; but with reſpect to *Brothers* or *Fellows* at Law, the *Maſter* and Brethren ſhould kindly offer their Mediation, which ought to be thankfully ſubmitted to by the contending Brethren; and if that Submiſſion is impracticable, they muſt however carry on their *Proceſs*, or *Law-Suit*, without Wrath and Rancor (not in the common way) ſaying or doing nothing which may hinder *Brotherly Love*, and good Offices to be renew'd and continu'd; that all may ſee the *benign Influence* of MASONRY, as all true *Maſons* have done from the Beginning of the *World*, and will do to the End of *Time*.

Amen ſo mote it be.

POST-

They were not long, it appears, in becoming qualified, or at least the doubts of their qualification were soon dispelled, for we find that on the 22d of November, 1725, less than three years after its appearance in the *Book of Constitutions*, the Regulation was rescinded, and it was ordered by the Grand Lodge that "the Master of a lodge, with his Wardens and a competent number of the lodge assembled in due form, can make Masters and Fellows at discretion."[1]

It might be argued that although the words "Master Mason" may be an interpolation, the rule regulating the conferring of the Second degree might well have formed a part of the original "Regulations," seeing that they were not compiled until after the invention of the Second degree.

But the argument founded on the incongruity of subjects and the awkward interruption of their continuity in the paragraph occasioned by the insertion of the suspected words, is applicable to the whole passage. If the internal evidence advanced is effective against a single word of the passage on these grounds, it is effective against all.

But Bro. Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*,[2] has supplied us with an authentic document, which presents the strongest presumptive evidence of three facts. 1. That the Second degree had been invented before the year 1721, and at that time constituted a part of the new Speculative system. 2. That in the English lodges there was no positive law forbidding the conferring of it by them, but only a recognized usage. 3. That in the year 1721 the Third degree had not been invented.

In the year 1721 Dr. Desaguliers paid a visit to Edinburgh and placed himself -in communication with the Freemasons of that city.

A record of the most important Masonic event that occurred during that visit is preserved in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh for the 24th and 25th of August, 1721. This record has been published by Bro. Lyon in his history of that lodge. It is in the following words:

"Att Maries chappell the 24 of August, 1721 years, James Wattson, present deacon of the Masons of Edinbr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Desaguliers, fellow of the Royall Societie, and chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace, James, Duke of Chandois, late Generali Master of the Mason Lodges in England,

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 161.
[2] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 151.

being in town and desirous to have a conference with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinbr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified in all points of Masonry. they received him as a Brother into their Societie."

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

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

I agree with Bro. Lyon that "there can be but one opinion as to the nature and object of Dr. Desaguliers's visit to the Lodge of Edinburgh." And that was the introduction into Scotland of the new system of Masonry recently fabricated by himself for the lodges of London. That he conferred only the First and Second degrees is to me satisfactory proof that the Third had not been arranged.

Lyon says "it is more than probable that on both occasions (the two meetings of the Lodge recorded above) the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the lodges would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce."[1]

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 153.

This is undoubtedly true; but why did he not complete the instruction by conferring the Third degree? Bro. Lyon's explanation here is wholly untenable:

"It was not," he says, "till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed. This may account for the Doctor confining himself to the two lesser degrees."

Bro. Lyon, usually so accurate, has here unaccountably fallen into two important errors.

First, the regulation alluded to was not repealed in 1723 but was only promulgated in that year. The repeal took place in 1725.

His next error is that the restriction was confined to the Third degree, while in fact, if we accept the passage in the "General Regulations" as genuine, it restricted, as we have seen, the conferring of both the Second and Third degrees to the Grand Lodge.

Therefore, if Desaguliers had considered himself as governed by this regulation (which, however, was impossible, seeing that it had not been enacted until after his visit to Edinburgh), he would have been restrained from conferring the Second as well as the Third degree.

That he conferred the Second degree in a lodge of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the usage in London of conferring it only in the Grand Lodge, may be accounted for on the very reasonable supposition that he did not consider that the English usage was binding on Scottish Masons.

Besides, there was, at that time, no Grand Lodge in Scotland, and if he had not conferred the degree in a lodge, the object of his visit would have been frustrated, and that was to introduce into the sister kingdom the new system of Speculative Freemasonry which he had invented and which had been just adopted in England or rather in London.

But that he should have taken a long and arduous journey to Edinburgh (a journey far more arduous than it is in the present day of railroads) for the purpose of introducing into the Scotch lodges the ritual invented by him for English Freemasonry, and yet have left the task uncompleted by omitting to communicate the most important part of the degree which was at the summit, is incomprehensible, unless we suppose that the Third degree had not, at that time, been invented.

For if the language of the "General Regulations" receives the only interpretation of which they are capable, it is evident that in the beginning of the year 1723, when they were published in the *Book of Constitutions*, the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest degree known to the Freemasons of London.

It is the belief of all Masonic scholars, except a few who still cling with more or less tenacity to the old legends and traditions, that the Third degree can not be historically traced to a period earlier than the second decade of the 18th century. It has not, however, been hitherto attempted by anyone, so far as I am aware, to indicate the precise time of its invention.

The general opinion seems to have been that it was first introduced into the ritual of Speculative Freemasonry a very short time after the organization of the Grand Lodge in London, in the year 1717. But I think that I have conclusively and satisfactorily proved that the actual period of its introduction as a working degree was not until six years afterward, namely, in the year 1723, and after the publication of the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and that the only passage referring to it in that work or in the "General Regulations" appended to it, was surreptitiously inserted in anticipation of its intended introduction.

The first writer who questioned the antiquity of the Third degree as conferred under the Grand Lodge was Laurence Dermott, the Grand Secretary, and afterward the Deputy Grand Master of that body of Freemasons which, in the year 1753, seceded from the legal Grand Lodge of England and constituted what is known in Masonic history as the "Grand Lodge of Ancients," the members thus distinguishing themselves from the constitutional Grand Lodge, which they stigmatized as "Moderns." In the second edition of the *Ahiman Rezon*, published in 1764, he has, in the part called "A Philacteria," the following statement in reference to the Third degree:[1]

"About the year 1717 some joyous companions who had passed the degree of a craft (though very rusty) resolved to form a lodge for themselves, in order (by conversation) to recollect what had been formerly dictated to them, or, if that should be found impracticable, to substitute something new, which might for the future

[1] This statement is not contained in the ist edition, published in 1756.

pass for Masonry amongst themselves. At this meeting the question was asked, whether any person in the assembly knew the Master's part, and being answered in the negative, it was resolved *nem. con.* that the deficiency should be made up with a new composition, and what fragments of the old order found amongst them, should be immediately reformed and made more pliable to the humours of the people."

I should be unwilling to cite the unsupported testimony of Dermott for anything in reference to the "Modern" because of his excessive partisan spirit. But the extract just given may be considered simply as confirming all the evidence heretofore produced, that after the year 1717 a "Master's part" or Third degree had been fabricated. Dermott's details, which were intended as a sneer upon the Constitution Grand Lodge, should pass for nothing.

As for Dermott's assertion that the true Master's degree, as it existed before the Revival, was in the possession of the Grand Lodge of the Ancients, as it was called, it is not only false, but absolutely absurd, for if the Ancients were in possession of a Third degree which had been in existence before the year 1717, and the Moderns were not, where did the former get it, since they sprang out of the latter and carried with them only the knowledge which they possessed as a part of that Grand Lodge?

Dr. Oliver, notwithstanding his excessive credulity in respect to the myths and legends of Freemasonry, has from time to time in his various writings expressed his doubts as to "the extreme antiquity of the present arrangement of the three degrees."[1] In one of his latest works[2] he admits that Desaguliers and Anderson were accused of the fabrication of the Hiramic legend and of the manufacture of the degree by their seceding contemporaries, which accusation, he says, they did not deny.[3]

Findel says: "Originally, it seems, there was but one degree of initiation in the year 1717. . . . The introduction of the degrees of Fellow-Craft and Master Mason took place in so imperceptible

[1] State of Freemasonry in the 18th Century. Introduction to his edition of Hutchinson.

[2] "The Freemason's Treasury," Spencer, 1863.

[3] This is an example of the carelessness with which Masonic writers were accustomed to make their statements. The "seceding contemporaries" of Oliver consisted simply of Laurence Dermott, who first made the accusation, and when he made it, both Desaguliers and Anderson were dead.

a manner, that we do not know the accurate date. No mention is made of them before 1720, even not yet in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1722."[1]

I do not, however, concur with this learned German writer in his hypothesis that the Third degree originated as a reward for Masonic merits, especially to be conferred on all the brethren who had passed the chair from 1717 to 1720. Doubtless, as soon as it was invented it was conferred on all who were or had been Masters of lodges, but Findel places too low an estimate on the design of the degree. I think rather that it was intended by Desaguliers to develop the religious and philosophic sentiment in Speculative Freemasonry which it was his intention to establish. It is probable that the "eloquent Oration about Masons and Masonry," which Anderson tells us he delivered before the Grand Lodge in 1721, but which is unfortunately lost, contained a foreshadowing of his views on this subject.

Bro. Hughan, who is of the very highest authority on all points of the documentary history of English Masonry, settles the question in the following remarks:[2]

"The sublime degree of a Master Mason, alias the 'Third degree,' may be very ancient, but, so far, the evidence respecting its history goes no farther back than the early part of the last century. Few writers on the subject appear to base their observations on facts, but prefer the 'traditions' (so called) derived from old Masons. We, however, give the preference to the minutes and by-laws of lodges, as all of which we have either seen, traced, or obtained copies of, unequivocally prove the degree of Master Mason to be an early introduction of the Revivalists of A.D. 1717. No record prior to the second decade of the last century ever mentions Masonic degrees, and all the MSS. preserved decidedly confirm us in the belief that in the mere Operative (although partly speculative) career of Freemasonry the ceremony of reception was of a most unpretentious and simple character, mainly for the communication of certain lyrics and secrets, and for the conservation of ancient customs of the craft."

Hughan cites a MS. (No. 23,202) in the British Museum showing that the rules of a Musical and Architectural Society formed in

[1] "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 150.
[2] See *Voice of Masonry* for August, 1873.

February, 1724, in London, required its members to be Master Masons. This might be, and yet the degree not have been fabricated until January, 1723.

He also cites the minutes of a lodge held at Lincoln (England). From these minutes it appears that in December, 1734, the body of the lodge consisted of Fellow-Crafts; and when the "two new Wardens, as well as several other Brothers of the lodge, well qualified and worthy of the degree of Master had not been called thereto," the Master directed a lodge of Masters to be held for the purpose of admitting these candidates to the Third degree.

Hence, as Bro. Hughan says, the lodge at that time worked the degree only at intervals. And he concludes, I think, correctly, that as there was a rule prescribing the fee when a "Brother made in another lodge shall be passed Master in this," that "all lodges had not authority or did not work the degree in question." I suppose they had the authority but not the ability.

All this shows that the Third degree in 1734 was yet in its infancy.

The provision contained in the "General Regulations," which restricted the conferring of the Second and Third degrees to the Grand Lodge was rescinded on November 22, 1725, and yet we see that nine years afterward the Third degree was not conferred in all the lodges.

It is a singular circumstance that in 1731, when the Duke of Lorraine was made a Mason in a special lodge held at the Hague, notwithstanding that Desaguliers presided over it, he received only the First and Second degrees, and came afterward to England to have the Third conferred upon him.

The first evidence of the Third degree being conferred in Scotland is in the minutes of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge in a minute dated March 31, 1735.[1]

The degree is first referred to in the minutes of St. Mary's Chapel Lodge under the date of November 1, 1738, when George Drummond, Esq., an Entered Apprentice, "was past a Fellow-Craft and also raised as a Master Mason in due form." [2]

According to Bro. Lyon, possession of the Third degree was not at this period a necessary qualification to a seat in the Grand

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 213.
[2] Ibid., p. 212.

Lodge of Scotland. For thirty years after its introduction into Mary's Chapel it conferred no rights in the management of the lodge that were not possessed by Fellow-Crafts.

It was not, in fact, until the year 1765 that Master Masons alone were qualified to hold office.

Continental Speculative Masonry having derived its organized existence from the Grand Lodge of England, must necessarily have borrowed its forms and ceremonies and ritual from the same source, and consequently received the Third degree at a still later period.

From all that has been said, I think that we are fairly entitled to deduce the following conclusions:

1. When the four old Lodges of London met on June 24, 1717, at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" and organized the Grand Lodge of England, there was but one degree known to the Craft, to the esoteric instructions of which all Freemasons were entitled.

2. Between 1717 and 1720, in which latter year the "Charges" and probably the "General Regulations" were compiled by Grand Master Payne, a severance of this primitive degree into two parts was effected, and the Second or Fellow-Craft's degree was fabricated, the necessary result being that what was left of the primitive degree, with doubtless some modifications and even additions, was constituted as the Entered Apprentice's degree.

3. A Third degree, called that of the Master Mason, was subsequently fabricated so as to complete the series of three degrees of Speculative Masonry as it now exists.

4. The Third degree, as an accomplished fact, was not fabricated before the close of the year 1722, and was not made known to the Craft, or worked as a degree of the new system, until the beginning of 1723.

5. The inventor or fabricator of this series of degrees was Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, assisted by Anderson and probably a few other collaborators, among whom I certainly would not omit the learned antiquary, George Payne, who had twice been Grand Master.

In coming to these conclusions I omit all reference to the Legend of the Third Degree as to the time or place when it was concocted, and whether it was derived by Desaguliers, as has been asserted, from certain Jewish rabbinical writers, or whether its earliest form is to be found in certain traditions of the mediaeval Stonemasons.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DEATH OF OPERATIVE AND THE BIRTH OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY

ROWTH, says Dr. South, "is progress, and all progress designs, and tends to the acquisition of something, which the growing thing or person is not yet possessed of."

This apothegm of the learned divine is peculiarly applicable to the history of that system of Speculative Freemasonry which, springing into existence at the "Apple Tree tavern," in London, at the close of the second decade of the 18th century, made such progress in the acquisition of new knowledge as to completely change its character soon after the beginning of the third decade.

We have seen that it was derived from an older institution whose objects were altogether practical, and whose members were always engaged in the building of public edifices. But there were other members of the guild who were not Operative Masons, but who had been admitted to the privileges of membership for the sake of the prestige and influence which the Fraternity expected to obtain from their learning, their wealth, or their rank.

These unprofessional brethren, who were at first called Theoretic Masons or Honorary members, but who afterward assumed the title of Speculative Freemasons, began even in the very outset of what they were pleased, most inaccurately, to call a Revival, to exercise an unexpected and detrimental influence on the Operative Guild.

This influence was so exerted that Operative Freemasonry was gradually extruded from the important place which it had so long occupied, and finally, in and after the year 1723, ceased entirely to exist.

The gradual transformation from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry is one of the most interesting points in the history of the institution, and is well worth our careful consideration.

Hardly more wonderful is the change from the insignificant acorn to the majestic oak, than was this expansion of a guild of working-men, limited in their design and their numbers, into a Fraternity of moralists and philosophers, whose object was the elevation of their fellow-men, and whose influence has extended into every quarter of the civilized world.

Operative Freemasonry, which flourished in the Middle Ages and long after as an association of skillful builders who were in the possession of architectural secrets unknown to the ruder workmen of the same craft, and who were bound to each other by a fraternal tie, no longer exists. Like the massive cathedrals which it constructed, it has crumbled into decay.

But Speculative Freemasonry, erected on its ruins, lives and will always live, a perpetual memorial in its symbols and its technical language of the source whence it sprang.

Let us inquire how the one died and how the other was born.

When on the 24th day of June in the year 1717 certain Freemasons of London met at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" and carried into effect the arrangement made in the previous February, by organizing a Grand Lodge, it is not to be presumed that any other idea had at that time entered their minds than that of consolidating the four Operative Lodges of which they were members into one body. The motives that actuated them were to produce a stronger union among the Craft than had previously existed, each lodge having hitherto been independent and isolated, and also to enlarge their numbers and to increase their influence, by throwing the door more widely open to the admission of gentlemen who were not otherwise connected with the Craft.

The fact is that the fashion then prevailed to a remarkable extent in London for men of like sentiments or of the same occupation to form themselves into clubs. The Freemasons, both Operative and Theoretic, in thus uniting, were doing nothing else than following the fashion, and were really instituting a club of a more elevated character and under a different name.

Hence the consolidation of the four Lodges was called a Grand Lodge, a title and an organization which had previously been unknown to English Freemasonry.[1]

[1] It is not worth while to repeat the argument so often advanced, and by which Masonic scholars have satisfied themselves that no Grand Lodge ever existed in England before the year 1717.

There was no thought, at that early period, by those who were engaged in the organization, of changing to any greater extent the character of the society. It was still to be a Guild of Operative Freemasons, but consisting more largely in proportion than ever before of members who were not professional workmen.

"At the revival in 1717," says Dr. Oliver, "the philosophy of the Order was seldom considered, and our facetious brethren did not think it worth their while to raise any question respecting the validity of our legends; nor did they concern themselves much about the truth of our traditions. Their principal object was pass a pleasant hour in company with a select assemblage of brethren; and that purpose being attained, they waived all inquiry into the truth or probability of either the one or the other."[1]

The scanty records of the transaction, which Dr. Anderson, our only authority, has supplied, make no mention of those distinguished persons who afterward took a prominent part in affecting the transmutation of Operative into Speculative Freemasonry, and who were indeed the founders of the latter system.

It is said, though I know not on what authentic authority, that Dr. Desaguliers, the corypheus of the band of reformers, had been admitted five years before into the honorary membership of the Lodge which met at the sign of the "Rummer and Grapes," and which was one of the four that united in the formation of a Grand Lodge.

If this be true, and there are good reasons for believing it, it can not be doubted that he was present at the organization of the Grand Lodge, and that he took an active part in the proceedings of the meetings both in February and in June, 1717.

Neither the names of Payne nor of Anderson, who subsequently became the collaborators of Desaguliers in the formation of Speculative Freemasonry, are mentioned in the brief records of those meetings. If they were present or connected with the organization, the fact is not recorded. Payne first appears in June, 1718, when he was elected Grand Master; Desaguliers in 1719, when he was elected to the same office. This would tend to show that both had been for some years in the Fraternity, since new-comers would hardly have been chosen for those positions.

[1] "Discrepancies of Freemasonry," p. 13.

It is not so certain that Anderson was a Freemason in 1717. It is not improbable that he was soon afterward admitted, for in September, 1721, he acquired such a reputation in the society as to have been selected by the Duke of Montagu, who was then the Grand Master, to digest the old Gothic Constitutions, a task of great importance.

Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt, that no one of these three persons, who were afterward so distinguished for their services in Speculative Freemasonry, had in 1717 been prominently placed before the Craft. In the selection of an officer to preside over the newly established Grand Lodge, the choice fell, not on one of them, but on a comparatively insignificant person, Mr. Anthony Sayer. Of his subsequent Masonic career, we only know that he was appointed by Desaguliers one of the Grand Wardens. He is also recorded as having been the Senior Warden at one of the four original Lodges after he had passed the Grand Mastership. He afterward fell into financial difficulties, and having received relief from the Grand Lodge, we hear no more of him in the history of Freemasonry.

It is to Desaguliers, to Payne, and to Anderson that we are to attribute the creation of that change in the organization of the system of English Freemasonry which gradually led to the dissolution of the Operative element, and the substitution in its place of one that was purely Speculative. The three were members of the same lodge, were men of education,[1] were interested in the institution, as is shown by their regular attendance on the meetings of the Grand Lodge until near the middle of the century, and were all zealously engaged in the investigation of the old records of the institution, so as to fit them for the prosecution of the peaceful revolution which they were seeking to accomplish.

Among the multitudinous books contributed by Dr. Oliver to the literature of Freemasonry, is one entitled *The Revelations of*

[1] John Robison, a professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, wrote and published in 1797 an anti-masonic work entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Government in Europe," etc., the falsehoods in which, unfortunately for the author's reputation, were extended by French and Dutch translations. In this book he says of Anderson and Desaguliers that they were "two persons of little education and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting." (P. 71.) This is a fair specimen of Robison's knowledge and judgment.

a Square, which contains much information concerning the condition of the ritual and the progress of the institution during the early period now under consideration. Unfortunately, there is such a blending of truth and fiction in this work that it is difficult, on many occasions, to separate the one from the other.

It is but fair, however, to admit the author's claim that his statements are not to be accounted "fabulous and without authority because its contents are communicated through an imaginary medium," for, as he avers, he is in possession of authentic vouchers for every transaction.

These vouchers consisted principally of the contents of a masonic diary kept by his father, who had been initiated in 1784, and was acquainted with a distinguished Freemason who had been a contemporary of Desaguliers. With this brother the elder Oliver had held many conversations, as well as with others of the 18th century. The substance of these conversations he had committed to his diary, and this came into the possession of his son, and is the basis on which he composed his *Revelations of a Square.*

If Dr. Oliver had given in marginal notes or otherwise special references to the diary and to other sources which he used as authorities for his statements, I do not hesitate to say that *The Revelations of a Square* would, by these proofs of authenticity, be the most valuable of all his historical works.

Still, I am disposed to accept generally the statements of the work as authentic, and if there be sometimes an appearance of the fabulous, it can not be doubted that beneath the fiction there is always a considerable substratum of truth.

According to Oliver, Desaguliers had at that early period determined to renovate the Order, which was falling into decay, and had enlisted several active and zealous brethren in the support of his plans. Among these were Sayer and Payne, the first and second Grand Masters, and Elliott and Lamball, the first two Wardens, with several others whose names have not elsewhere been transmitted to posterity.[1]

There is nothing unreasonable nor improbable in this statement. It is very likely that Desaguliers and a few of his friends had seen and deplored the decaying condition of the four lodges in London.

[1] "Revelations of a Square," ch. i., p. 5.

It is also likely that their first thought was that a greater degree of success and prosperity might be secured if the lodges would abandon to some extent the independence and isolation of their condition, and would establish a bond of union by their consolidation under a common head.

Whatever views might have been secretly entertained by Desaguliers and a few friends in his confidence, he could not have openly expressed to the Craft any intention to dissolve the Operative guild and to establish a Speculative society in its place. Had such an intention been even suspected by the purely Operative Freemasons who composed part of the membership of the four lodges, it can not well be doubted that they would have declined to support a scheme which looked eventually to the destruction of their Craft, and consequently the organization of a Grand Lodge would never have been attempted.

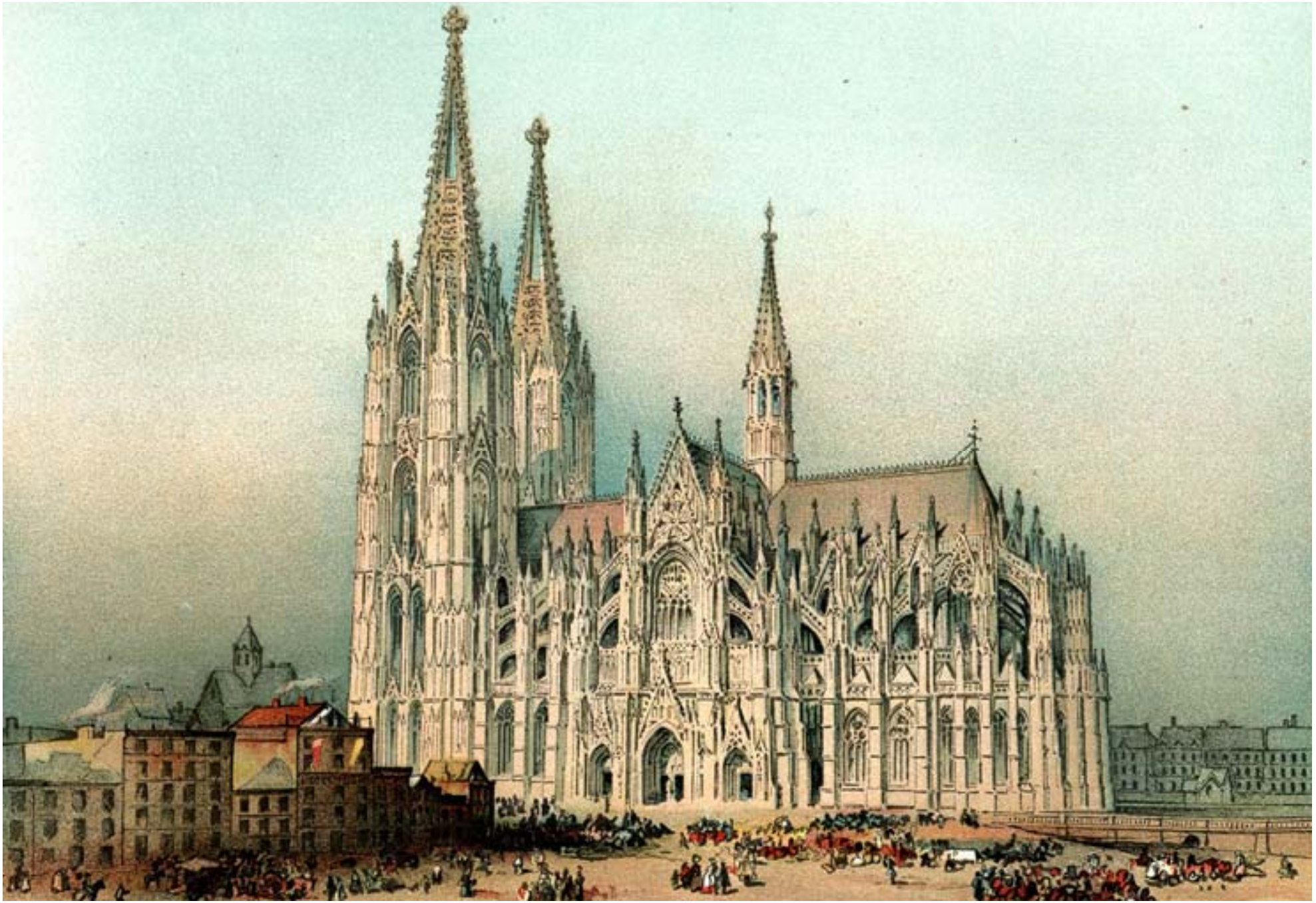
But I am not willing to charge Desaguliers with such duplicity. He was honest in his desire to renovate the institution of Operative Freemasonry, and he believed that the first step toward that renovation would be the consolidation of the lodges. He expected that an imperfect code of laws would be improved, and perhaps that a rude and unpolished ritual might be expanded and refined.

Farther, he was not, it may be supposed, prepared at that time to go. Whatever modifications he subsequently made by the invention of degrees which at once established a new system were the results of afterthoughts suggested to his mind by a sequence of circumstances.

That the change from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry was of gradual growth, we know from the authentic records that are before us.

In the year 1717 we find an Operative guild presenting itself in cold simplicity of organization as a body of practical workmen to whom were joined some honorary members, who were not Craftsmen; with an imperfect and almost obsolete system of by-laws; with but one form of admission; with secrets common to all classes, and which were of little or no importance, for the architectural and geometrical secrets of the mediaeval Craft had been lost; and finally with an insignificant and unpolished ritual, a mere catechism for wandering brethren to test their right to the privileges and the hospitality of the Fraternity.

COLOGNE CATHEDRAL



Six years after, in 1723, this association of workmen has disappeared, and in its place we find a new society which has been erected on the foundations of that edifice which has crumbled into ruins; a society that has repudiated all necessary knowledge of the art of building; to which workmen may be admitted, not because they are workmen, but because they are men of good character and of exemplary conduct; with a well-framed code of laws for its government; with three degrees, with three forms of initiation, and with secrets exclusively appropriated to each; and with rituals which, produced by cultured minds, present the germs of a science of symbolism.

Operative Freemasonry no longer wields the scepter; it has descended from its throne into its grave, and Speculative Freemasonry, as a living form, has assumed the vacant seat.

That the transmutation was gradually accomplished we know, for six years were occupied in its accomplishment, and the records of that period, brief and scanty as they are, unerringly indicate the steps of its gentle progress.

From June, 1717, to June, 1718, under the administration of Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, as Grand Master, there are no signs of a contemplated change. He was not, if negative evidence may be accepted as the index of his character, the man to inaugurate so bold an enterprise. His efforts seem to have been directed solely to the strengthening and confirming of the union of the Operative lodges by consulting at stated periods with their officers.

From June, 1718, to June, 1719, George Payne presided over the Craft. Now we discover the first traces of a sentiment tending toward the improvement of the institution. Old manuscripts and records were anxiously sought for that the ancient usages of the Craft might be learned. In preparing for the future it was expedient to know something of the past.

The result of this collation of old documents was the compilation of the "Charges of a Freemason," appended to the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. The composition of this code is generally attributed to Anderson. Without positive testimony on this point, I am inclined to assign the authorship to Payne. He was a noted antiquary, and well fitted by the turn of his mind to labors of that kind.

Desaguliers was Grand Master from June, 1719, to June, 1720.

His administration is made memorable by the first great change in the system.

An examination of the old manuscripts which had been collected by Payne must have shown that the body of the Craft had always been divided into two classes, Apprentices and Fellows, who were distinguished by the possession of certain privileges as workmen peculiar to each.

In the lodge they assembled together and partook equally of its counsels. But the prominence of the Fellows in rank as a class of workmen and in numbers as constituting the principal membership of the four old Lodges, very probably suggested to the mind of Desaguliers the advantages that would result from a more distinct separation of the Fellows from the Apprentices, not by a recognition of the higher rank of the former as workmen, because if a Speculative system was to be established, a qualification derived from skill in the practical labors of the Craft would cease to be of avail; but a separation by granting to each class a peculiar form of initiation, with its accompanying secrets.

The fact, also, that in some of the old manuscripts, which were then called the "Gothic Constitutions," copies of which had been produced as the result of the call of Grand Master Payne, there were two distinct sets of "Charges," one for the Masters and Fellows and one for the Apprentices, would have strengthened the notion that there should be a positive and distinct separation of the two classes as the first preparatory step toward the development of the new system.

This step was taken by Desaguliers soon after his installation as Grand Master. Accordingly, in 1719, he modified the one degree or form of initiation or admission which had been hitherto common to all ranks of Craftsmen.

One part of the degree (but the word is not precisely correct) he confined to the Apprentices, and made it the working degree of the lodge. Another part he enlarged and improved, transferred to it the most important secret, the MASON WORD, and made it a degree to be conferred only on Fellow-Crafts in the Grand Lodge; while the degree of the Apprentices thus modified continued as of old to be conferred on new candidates in the lodge.

Thus it was that in the year 1719 the first alteration in the old Operative system took place, and two degrees, the First and Second, were created.

The Entered Apprentice now ceased to be a youth bound for a certain number of years to a Master for the purpose of learning the mysteries of the trade. The term henceforth denoted one who had been initiated into the secrets of the First degree of Speculative Freemasonry, a meaning which it has ever since retained.

In former times, under the purely Operative system, the Masters of the Work, those appointed to rule over the migratory lodges and to superintend the Craftsmen in their hours of labor, were necessarily selected from the Fellows, because of their greater skill, acquired from experience and their freedom from servitude.

But when the Theoretic Freemasons, the Honorary members, began to be the dominant party, in consequence of their increased number, their higher social position, and their superior education, it was plainly seen that any claim to privileges which was derived from greater skill in the practical art of building, from the expiration of indentures and from the acquisition of independence and the right to go and come at will, would soon be abolished.

The Operative members only could maintain a distinction between themselves founded on such claims. The Theoretic members were, so far as regarded skill in building or freedom from the servitude of indentures, on an equal footing, everyone with all the others.

But Desaguliers and his collaborators were anxious to retain as many as they could of the old usages of the Craft. They were not prepared nor willing to obliterate all marks of identity between the old and the new system. Nor could they afford, in the infancy of their enterprise, to excite the opposition of the Operative members by an open attack on the ancient customs of the Craft.

Hence they determined to retain the distinction which had always existed between Fellows and Apprentices, but to found that distinction, not on the possession of superior skill in the art of building, but in the possession of peculiar secrets.

The Second degree having been thus established, it became necessary to secure the privileges of the Fellows. These in the old system had inured to them by usage and the natural workings of the trade; they were now to be perpetuated and maintained in the new system by positive law.

Accordingly, in the following year, Payne made that compilation or code of laws for the government of the new society which is

known as the "General Regulations," and which having been approved by the Grand Lodge, was inserted in the *Book of Constitutions.*

It has been already abundantly shown that the whole tenor of these "Regulations" was to make the Fellow-Crafts the possessors of the highest degree then known, and to constitute them the sole legislators of the society (except in the alteration of the "Regulations") and the body from which its officers were to be chosen.

Thus the first step in the separation of Speculative from Operative Freemasonry was accomplished by the establishment of two degrees of initiation instead of one, and by making the Fellow-Crafts distinct from and superior to the Apprentices, not by a higher skill in an Operative art, but by their attainment to greater knowledge in a Speculative science.

For four years this new system prevailed, and Speculative Freemasonry in England was divided into two degrees. The system, in fact, existed up to the very day of the final approval, in January, 1723, of the *Book of Constitutions.*

The First degree was appropriated to the initiation of candidates in the particular, or, as we now call them, the subordinate lodges.

The Second degree conferred in the Grand Lodge was given to those few who felt the aspiration for higher knowledge, or who had been elected as Masters of lodges or as officers in the Grand Lodge.

The Operative members submitted to the change, and continued to take an interest in the new society, receiving in proportion to their numbers a fair share of the offices in the Grand Lodge.

But the progress of change and innovation was not to cease at this point. The inventive genius of Desaguliers was not at rest, and urged onward, not only by his ritualistic taste and his desire to elevate the institution into a higher plane than would result by the force of surrounding circumstances, he contemplated a further advance.

"Circumstances," says Goethe, in his *Wilhelm Meister,* "move backward and forward before us and ceaselessly finish the web, which we ourselves have in part spun and put upon the loom."

Desaguliers, with the co-operation of other Theoretic Freemasons, had united the four Operative Lodges into a Grand Lodge, a

body until then unknown to the Craft; he had established a form of government with which they were equally unfamiliar; he had abolished the old degree, and invented two new ones; and yet it appears that he did not consider the system perfect.

He contemplated a further development of the ritual by the addition of another degree. In this design he was probably, to some extent, controlled by surrounding circumstances.

The Fellow-Crafts had been invested with important privileges not granted to the Entered Apprentices, and the possession of these privileges was accompanied by the acquisition of a higher esoteric knowledge.

Among the privileges which had been acquired by the Fellow-Crafts were those of election to office in the Grand Lodge and of Mastership in a subordinate lodge.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Fellows who had been elevated to these positions in consequence of their possession of a new degree were desirous, especially the Master of the lodges, to be farther distinguished from both the Apprentices and the Fellow-Crafts by the acquisition of a still higher grade.

Besides this motive, the existence of which, though not attested by any positive authority, is nevertheless very presumable, another and a more philosophic one must have actuated Desaguliers in the further development of his system of degrees.

He had seen that the old Operative Craft was divided into three classes or ranks of workmen. To the first and second of these classes he had appropriated a degree peculiar to each. But the third and highest class was still without one. Thus was his system made incongruous and incomplete.

To give it perfection it was necessary that a Third degree should be invented, to be the property of the third class, or the Masters.

It is possible that Desaguliers had, in his original plan, contemplated the composition of three degrees, or it may have been that the willing acceptance of the First and Second by the Craft had suggested the invention of a Third degree.

Be this as it may, for it is all a matter of mere surmise and not of great importance, it is very certain that the invention and composition of the ritual of so philosophic a degree could not have been the labor of a day or a week or any brief period of time.

It involved much thought, and months must have been occupied

in the mental labor of completing it. It could not have been finished before the close of the year 1722. If it had, it would have been presented to the Grand Lodge before the final approval of the *Book of Constitutions,* and would then have received that prominent place in Speculative Freemasonry which in that book and in the "General Regulations" is assigned to the degree of Fellow-Craft.

But at that time the degree was so far completed as to make it certain that it would be ready for presentation to the Grand Lodge and to the Craft in the course of the following year.

But as the *Book of Constitutions* was finally approved in January, 1723, and immediately afterward printed and published, Desaguliers being desirous of keeping the new degree under his own control for a brief period, until its ritual should be well understood and properly worked, anticipated the enactment of a law on the subject, and interpolated the passage in the "General Regulations" which required the Second and Third degrees to be conferred in the Grand Lodge only.

Logical inferences and documentary evidence bring us unavoidably to the conclusion that the following was the sequence of events which led to the establishment of the present ritual of three degrees,

In 1717 the Grand Lodge, at its organization, received the one comprehensive degree or ritual which had been common to all classes of the Operative Freemasons.

This they continued to use, with no modification, for the space of two years.

In 1719 the ritual of this degree was disintegrated and divided into two parts. One part was appropriated to the Entered Apprentices; the other, with some augmentations, to the Fellow-Craft.

From that time until the year 1723 the system of Speculative Freemasonry, which was practiced by the Grand Lodge, consisted of two degrees. That of Fellow-Craft was deemed the summit of Freemasonry, and there was nothing esoteric beyond it.

On this system of two degrees the *Book of Constitutions,* the "General Regulations," and the "Manner of Constituting a new Lodge" were framed. When these were published the Craft knew nothing of a Third degree.

In the year 1723 Dr. Desaguliers perfected the system by presenting the Grand Lodge with the Third degree, which he had re* cently invented.

This degree was accepted by the Grand Lodge, and being introduced into the ritual, from that time forth Ancient Craft Masonry, as it has since been called, has consisted of these three degrees.[1]

There can be little doubt that this radical change from the old system was not pleasing to the purely Operative Freemasons who were members of the Grand Lodge. Innovation has always been repugnant to the Masonic mind. Then, as now, changes in the ritual and the introduction of new degrees must have met with much opposition from those who were attached traditionally to former usages and were unwilling to abandon the old paths.

From 1717 to 1722 we find, by Anderson's records, that the Operatives must have taken an active part in the transactions of the Grand Lodge, for during that period they received a fair proportion of the offices. No one of them, however, had been elected to the chief post of Grand Master, which was always bestowed upon a Speculative.

But from the year 1723, when, as it has been shown, the Speculative system had been perfected, we lose all sight of the Operatives in any further proceedings of the society. It is impossible to determine whether this was the result of their voluntary withdrawal or whether the Speculatives no longer desired their co-operation. But the evidence is ample that from the year 1723 Speculative Freemasonry has become the dominant, and, indeed, the only feature of the Grand Lodge.

Bro. Robert Freeke Gould, who has written an elaborate sketch of the history of those times, makes on this point the following remark, which sustains the present views:

"In 1723, however, a struggle for supremacy, between the Operatives and the Speculatives, had set in, and the former, from that time, could justly complain of their total supercession in the offices of the Society."[2]

It is, then, in the year 1723 that we must place the birth of Speculative Freemasonry. Operative Masonry, the mere art of building, that which was practiced by the "Rough Layers" of England and the wall builders or *Murer* of Germany, still remains and will always remain as one of the useful arts.

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[1] The dismemberment of the Third degree, which is said to have subsequently taken place to form a fourth degree, has nothing to do with this discussion.

[2] "History of the Four Old Lodges," p. 34.

But Operative Freemasonry, the descendant and the representative of the mediaeval guilds, ceased then and forever to exist.

It died, but it left its sign in the implements of the Craft which were still preserved in the new system, but applied to spiritual uses; in the technical terms of the art which gave rise to a symbolic language; and in the ineffaceable memorials which show that the new association of Speculative Freemasonry has been erected on the foundations of a purely Operative Society.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INTRODUCTION OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY INTO FRANCE

ECULATIVE Freemasonry having been firmly-established in London and its environs (for it did not immediately extend into the other parts of England), it will now be proper to direct our attention to its progress in other countries, and in the first place into the neighboring kingdom of France.

The unauthentic and unconfirmed statements of Masonic scholars, until a very recent period, had thrown a cloud of uncertainty over the early history of Freemasonry in France, which entirely obscured the true era of its introduction into that country.

Moreover, the accounts of the origin of Freemasonry in France made by different writers are of so conflicting a nature that it is utterly impossible to reconcile them with historical accuracy. The web of confusion thus constructed has only been recently disentangled by the investigations of some English writers, conspicuous among whom is Bro. William James Hughan.

Before proceeding to avail ourselves of the result of these inquiries into the time of the constitution of the first lodge in France, it will be interesting to present the views of the various authors who had previously written on the subject.

In the year 1745 a pamphlet, purporting to be an exposition of Freemasonry, was published in Paris, entitled *Le Sceau Rompu, ou la Loge ouverte aux profanes.* In this work it is stated that the earliest introduction of Freemasonry into France is to be traced to the year 1718. This work is, however, of no authority, and it is only quoted to show the recklessness with which statements of Masonic history are too frequently made.

The Abbé Robin, who in 1776 published his *Researches on the Ancient and Modern Initiations,*[1] says that at the time of his writ-

[1] "Recherches sur les initiations anciennes et modernes," par l'Abbé Rxxx. The work, though printed anonymously, was openly attributed to Robin, by the publisher.

ing no memorial of the origin of Freemasonry in France remained, and that all that has been found does not go farther back than the year 1720, when it seems to have come from England. But of the date thus ascribed he gives no authentic evidence. It is with him but a surmise.

Thory, in 1815, in his *Acta Latomorum*, gives the story as follows,[1] having borrowed it from Lalande, the great astronomer, who had previously published it in 1786, in his article on Freemasonry in that immense work, the *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*

"The year 1725 is indicated as the epoch of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris. Lord Derwentwater, the Chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Hénquelty, and some other Englishmen, established a lodge at the house of Hure, the keeper of an ordinary in the Rue des Boucheries. This lodge acquired a great reputation, and attracted five or six hundred brethren to Masonry in the space of ten years. It worked under the auspices and according to the usages of the Grand Lodge at London.

"It has left no historical monument of its existence, a fact which throws much confusion over the first labors of Freemasonry in Paris."

In his record of the year 1736, he says that "four lodges then existed at Paris, which united and elected the Earl of Harnouester, who thus succeeded Lord Derwentwater, whom the brethren had chosen at the epoch of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris. At this meeting the Chevalier Ramsay acted as Orator."[2]

T. B. Clavel, in his *Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*,[3] says that according to certain English and German historians, among others Robison and the aulic counsellor Bode, Freemasonry was introduced into France by the Irish followers of King James II., after the English revolution in 1688, and the first lodge was established at the Château de Saint Germain, the residence of the dethroned monarch, whence the Masonic association was propagated in the rest of the kingdom, in Germany and Italy.

Clavel acknowledges that he does not know on what documentary evidence these writers support this opinion; he does not, however, think it altogether destitute of probability.

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[1] "Acta Latomorum, ou chronologie de l'Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française et Étrangère," p. 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 51. [3] Chapter III., p. 107.

Robison, to whom Clavel has referred, says that when King James, with many of his most zealous adherents, had fled into France, "they took Freemasonry with them to the continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and was cultivated with great zeal, and in a manner suited to the tastes and habits of that highly polished people."[1]

Leaving this wholly apocryphal statement without discussion, I proceed to give Clavel's account, which he claims to be historical, of the introduction of Freemasonry from England into France.

The first lodge, he says, whose establishment in France is historically proved, is the one which the Grand Lodge of England instituted at Dunkirk in the year 1721, under the title of *Amitié et Fraternité.* The second, the name of which has not been preserved, was founded at Paris in 1725 by Lord Derwentwater, the Chevalier Maskelyne, Brother d'Héguerty, and some other followers of the Pretender. It met at the house of Hure, an English tavern-keeper or restaurateur in the Rue des Boucheries in the Faubourg Saint Germain. A brother Gaustand, an English lapidary, about the same time created a third lodge at Paris. A fourth one was established in 1726, under the name of *St. Thomas.* The Grand Lodge of England constituted two others in 1729; the name of the first was *Au Louis d'Argent,* and a brother Lebreton was its Master; the other was called *A Sainte Marguerite;* of this lodge we know nothing but its name, which was reported in the Registry of the year 1765. Finally there was a fourth lodge formed in Paris in the year 1732, at the house of Laudelle, a tavern-keeper in the Rue de Bussy. At first it took its name from that of the street in which it was situated, afterward it was called the Lodge *d'Aumont,* because the Duke of Aumont had been initiated in it.[2]

Ragon, in his *Orthodoxie Maçonnique,* asserts that Freemasonry made its first appearance in France in 1721, when on October 13th the Lodge *l'Amitié et Fraternité* was instituted at Dunkirk. It appeared in Paris in 1725; in Bordeaux in 1732, by the establishment of the Lodge *l'Anolaise* No. 204; and on January

[1] "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 27.

[2] A review of the Report made in 1838 and 1839 to the Grand Orient of France by a Committee, which is contained in the French journal *La Globe* (tome I., p. 324), states that "cette loge fut regulierment constituée par la Grande Loge d'Angleterre, le 7 Mai, 1729, sous le titre distinctif de Saint-Thomas au Louis d'Argent"

1, 1732, the Lodge of *la Parfaite Union* was instituted at Valenciennes.[1]

Two other French authorities, not, however, Masonic, have given similar but briefer statements.

In the *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la Lecture* it is said that Freemasonry was introduced into France in 1720 by Lord Derwentwater and the English. The Grand Masters who succeeded him were Lord d'Arnold-Esler and the Duc d'Autin, the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre and the Duc d'Orleans. In 1736 there were still only four lodges in Paris; in 1742 there were twenty-two, and two hundred in the provinces.[2]

Larousse, in his *Grand Universal Dictionary of the Nineteenth Century*,[3] simply repeats this statement as to dates, simply stating that the first lodge in France was founded at Dunkirk in 1721, and the second at Paris in 1725, by Lord Derwentwater.

Rebold has written, in his *Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*, a more detailed statement of the events connected with the introduction of Freemasonry into France. His narrative is as follows:

"It was not until 1725 that a lodge was for the first time founded at Paris by Lord Derwentwater and two other Englishmen, under the title of *St. Thomas.* It was constituted by them in the name of the Grand Lodge of London, on the 12th of June, 1720. Its members, to the number of five or six hundred, met at the house of Hure, a tavern-keeper in the Rue des Boucheries-Saint Germain. Through the exertions of the same English gentlemen a second lodge was established on the 7th of June, 1729, under the name of *Louis d'Argent.* Its members met at the tavern of the same name, kept by one Lebreton. On the nth of December of the same year a third lodge was instituted, under the title of *Arts Sainte Marguerite*. Its meetings were held at the house of an Englishman named Gaustand. Finally, on the 29th of November, 1732, a fourth lodge was founded, which was called *Buci*,[4] from the name of the tavern in which it held its meetings, which was situated in the Rue de Buci, and was kept by one Laudelle. This lodge, after

[1] "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," p. 35.

[2] "Dictionnaire de la Conversation," art. Franc-Maçonnerie, vol. xxviii., p. 136.

[3] "Grand Dictionnaire Universal du XlXme Siècle," par M. Pierre Larousse. Paris, 1872.

[4] This is evidently a mistake of Rebold for Bussy.

having initiated the Duke d'Aumont, took the name of the Lodge *d'Aumont.*

"Lord Denventwater, who, in 1725, had received from the Grand Lodge of London plenary powers to constitute lodges in France, was, in 1735, invested by the same Grand Lodge with the functions of Provincial Grand Master. When he left France (in 1745) to return to England, where he soon after perished on the scaffold, a victim to his attachment for the House of Stuart, he transferred the full powers which he possessed to his friend Lord Harnouester, who was empowered to represent him as Provincial Grand Master during his absence.

"The four lodges then existing at Paris resolved to found a Provisional Grand Lodge of England, to which the lodges to be thereafter constituted in France might directly address themselves as the representative of the Grand Lodge at London. This resolution was put into effect after the departure of Lord Derwentwater. This Grand Lodge was regularly and legally constituted in 1736 under the Grand Mastership of Lord Harnouester."[1]

Such is the story of the introduction of Speculative Freemasonry into France, which, first published by the astronomer Lalande, has been since repeated and believed by all French Masonic historians. That a portion of this story is true is without doubt; but it is equally doubtless that a portion of it is false. It will be a task of some difficulty, but an absolutely necessary one, to unravel the web and to distinguish and separate what is true from what is false.

The names of three of the four founders of the first lodge in Paris present a hitherto insurmountable obstacle in the way of any identification of them with historical personages of that period. The unfortunate propensity of French writers and printers to distort English names in spelling them, makes it impossible to trace the names of Lord Harnouester and M. Hugety to any probable source. I have made the most diligent researches on the subject, and have been unable to find either of them in any works relating to the events of the beginning of the 18th century, which have been within my reach.

Lord Derwent-Waters, as the title is printed, was undoubtedly Charles Radcliffe, the brother of James, the third Earl of Derwent-

[1] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," par Em. Rebold, p. 44.

water, who had been beheaded in 1715 for his connection with the rebellion in that year, excited by the Old Pretender, or, as he styled himself, James III. Charles Radcliffe had also been convicted of complicity in the rebellion and sentenced to be beheaded. He, however, made his escape and fled to the continent. At first he repaired to Rome, where the Pretender then held his court, but afterward removed to France, where he married the widow of Lord Newburghe and remained in that city until the year 1733. He then went for a short time to England, where he appeared openly, but afterward returned to Paris and continued there until 1745. In that year the Young Pretender landed in Scotland and invaded England in the attempt, as Regent, to recover the throne of his ancestors and to place his father upon it.

Charles Radcliffe, who had assumed the title of the Earl of Derwentwater on the demise of his nephew, who died in 1731, sailed on November 21, 1745, for Montrose in Scotland, in the French privateer Soleil, for the purpose of joining the Pretender. He was accompanied by a large number of Irish, Scotch, and French offiers and men. On the passage the privateer was captured by the English ship-of-war Sheerness, and carried, with its crew and passengers, to England.

On December 8th in the following year Radcliffe was beheaded, in pursuance of his former sentence, which had been suspended for thirty years.

Of Lord Harnouester, who is said by the French writers to have succeeded the titular Earl of Derwentwater as the second Grand Master, I have been unable to find a trace in any of the genealogical, heraldic, or historical works which I have consulted. The name is undoubtedly spelled wrongly, and might have been Arnester, Harnester, or Harnevester. The change made by the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*, which converts it into "*d'Arnold-Ester*," only adds more confusion to that which was already abundantly confounded.

Maskelyne is an English name. It was that of a family in Wiltshire, from which Nevil Maskelyne, the distinguished Astronomer Royal, born in 1734, was descended. But I am unable to identify the Chevalier Maskelyne, of the French writers, with any person of distinction or of notoriety at that period.

I am equally at a loss as to M. Hugetty, a name which has been

variously spelt as Heguetty and Heguelly. The name does not, in either of these forms, indicate the nationality of the owner, and the probable transformation from the original forbids the hope of a successful investigation.

One fact alone appears to be certain, and fortunately that is of some importance in determining the genuineness of the history.

The titular Earl of Derwentwater was a Jacobite, devoted to the interests of the fallen family of Stuart, and the English, Irish, and Scotch residents of Paris, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, must have been Jacobites or adherents of the Stuarts also. The political jealousy of the British Government at that time made it unpleasantly suspicious for any loyal subject to maintain intimate relations with the Jacobites who were living in exile at Paris and elsewhere.

This fact will be an important element in determining the genuineness of the authority claimed to have been given to Lord Derwentwater by the Grand Lodge at London.

The German historians have generally borrowed their authority from the French writers, and on this occasion have not shown their usual thoroughness of investigation.

Lenning simply states that the first lodge of France was founded at Paris in 1725, and that it was soon followed by others.[1]

Gadicke had previously said that Freemasonry was introduced into France from England and Scotland in the year 1660, but while it flourished in England it soon almost entirely disappeared in France. Afterward, in the year 1725, England again planted it in France, for in that year three Englishmen founded a lodge in Paris which was called the English Grand Lodge of France.[2]

Findel is a little more particular in his details, but affords us nothing new. He says that "it is impossible to determine with any certainty the period of the introduction of Freemasonry into France, as the accounts handed down to us are very contradictory, varying from the years 1721, 1725, 1727, to 1732. In an historical notice of the Grand Lodge of France, addressed to her subordinate lodges, there is a statement specifying that Lord Derwentwater, Squire Maskelyne, a lord of Heguerty and some other English noblemen, established a lodge in Paris in 1725, at Hure's Tavern. Lord Der-

[1] "Encyclopadie der Freimaurerei."

[2] "Freimaurer-Lexicon."

wentwater is supposed to have been the first who received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. It is recorded that other lodges were established by these same authorities, and amongst others the Lodge *d'Aumont* (*au Louis a'Argent*) in 1729, in la Rue Bussy at Laudelle's tavern, the documents bearing the date of 1732 as that of their foundation."[1]

Kloss, who has written a special work on the history of Freemasonry in France, supported as he says by reliable documents,[2] adopts the statements made originally by Lalande in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, and which were repeated by successive French writers.

So, on the whole, we get nothing more from the German historians than what we already had from the French.

We come next to the English writers, whose information must have been better than that of either the French or German, as they possessed a written history of the contemporary events of that period. Therefore it is that on them we are compelled to lean in any attempt to solve the riddle involved in the introduction of the Speculative institution into the neighboring kingdom. Still we are not to receive as incontestable all that has been said on this subject by the earlier English writers on Freemasonry. Their wonted remissness here, as well as elsewhere in respect to dates and authorities, leaves us, at last, to depend for a great part on rational conjecture and logical inferences.

Dr. Oliver, the most recent author to whom I shall refer, accepts the French narrative of the institution of a lodge at Paris in 1725, and adds that it existed "under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England by virtue of a charter granted to Lord Derwentwater, Maskelyne, Higuetty and some other Englishmen."[3]

Elsewhere he asserts that the Freemasonry which was practiced in France between 1700 and 1725 was only by some English residents, without a charter or any formal warrant.[4] In this opinion he is sustained by the Committee of the Grand Orient already alluded to, in whose report it is stated that "most impartial historians assert

[1] "Geschichte der Freimaurerei," Lyon's Translation, p. 200.

[2] "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, aus achten Urkunden dargestellt," von Georg Kloss. Darmstadt, 1852.

[3] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 32.

[4] "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 27.

that from 1720 to 1725 Freemasonry was clandestinely introduced into France by some English Masons."

The author of an article in the London *Freemasons Quarterly Review*,[1] under the title of "Freemasonry in Europe During the Past Century," says that "the settlement in France of the abdicated king of England, James II., in the Jesuitical Convent of Clermont, seems to have been the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris, and here it was (as far as we can trace) the first lodge in France was formed, anno 1725." The writer evidently connects in his mind the establishment of Freemasonry in France with the Jacobites or party of the Pretender who were then in exile in that kingdom, a supposed connection which will, hereafter, be worth our consideration.

Laurie (or rather Sir David Brewster, who wrote the book for him) has, in his *History of Freemasonry*, when referring to this subject, indulged in that spirit of romantic speculation which distinguishes the earlier portion of the work and makes it an extravagant admixture of history and fable.

He makes no allusion to the events of the year 1725, or to the lodge said to have been created by the titular Earl of Derwentwater, but thinks "it is almost certain that the French borrowed from the Scots the idea of their Masonic tribunal, as well as Freemasonry itself."[2] And he places the time of its introduction at "about the middle of the 16th century, during the minority of Queen Mary."[3]

After all that has hitherto been said about the origin of Speculative Freemasonry, it will not be necessary to waste time in the refutation of this untenable theory or of the fallacious argument by which it is sought to support it. It is enough to say that the author entirely confounds Operative and Speculative Freemasonry, and that he supposes that the French soldiers who were sent to the assistance of Scotland were initiated into the Scotch lodges of Operative Masons, and then brought the system back with them to France.

Preston passes the subject with but few words. He says that in 1732 Lord Montagu, who was then Grand Master, "granted a deputation for constituting a lodge at Valenciennes in French Flanders, and another for opening a new lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy, in Paris."[4]

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[1] New Series, anno 1844, p. 156.

[2] "History of Freemasonry," p. 110.

[3] Ibid., p. 109.

[4] "Illustrations," Jones's edition, p. 212.

The word "new" might be supposed to intimate that there was already an older lodge in Paris. But Preston nowhere makes any reference to the Derwentwater lodge of 1725, or to any other, except this of 1732. We learn nothing more of the origin of Freemasonry in France from this generally reliable author.

We now approach an earlier class of authorities, which, however, consists only of Dr. Anderson and the contemporary records of the Grand Lodge at London.

In 1738 Dr. Anderson published the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions.* In the body of the work, which contains a record, frequently very brief, of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge from 1717 to June, 1738, there is no mention of the constitution of a lodge at Paris, or in any other part of France.

In a "List of the lodges in and about London and Westminster," appended to the work,[1] he records that there was a "French lodge," which met at the "Swan Tavern" in Long Acre, and which received its warrant June 12, 1723. In the list its number is 18.

This fact is only important as showing that Frenchmen were at that early period taking an interest in the new society, and it may or may not be connected with the appearance, not long afterward, of a lodge at Paris.

In the list of "Deputations sent beyond Sea"[2] it is recorded that in 1732 Viscount Montagu, Grand Master, granted a Deputation for constituting a lodge at Valenciennes, in France, and another for constituting a lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy, in Paris.

According to the same authority, Lord Weymouth, Grand Master in 1735, granted a Deputation to the Duke of Richmond "to hold a lodge at his castle d'Aubigny, in France."[3] He adds, referring to these and to other lodges instituted in different countries, that "all these foreign lodges are under the patronage of our Grand Master of England."[4]

This is all that Anderson says about the introduction of Freemasonry into France. It will be remarked that he makes no mention of a lodge constituted at Dunkirk in 1721, nor of the lodge in Paris instituted in 1725. His silence is significant.

Entick, who succeeded Anderson as editor of the *Book of Con-*

[1] "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 186.
[2] Ibid., p. 194.
[3] Ibid., p. 195.
[4] Ibid., p. 196.

stitutions, the third edition of which he published in 1756, says no more than his predecessor, of Freemasonry in France. In fact, he says less, for in his lists of "Deputations for Provincial Grand Masters,"[1] he omits those granted by Lords Montagu and Weymouth. But in a "List of Regular Lodges, according to their Seniority and Constitution, by order of the Grand Master,"[2] he inserts a lodge held at La Ville de Tonnerre, Rue des Boucheries, at Paris, constituted April 3, 1732, another at Valenciennes, in French Flanders, constituted in 1733, and a third at the Castle of Aubigny in France, constituted August 12, 1735. He thus confirms what Anderson had previously stated, but, like him, Entick is altogether silent in respect to the Dunkirk lodge of 1721, or that of Paris in 1725.

Northouck, who edited the fourth edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, appears to have been as ignorant as his predecessors of the existence of any lodge in France before the year 1732. From him, however, we gather two facts. The first of these is that in the year 1768 letters were received from the Grand Lodge of France expressing a desire to open a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England. The overture was accepted, and a *Book of Constitutions*, a list of lodges, and a form of deputation were presented to the Grand Lodge of France.

The second fact is somewhat singular. Notwithstanding the recognized existence of a Grand Lodge of France it seems that in that very year there were lodges in that country which the Grand Lodge of England claimed as constituents, owing it their allegiance; for Northouck tells us that in 1768 two lodges in France, "having ceased to meet or neglected to conform to the laws of this society, were erazed out of the list."

It may be that these were among the lodges which, in former times, had been created in France by the Grand Lodge of England, and that they had transferred their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of their own country, but had omitted to give due notice of the act to the Grand Lodge which had originally created them.

Our next source of information must be the engraved lists of lodges published, from 1723 to 1778, by authority of the Grand

[1] "Constitutions," by Entick, p. 333.

[2] Ibid., p. 335. This list bears some resemblance to Cole's engraved list for 1756, but the two are not identical.

Lodge of England. Their history will be hereafter given. It is enough now to say, that being official documents, and taken for the most part from the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge, they are invested with historical authority.

The earliest of the engraved lists, that for 1723, contains the designations[1] of fifty-one lodges. All of them were situated in London and Westminster. There is no reference to any lodge in France.

The list for 1725 contains the titles of sixty-four lodges. The Society was extending in the kingdom, and the cities of Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, and Chester are recorded as places where lodges had been constituted. But no lodge is recorded as having been created in France.

In the list of lodges returned in 1730 (in number one hundred and two), which is contained in the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge,[2] a lodge is recorded as being at Madrid in Spain, the number 50 being attached, and the place of meeting the "French Arms," which would seem almost to imply, but not certainly, that most of its members were Frenchmen.[3] Lodge No. 90 is said to be held at the "King's Head, Paris." This is the first mention in any of the lists of a lodge in Paris. The name of the tavern at which it was held is singular for a French city. But as it is said by Bro. Gould to be copied from "the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge," it must be considered as authoritative.

We next find an historical record of the institution of lodges in France by the Grand Lodge of England in Pine's engraved list for 1734.[4] Bro. Hughan has said that the first historical constitution

[1] At that time lodges were not distinguished by names, but by the signs of the taverns at which they met, as the "King's Arms," the "Bull and Gate," etc.

[2] The list is given in Bro. Gould's "Four Old Lodges," p. 50.

[3] This lodge met on Sunday, a custom still practiced by many French lodges, though never, as far as I know, by English or American lodges. Le Candeur, an old lodge of French members, in Charleston, S. C, which had its warrant originally from the Grand Orient of France, always met on Sunday, nor did it change the custom after uniting with the Grand Lodge of South Carolina.

[4] A transcript of Pine's list for 1734, copied by Bro. Newton of Bolton from the original owned by Bro. Tunneh, Provincial Grand Secretary of East Lancashire. This transcript was presented by Bro. Newton to Bro. W. J. Hughan, who published it in the "Masonic Magazine" for November, 1876. He also republished it in pamphlet form, and to his kindness I am indebted for a copy. This list had been long missing from the archives of the Grand Lodge.

of a lodge at Paris is that referred to in Pine's list of 1734; but the lodge No. 90 at the "King's Head," recorded as has just been shown in the Grand Lodge list of 1730, seems to have escaped his attention.

Pine's list for 1734 contains the names of two lodges in France: No. 90 at the *Louis d'Argent,* in the Rue des Boucheries, at Paris, which was constituted on April 3, 1732, and No. 127 at Valenciennes in French Flanders, the date of whose Warrant of Constitution is not given.

In Pine's list for 1736 these lodges are again inserted, with a change as to the first, which still numbers as 90, is said to meet at the "Hotel de Bussy, Rue de Bussy." The sameness of the number and of the date of Constitution identify this lodge with the one named in the list for 1734, which met at the *Louis d'Argent,* in the Rue des Boucheries.

The list for 1736 contains a third lodge in France, recorded as No. 133, which met at "Castle Aubigny," and was constituted August 22, 1735.

In Pine's list for 1740 the three lodges in France are again recorded as before, one in Paris, one at Valenciennes, and one at Castle d'Aubigny,[1] but the first of them, formerly No. 90, is now said to meet as No. 78, at the *Ville de Tonnerre,* in the same Rue des Boucheries. This was apparently a change of name and number, and not of locality. It was the same lodge that had been first described as meeting as No. 90 at the *Louis d'Argent.*

In Benjamin Cole's list for 1756 the lodge's number is changed from 78 to 49, but under the same old warrant of April 3, 1732, it continues to meet at "*la Ville de Tonnerre*" in the Rue des Boucheries.

It is unnecessary to extend this investigation to subsequent lists or to those to be found in various works which have been mainly copied from the engraved lists of Pine and Cole. Enough has been cited to exhibit incontestable evidence of certain facts respecting the origin of Speculative Freemasonry in France. This evidence is incontestable, because it is derived from and based on the official records of the Grand Lodge of England.

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[1] The date of the Constitution of this lodge in the list for 1736 is August 22d. In the present and in subsequent lists the date is August 12th. The former date is undoubtedly a typographical error.

It was the custom of the Grand Lodge to issue annually an en graved list of the lodges under its jurisdiction. The first was printed by Eman Bowen in 1723; afterward the engraver was John Pine, who printed them from 1725 to 1741, and perhaps to 1743, as the lists for that and the preceding year are missing. The list for 1744 was printed by Eman Bowen; from 1745 to 1766 Benjamin Cole was the printer, who was followed by William Cole, until 1788, which is the date of the latest engraved list.

"The engraved lists," says Gould, "were renewed annually, certainly from 1738, and probably from the commencement of the series. Latterly, indeed, frequent editions were issued in a single year, which are not always found to harmonize with one another."[1]

The want of harmony consisted principally in the change of numbers and in the omission of lodges. This arose from the erasures made in consequence of the discontinuance of lodges, or their failure to make returns. It is not to be supposed that in an official document, published by authority and for the information of the Craft, the name of any lodge would be inserted which did not exist at the time, or which had not existed at some previous time.

We can not, therefore, unless we might reject the authority of these official lists as authoritative documents, and thus cast a slur on the honesty of the Grand Lodge which issued them, refuse to accept them as giving a truthful statement of what lodges there were, at the time of their publication, in France, acting under warrants from the Grand Lodge at London.

Bro. Hughan asserts that the first historical record of the Constitution of a lodge at Paris is to be referred to the one mentioned in Pine's list for 1734, as having been held *au Louis d'Argent* in the Rue des Boucheries, and the date of whose Constitution is April 3, 1732.

It is true that Anderson's first mention of a deputation to constitute a lodge in Paris is that granted in 1732 by Viscount Montagu as Grand Master, and I presume that there is no earlier record in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge, for if there were, I am very sure that Bro. Hughan would have stated it.

But how are we to reconcile this view with the fact that in the list of lodges for 1730 a lodge is said to be in existence in that year

[1] "Four Old Lodges," p. 16.

in Paris? This list, as printed by Bro. Gould in his interesting work on the *Four Old Lodges*,[1] is now lying before me. It is taken from the earliest Minute Book of the Grand Lodge, and is thus headed, "List of the names of the Members of all the lodges as they were returned in the year 1730."

Now if this heading were absolutely correct, one could not avoid the inference that there was a "regular lodge" in Paris in the year 1730, two years before the Constitution of the lodge recorded in Pine's list for 1734, for among the lodges named in this 1730 list is "90. King's Head at Paris."

For a Parisian hotel, the name is unusual and therefore suspicious. But the list is authentic and authoritative, and the number agrees with that of the lodge referred to in the 1734 list as meeting at the *Louis d'Argent*, in the Rue des Boucheries.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that the lodge recorded in the list for 1730 is the same as that recorded in the list for 1734. The number is sufficient for identification.

Bro. Gould relieves us from the tangled maze into which this difference of dates had led us. He says of the list, which in his book is No. 11, and which he calls "List of lodges, 1730-32," that "this List seems to have been continued from 1730 to 1732."

The list comprises 102 lodges; the lodge No. 90, at the "King's Head, Paris," is the fifteenth from the end, and was, as we may fairly conclude, inserted in and upon the original list in 1732, after the lodge at the Rue des Boucheries had been constituted.

So that, notwithstanding the apparent statement that there was a regular lodge, that is, a lodge duly warranted by the London Grand Lodge in 1730, it is evident that Bro. Hughan is right in the conclusion at which he has arrived that the first lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in Paris, was that known as No. 90, and which at the time of its constitution, on April 3, 1732, met at the Tavern called *Louis d'Argent*, in the Rue des Boucheries. Its number was subsequently changed to 78, and then to 49. It and the lodge at Valenciennes are both omitted in the list for 1770, and these were probably the two lodges in France recorded by Northouck as having been erased from the roll of the Grand Lodge of England in 1768. With their erasure passed away all jurisdiction

[1] Page 50.

of the English Grand Lodge over any of the lodges in France. In the same year it entered into fraternal relations with the Grand Lodge of France. The lodge at Castle d'Aubigny is also omitted from the list of 1770, and if not erased, had probably voluntarily surrendered its warrant.

Thus we date the legal introduction of lodges into France at the year 1732. But it does not necessarily follow that Speculative Freemasonry on the English plan had not made its appearance there at an earlier period.

The history of the origin of Freemasonry in France, according to all French historians, from the astronomer Lalande to the most recent writers, is very different from that which it has been contended is the genuine one, according to the English records.

It has been shown, in a preceding part of this chapter, that the Abbé Robin said that Freemasonry had been traced in France as far back as 1720, and that it appeared to have been brought from England.

Rebold has been more definite in his account. His statement in substance is as follows, and although it has been already quoted I repeat it here, for the purpose of comment.

Speaking of the transformation of Freemasonry from a corporation of Operatives to a purely philosophic institution, which took place in London in 1717, he proceeds to say, that the first cities on the Continent where this changed system had been carried from London were Dunkirk and Mons, both in Flanders, but then forming a part of the kingdom of France. The lodge at Mons does not seem to have attracted the attention of subsequent writers, but Rebold says of it that "it was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England on June 4, 1721, under the name of *Parfaite Union.* It was, at a later period, erected into the English Grand Lodge of the Austrian Netherlands, and from 1730 constituted lodges of its own."[1]

This narrative must be rejected as being unsupported by the English records. There may have been, as I shall presently show, an irregular lodge at Mons, organized in 1721, but there is no proof that it had any legal connection with the Grand Lodge of England.

Of the lodge at Dunkirk, Rebold says that it assumed the name

[1] See "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 43.

of *Amitié et Fraternité*, and that in 1756 it was reconstituted by the Grand Lodge of France. Of the constitution of this lodge by the Grand Lodge at London, in 1721, we have no more proof than we have of the Constitution of that at Mons, and yet it has been accepted as a fact by Dr. Oliver and some other English authors. Rebold, however, is the only French historian who positively recognizes its existence.

He then tells us the story as it has been quoted on a preceding page of the foundation of the lodge of St. Thomas in 1725 at Paris by Lord Derwentwater and two other Englishmen, and of its constitution by the Grand Lodge at London on June 12, 1726.

Now the fact is, that while we are compelled to reject the statement that the Grand Lodge at London had constituted this lodge in the Rue des Boucheries in 1726, because we have distinct testimony in the records of the Grand Lodge that it was not constituted until 1732, yet we find it equally difficult to repudiate the concurrent authority of all the French historians that there was in 1725 a lodge in the city of Paris, established by Englishmen, who were all apparently Jacobites or adherents of the exiled family of Stuart.

Paris at that time was the favorite resort of English subjects who were disloyal to the Hanoverian dynasty, which was then reigning, as they believed, by usurpation in their native country.

Clavel tells us that one Hurre or Hure was an English tavern-keeper, and that his tavern was situated in the Rue des Boucheries. It is natural to suppose that his house was the resort of his exiled countrymen. That Charles Radcliffe and his friends were among his guests would be a strong indication that he was also a Jacobite.

Radcliffe, himself, could not have been initiated into the new system of Speculative Freemasonry in London, because he had made his escape from England two years before the organization of the Grand Lodge. But there might have been, among the frequenters of Hure's tavern, certain Freemasons who had been Theoretic members of some of the old Operative lodges, or even taken a share in the organization of the new Speculative system.

There was nothing to prevent these Theoretic Freemasons from opening a lodge according to the old system, which did not require a Warrant of Constitution. The Grand Lodge which had been organized in 1717 did not claim any jurisdiction beyond London and its precincts, and there were at that time and long afterward

many lodges in England which paid no allegiance to the Grand Lodge and continued to work under the old Operative regulations.

It can not be denied that the Grand Lodge which was established in 1717 did not expect to extend its jurisdiction or to enforce its regulations beyond the city of London and its suburbs. This is evident from a statute enacted November 25, 1723, when it was "agreed that no new lodge in or near London, without it be regularly constituted, be countenanced by the Grand Lodge nor the Master or Wardens admitted to Grand Lodge."[1]

Gould, who quotes this passage, says: "It admits of little doubt, that in its inception, the Grand Lodge of England was intended merely as a governing body for the Masons of the Metropolis."[2] Even as late as 1735 complaint was made of the existence of irregular lodges not working by the authority or dispensation of the Grand Master.[3]

What was there then to prevent the creation of such a lodge in Paris by English Freemasons who had left their country? A lodge would not only be, as Anderson has called it, "a safe and pleasant relaxation from intense study or the hurry of business," but it would be to these exiles for a common cause a center of union. Politics and party, which were forbidden topics in an English lodge at home, would here constitute important factors in the first selection of members.

It was in fact a lodge of Jacobites. These men paid no respect to acts of attainder, and to them Charles Radcliffe, as the heir presumptive to the title of Earl of Derwentwater, was a prominent personage, and he was, therefore, chosen as the head of the new lodge.[4]

The tavern in which they met was kept by Hure or Hurre, or some name like it, who, according to the statement of Clavel and others, was an Englishman. His house very naturally became the resort of his countrymen in Paris. As it was also the *locale* of the Jacobite lodge, it may be safely presumed that Hure was himself a

[1] From the Grand Lodge Minutes.

[2] "The Four Old Lodges," p. 19.

[3] See New Regulations in Anderson, 2d edition, p. 156.

[4] The French writers and the English who have followed them are all wrong in saying that Lord Derwentwater was Master of the lodge in 1725. At that time Lord Derwentwater, the only son of the decapitated Earl, was a youth. On his death in 1731, without issue, his uncle, Charles Radcliffe, as next heir assumed the title, though, of course, it was not recognized by the English law.

Jacobite. Thus it came to pass that to signify that his hostelry was an English one, he adopted an English sign, and to show that he was friendly to the cause of the Stuarts he made that sign the "King's Head," meaning, of course, not the head of George I., who in 1725 was the lawful King of England, but of James III., whom the Jacobites claimed to be the rightful king, and who had been recognized as such by the French monarch and the French people.

Thus it happens that we find, in the engraved list for 1730, the record that Lodge No. 90 was held at the "King's Head, in Paris."

It may be said that all this is mere inference. But it must be remembered that the carelessness or reticence of our early Masonic historians compels us, in a large number of instances, to infer certain facts which they have not recorded from others which they have. And if we pursue the true logical method, and show the absolutely necessary and consequent connection of the one with the other, our deduction will fall very little short of a demonstration.

Thus, we know, from documentary evidence, that in a list of "regular lodges" begun in 1730, and apparently continued until 1732, there was a lodge held in Paris at a tavern whose sign was the "King's Head," and whose number was 90. We know from the same kind of evidence that in 1732 there was a lodge bearing the same number and held in the Rue des Boucheries.

All the French historians tell us that a lodge was instituted in that street in 1725, at a tavern kept by an Englishman, the founders of which were Englishmen. The leader we know was a Jacobite, and we may fairly conclude that his companions were of the same political complexion.

Now we need not accept as true all the incidents connected with this lodge which are stated by the French writers, such as the statement of Rebold that it was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1726. But unless we are ready to charge all of these historians, from Lalande in 1786 onward to the present day, with historical falsehood, we are compelled to admit the naked fact, that there was an English lodge in Paris in 1725. There is no evidence that this lodge was at that date or very soon afterward constituted by the Grand Lodge at London, and, therefore, I conclude, as a just inference, that it was established as all lodges previous to the year 1717 had been established in London, and for many years afterward in other places by the spontaneous action of its founders. It

derived its authority to meet and "make Masons," as did the four primitive Lodges which united in forming the Grand Lodge at London in 1717, from the "immemorial usage" of the Craft.

As to the two lodges which are said to have been established in 1721 at Dunkirk and at Mons, the French generally concur in the assertion of their existence. Ragon alone, by his silence, seems to refuse or to withhold his assent.

There is, however, nothing of impossibility in the fact, if we suppose that these two lodges had been formed, like that of Paris, by Freemasons coming from England, who had availed themselves of the ancient privilege, and formed their lodges without a warrant and according to "immemorial usage."

What has been said of the original institution of the Paris lodge is equally applicable to these two.

It would appear that a Masonic spirit had arisen in French Flanders, where both these lodges were situated, which was not readily extinguished, but which led in 1733 to the Constitution by the English Grand Lodge of a lodge at Valenciennes, a middle point between the two, in the same part of France, and distant not more than thirty miles from Mons and about double that distance from Dunkirk.

Rebold says that the lodge at Dunkirk was re-constituted by the Grand Lodge of France in 1756, and he speaks as if he were leaning upon documentary authority. He also asserts that the lodge at Mons was, in 1730, erected into a Grand Lodge of the Australian Netherlands. He does not support this statement by any evidence, beyond his own assertion, and in the absence of proofs, we need not, when treating of the origin of Freemasonry in France, discuss the question of the organization of a Grand Lodge in another country.

Before closing this discussion, a few words may be necessary respecting the connection of the titular Earl of Derwentwater with the English lodge. A writer in the *London Freemason* of February 17, 1877, has said, when referring to the statement that the lodge at Hure's Tavern had received in the year 1726 a warrant from the Grand Lodge at London, "of this statement no evidence exists, and owing to the political questions of the day much doubt is thrown upon it, especially as to whether the English Grand Lodge would have given a Warrant to no Jacobites and to a person who was not Lord Derwentwater, according to English law."

But there was no political reason in 1726, certainly not in 1732, why a Warrant should not have been granted by the English Grand Lodge for a Lodge in Paris of which a leading Jacobite should be a member or even the head.

Toward Charles Radcliffe, who, when he was quite young, had been led into complicity with the rebellion of 1715 by the influence of his elder brother, the Earl of Derwentwater, and who had been sentenced to be beheaded therefor, the government was not vindictive.

It is even said by contemporary writers that if he had not prematurely made his escape from prison, he would have been pardoned. After his retirement to France, he remained at least inactive, married the widow of a loyal English nobleman, and in 1833, two years after he had assumed, when his nephew died without issue, the title of Earl of Derwentwater, he visited London and remained there for some time unmolested by the government. It was not until 1745 that he became obnoxious by taking a part in the ill-advised and unsuccessful invasion of England by the Young Pretender, and for this Radcliffe paid the penalty of his life.

The Grand Lodge at London had abjured all questions of partisan politics or of sectarian religion; some of its own members are supposed to have secretly entertained proclivities toward the exiled family of Stuarts, and there does not seem to be really any serious reason why a Warrant should not have been granted to a lodge in Paris, though many of its members may have been Jacobites.

I do not, however, believe that a warrant of constitution was granted by the Grand Lodge of England to the lodge at Paris in 1726. The French historians have only mistaken the date, and confounded the year 1726 with the year 1732. Both Thory and Ragon tell us that the lodge has left no historical monument of its existence, and that thus much obscurity has been cast over the earliest labors of Freemasonry in Paris.[1]

One more point in this history requires a notice and an explanation.

Rebold says that in the year 1732 there were four lodges at Paris: 1. The lodge of *St. Thomas*, founded in 1725 by Lord Derwentwater and held at Hure's Tavern. 2. A lodge established

[1] Thory, in the "Histoire de la Fondation de Grand Orient of France," p. 20, and Ragon in the "Acta Latomorum," p. 22.

in May, 1729, by the same Englishmen who had founded the first, and which met at the *Louis d'Argent,* a tavern kept by one Lebreton. 3. A lodge constituted in December of the same year under the name of *Arts-Sainte Marguerite.*[1] Its meetings were held at the house of one Gaustand, an Englishman. 4. A lodge established in November, 1732, called *de Buci,* from the name of the tavern kept by one Laudelle in the Rue de Buci. This lodge afterward took the name of the Lodge *d'Aumont,* when the Duke of Aumont had been initiated in it.

It will not be difficult to reduce these four lodges to two by the assistance of the English lists. The first lodge, which was founded by Radcliffe, improperly called Lord Derwentwater, is undoubtedly the same as that mentioned in the 1730 list under the designation of No. 90 at the "King's Head." Rebold, Clavel, and the other French authorities tell us that it was held in the Rue des Boucheries

Now the list for 1734 gives us the same No. 90, as designating a lodge which met in the same street but at the sign of the *Louis d'Argent.* This was undoubtedly the same lodge which had formerly met at the "King's Head." The tavern may have been changed, but I think it more likely that the change was only in the sign, made by the new proprietor, for Hure, it seems, had given way to Lebreton, who might have been less of a Jacobite than his predecessor, or no Jacobite at all, and might have therefore discarded the head of the putative king, James. The first and second in this list of Rebold's were evidently to be applied to the same lodge.

The fourth lodge was held at the Hotel *de Buci.* Here, again, Rebold is wrong in his orthography, He should have spelt it Bussy. There was then a lodge held in the year 1732 at the Hôtel de Bussy. Now Anderson tells us, in his second edition, that Viscount Montagu granted a deputation "for constituting a lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy in Paris." But the lists for 1732, 1734, 1740, and 1756 give only one Parisian lodge which was constituted on April 3, 1732, and they always assign the same locality in the Rue des Boucheries, but change the number, making, however, the change from 90 to 78, and then to 49, and change also the sign, from the "King's Head" in 1732 to the *Louis d'Argent* in 1734, and to the *Ville de Tonnerre* in 1740 and 1756.

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[1] Clavel ("Histoire Pittoresque," p. 108) calls it A Sainte Marguerite, which is probably the correct name. The Arts in Rebold may be viewed as a typographical error.

But it is important to remark that while the Engraved List for 1734 says that No. 90 met at the *Louis d'Argent* in the Rue de Boucheries, the list for 1736 says that No. 90 met at the Hôtel de Bussy, in the Rue de Bussy, and each of these lists gives the same date of constitution, namely, April 3, 1732.

I am constrained, therefore, to believe that the lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy was the same as the one held first at Hure's Tavern in 1725 as an independent lodge and which, in 1732, was legally constituted by the Grand Lodge of England, and which afterward met either at the same tavern with a change of sign or at three different taverns.

The first, second, and fourth lodges mentioned by Rebold, therefore, are resolved into one lodge, the only one which the English records say was legally constituted by the deputation granted in 1732 by Lord Montagu.

As to the third lodge on Rebold's list, which he calls *Arts-Sainte Margiterite,* but which Clavel more correctly styles *A Sainte Marguerite,* there is no reference to it, either in the English engraved lists or in the *Book of Constitutions.* It is said to have been founded at the close of the year 1729 and to have held its meetings at the house or tavern of an Englishman named Gaustand.

I can not deny its existence in the face of the positive assertions of the French historians. I prefer to believe that it was an offshoot of the lodge instituted in 1725 at Hure's, that that lodge had so increased in numbers as to well afford to send off a colony, and that, like its predecessor, the lodge *A Sainte Marguerite* had been formed independently and under the sanction of "immemorial usage."

Hence, I think it is demonstrated that between the years 1725 and 1732 there were but two lodges in Paris and not four, as some of the French writers have asserted. Bro. Hughan is inclined to hold the same opinion, and the writer in the *London Freemason,* who has previously been referred to, says that he thinks it "just possible." The possibility is, I imagine, now resolved into something more than a probability.

Having thus reconciled, as I trust I have, the doubts and contradictions which have hitherto given so fabulous a character to the history of the introduction of Speculative Freemasonry into France, I venture to present the following narrative as a consistent and

truthful account of the introduction of the English system of Speculative Freemasonry into France. It is divested of every feature of romance and is rendered authentic, partly by official documents of unquestionable character and partly by strictly logical conclusions, which can not fairly be refuted.

It was not very long after the foundation of purely Speculative Freemasonry in London by the disseverance of the Theoretic Masons from their Operative associates and the establishment of a Grand Lodge, that a similar system was attempted to be introduced into the neighboring kingdom of France.

Freemasons coming from England, either members of some of the old Operative lodges or who had taken a part in the organization of the London Grand Lodge, having passed over into France, founded in the year 1721 two independent lodges which adopted the characteristics of the new Speculative system, so far as it had then been completed, but claimed the right, according to the ancient usage of Operative Freemasons, to form lodges spontaneously without the authority of a Warrant of Constitution.

These lodges were situated respectively at Dunkirk and at Mons, two cities in French Flanders, and which were at that time within the territory of the French Empire.

Four years after, namely, in 1725, a similar lodge was founded in Paris, at the sign of the "King's Head," a tavern which was kept in the Rue des Boucheries by an Englishman named Hure or Hurre, or some other name approximating nearly to it. French historians inform us that the name of the lodge was *Si. Thomas;* but this name is not recognized in any of the English engraved lists. Then and for some time afterward English lodges were known only by the name or sign of the tavern where their meetings were held. But there is no reason for disbelieving the assertion of the French writers. The number and the place of meeting were the only necessary designations to be inserted in the Warrant when it was granted. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight lodges recorded in Pine's list for 1734, not one is otherwise designated than by its number and the sign of the tavern. So that the fact that the lodge is not marked in the English lists as "the Lodge of *Si. Thomas*" is no proof whatever that its founders did not bestow upon it that title.

The founders of this lodge were Charles Radcliffe, the younger brother of the former Earl of Derwentwater, whose title he six

years afterward assumed, and three other Englishmen, of whose previous or subsequent history we know nothing, but who are said by the French writers to have been Lord Harnouester, the Chevalier Maskelyne, and Mr. Heguetty.

These men were, it is supposed, Jacobites or adherents, passively at least, of the exiled family of Stuarts, represented at that time by the son of the late James II., and who was known in France and by his followers as James III. From this fact, and from the character of the tavern where they met, which was indicated by its sign, it is presumed that the lodge was originally formed as a resort for persons of those peculiar political sentiments. .

If so, it did not long retain that feature in its composition. The institution of Speculative Freemasonry became in Paris, as it had previously become in London, extremely popular. In a short time the lodge received from French and English residents of Paris an accession of members which amounted to several hundreds.

In December, 1729, another independent lodge was formed under the name of *A Sainte Marguerite*, which was held at the tavern of an Englishman named Gaustand. It was probably formed by members of the other lodge whose number had, from the popularity of the institution, become unwieldy. Of the subsequent career of this lodge we have no information. The records do not show that it was ever legally constituted by the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1732 Lord Montagu, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge at London, granted a deputation for the Constitution of the original lodge in Paris, which was then holding its meetings at the Hôtel de Bussy, in the Rue de Bussy. It was accordingly constituted on April 3, 1732. But at the time of the Constitution it appears to have returned to its old locality, as it is recorded in the first part of the lists in which it is mentioned as meeting in the Rue des Boucheries at the "King's Head Tavern," and in the second list at the *Louis d'Argent*, which, as I have already said, I take to be the same house with a change of sign.

Thus the fact is established that the new system of Speculative Freemasonry was introduced into France from England, but not by authority of the English Grand Lodge, in the year 1721 by the founding of two independent lodges in French Flanders, and into Paris by the founding of a similar lodge in 1725.

In 1732 the Grand Lodge of London extended its jurisdiction

over the French territory and issued two deputations, one for the constitution of the lodge in Paris, and the other for the constitution of a lodge in French Flanders at the city of Valenciennes.

The former was constituted in 1732, in the month of April, and the latter in the following year.

The further action of the English Grand Lodge in the constitution of other lodges, and the future history of the institution which resulted in the formation of a Grand Lodge in France, must be reserved for consideration in a future chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND, OR THE GRAND LODGE OF YORK

HE pretension, so stoutly maintained by many Freemasons who have not thoroughly investigated the subject, that there was a General Assembly of Masons held, and a Grand Lodge established, at the city of York in the year 926, by Prince Edwin, the brother of King Athelstan, is a tradition derived from the old *Legend of the Craft*. As such it has already been freely discussed in the preceding division of this work, and will not be further considered at this time.

The object of the present chapter will be to inquire into the time when, and the circumstances under which, the modern Theoretic Freemasons of York separated from the Operative association and, following the example of their antecessors in London, established a purely Speculative society to which they, too, gave the name of a Grand Lodge.

To distinguish it from the Grand Lodge which had been established eight years before in London, they applied to that body the title of the "Grand Lodge of England," while in a somewhat arrogant spirit they assumed for themselves the more imposing title of the "Grand Lodge of all England," epithets which were first employed by Drake in his speech at York in 1726.[1]

[1] There is not the slightest evidence that the Grand Lodge in London ever accepted this distinction of titles, involving, as it did. an acknowledgment of the supremacy of its rival. Neither Anderson, Entick, nor Northouck have used in their successive editions of the "Book of Constitutions" these epithets. In these editions the body in London is always called simply "the Grand Lodge." It is not until 1775 that we meet with a more distinctive name. In the Latin inscription on the corner-stone of the Freemasons' Hall, which was laid in that year, Lord Petre is designated as "Summus Latomorum Angliæ Magister," or chief Master of Masons of England, while the Grand Lodge is called "Summus Angliæ Conventus," or Chief Assembly of England.

This distinction was suggested by the ecclesiastical usage of the kingdom, which, dividing the government of the church between two Archbishops, calls the Archbishop of York the "Primate of England," while his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of somewhat more elevated rank and more extensive jurisdiction, is dignified as the "Primate of All England."

Angliæ and *totius Angliæ* are the distinctions between the two Archbishops, and so, also, they became the distinctions between the two Grand Lodges.

Operative Freemasonry was established with great vigor and maintained with strict discipline at York during the building of the Cathedral in the 14th century. Of this fact we have the most undoubted evidence in the *Fabric Rolls of York Minster,* which were published several years ago by the "Surtees Society."[1]

These "Rolls," extending from 1350 to 1639, were made up during the progress of the work. They consist of accounts of contracts at different periods and regulations adopted from time to time for the government of the workmen. A fragment remaining of one of the Rolls, with the date of 1350, records that the Masons and the Carpenters who at that time were employed on the building were respectively under the control of William de Hoton, as the Master Mason, and Philip de Lincoln as the Master Carpenter. As Bro. Hughan very correctly remarks, "Without doubt the Master Mason thus referred to was simply the chief among the Masons, the others being Apprentices and Craftsmen."

One of the Rolls contains a code of rules which had been agreed upon in 1370. It is entitled *Ordinacio Cementariorum.* This is interesting, as it shows what was the internal government of the Craft at that period.

These regulations were made by the Chapter of the Church of St. Peter's at York, under whose direction the Minster was being built. They did not emanate from any General Assembly or Grand Lodge, nor even from a private lodge, but were derived from the ecclesiastical authority with which in that age Freemasonry was

[1] The existence of these Rolls was discovered by Mr. John Browne, who based upon them his "History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York." They were printed at Durham in 1859 by the Surtees Society, and edited by Mr. James Raine, Jr., the Secretary of the Society, who has enriched the work with valuable notes, an Appendix, and a Glossary.

closely connected. Whether these Masons were acquainted with the old manuscripts which Anderson called the Gothic Constitutions it is impossible to say. We have no copies of any which date before the end of the 15th century, except the Halliwell MS., and the date of that is supposed to be 1390, which is twenty years after the adoption of the regulations by the Chapter of the Cathedral for the government of the Freemasons of York.

It is, however, almost, if not absolutely, demonstrable that the Halliwell MS. is a copy and a combination of two distinct poems, and it is, therefore, not unlikely that the York Masons, as a guild, were familiar with and even governed by its "points and articles."

The rules preserved in the Fabric Rolls were only intended for the direction of the Masons in their hours of labor and of refreshment, and contain no *Legend of the Craft.* A faithful copy of the *Ordinacio Cementariorum,* or Constitution of the Masons, translated into modern and more intelligible English,[1] will be interesting and useful as showing the guild organization of the Craft at York in the 14th century. This *Ordinacio* runs as follows: "It is ordained by the Chapter of the Church of Saint Peter of York that all the masons that shall work in the works of the same Church of Saint Peter shall, from Michaelmas day to the first Sunday of Lent, be each day in the morning at their work in the lodge, which is provided for the masons at work within the enclosure at the side of the aforesaid church,[2] at as early an hour as they can clearly see by daylight to work; and they shall stand there faithfully working at their work all day after, as long as they can clearly see to work, if it be an all work day; otherwise until high noon is struck by the clock, when a holiday falls at noon, except within the aforesaid time between Michaelmas and Lent; and at all other times of the year they may dine before noon if they will, and also eat at noon where they like, so that they shall not remain from their work in the aforesaid lodge, at no time of the year, at dinner time more than so short a

[1] The earlier Rolls are written in the Low Latin of the Middle Ages. The later ones from 1544 are in the vernacular tongue of the times. The one about to be quoted is in a northern dialect, and is, as Mr. Raine observes, remarkable on account of its language as well as its contents.

[2] This confirms the statement made in the "Parentalia" that the Traveling Freemasons, when about to commence the erection of a religious edifice, built huts, or, as they were called, "lodges," in the vicinity in which they resided for the sake of economy as well as convenience.

time that no reasonable man shall find fault with their remaining away; and in time of eating at noon they shall, at no time of the year, be absent from the lodges nor from their work aforesaid over the space of an hour; and after noon they may drink in the lodge, and for their drinking time, between Michaelmas and Lent, they shall not cease nor leave their work beyond the space of time that one can walk half a mile; and from the first Sunday of Lent until Michaelmas they shall be in the aforesaid lodge at their work at sunrise and remain there truly and carefully working upon the aforesaid work of the church, all day, until there shall be no more space than the time that one can walk a mile,[1] before sunset, if it be a work day, otherwise until the time of noon, as was said before; except that they shall, between the first Sunday of Lent and Michaelmas, dine and eat as beforesaid, after noon in the aforesaid lodge; nor shall they cease nor leave their work in sleeping time exceeding the time in which one can walk a mile, nor in drinking time after noon beyond the same time. And they shall not sleep after noon at any time except between Saint Elemnes and Lammas; and if any man remain away from the lodge and from the work aforesaid, or commit offence at any time of the year against this aforesaid ordinance, he shall be punished by an abatement of his wages, upon the inspection and judgment of the master mason; and all their times and hours shall be governed by a bell established therefor. It is also ordained that no mason shall be received at work on the work of the aforesaid church unless he be first tried for a week or more as to his good work; and if after this he is found competent for the work, he may be received by the common assent of the master and keepers of the work and of the master mason, and he must swear upon the book that he will truly and carefully, according to his power, without any kind of guile, treachery, or deceit, maintain and keep holy all the points of this aforesaid ordinance in all things that affect or may affect him, from the time that he is received in the aforesaid work, as long as he shall remain a hired mason at the work on the aforesaid work of the church of Saint Peter, and that he will not go away from that aforesaid work unless the masters give him per-

[1] Time of a mileway. A common method at that period of computing time. "Way. The time in which a certain space can be passed over. Two mileway, the time in which two miles could be passed over, etc."—Halliwell, "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words." We had "half a mileway" above.

mission to depart from the aforesaid work; and let him whosoever goes against this ordinance and breaks it against the will of the aforesaid chapter have God's malison and Saint Peter's."

We learn from this ordinance, and others of the same import contained in these *Fabric Rolls*, that the Masons who wrought at the building of the York Cathedral in the 14th century were an entirely Operative guild, like their brethren who, at about the same time, were engaged in the construction of the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg.

They confirm the statement made in Wren's *Parentalia* that the lodge was a building contiguous to the edifice they were constructing, and that in it they not only worked, cutting and otherwise preparing the stones, but also ate and slept there. Over them there was a superintendent of their work who was called the Master Mason.

What were the duties of the *Magister Cementarius* or Master Mason may be learned from an indenture between the Chapter and William de Hoton in the year 1351, a copy of which will be found at page 166 of the *Fabric Rolls.*

While overlooking other works, which shows that he might have different contracts at the same time, he was not to neglect the work of the Minster. If he became affected with blindness or other incurable disease so that he should be unable to work, he was to employ and pay an assistant—*subcementarius*—who was to be the Second or Deputy Master of the Masons—*Magister Secundarius Cementariorum.*

He was to oversee the building and to receive a salary of ten pounds of silver annually, and to be furnished with a dwelling-house within the inclosure of the Cathedral.[1]

But while the Master Mason had the direct supervision of the workmen, there was an officer above him who was called the *Mag-*

[1] From the "Fabric Rolls" the following list of Master Masons, who superintended the work from its beginning to its close, has been obtained by Mr. Raine:

1351, William de Hoton and William de Hoton, junior, probably the son of the first; 1368, Robert de Patrington; 1399-1401, Hugh de Hedon; 1415, William Colchester; 1421, John Long; 1433, Thomas Pak; 1442-43, John Bowde; 1445-47, John Barton; 1456, John Porter; 1466, Robert Spyllesby; 1472, William Hyndeley; 1505, Christian Horner; 1526, John Forman. In the lists of workmen many names foreign to Yorkshire will be found, and the names of foreigners also occur, such as Begon Baious and James Dum.—Preface to "Fabric Rolls,'" xx.

ister Operis, or Master of the Work. This is shown by another agreement with Robert de Patrington in 1368, wherein it is said that his salary is to be paid to him "by the hands of the Master of the work of our said church"—*per manus Magistri operis dicta ecclesiæ nostræ*.

Now, this *Magistri Operis*, or Master of the Work, sometimes called the *Operarius*, was not a member of the body of Masons, but, according to Ducange, an officer in Monasteries and Chapters of Canons, whose duty it was to have charge over the public works.

When the Cathedral was finished, the occupation of these Operative Masons ceased. But there were other religious edifices in the province on which they were subsequently employed, so that there was a continuous existence of Operative lodges during the succeeding centuries.

While the Freemasons were working on the York Minster, other guilds of Freemasons, or, rather, branches of the same guild, were employed in the construction of other cathedrals in different parts of England.

Thus the Cathedral of Canterbury was repaired and greatly enlarged about the year 1174; that of Salisbury was begun in 1220 and finished in 1260; that of Ely was begun in 1235 and finished in 1252, and Westminster Abbey was begun in 1245 and finished in 1285.

If the *Fabric Rolls* of these edifices should hereafter be discovered, ample evidence will doubtless be furnished of the existence of a common guild of Freemasons everywhere in England, similar to that which we now know existed at York during the same period of time, namely from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 16th century, which was precisely the age of our oldest manuscript Constitutions.

The history of Operative Freemasonry at York and in the north of England was about the same as it was in London and in the south of the kingdom. There were times when it flourished, and times when it began to decay.

In another respect there was a similarity in the character of the guilds of both localities.

The York Lodge, like the lodges of London, and indeed of every other country, at first consisting only of practical workmen, began in time to admit into its association men who were not craftsmen—

men of rank or wealth or influence, who became honorary members, and in the course of time gradually infused a Speculative element into the lodges.

There is really no historical evidence whatever that during the period in which the Freemasons were occupied in the construction of the Minster there was any other lodge than that which was connected with the works, and under the control of the Cathedral Chapter. It is, however, very presumable that from long continuance it had abandoned the nomadic character so common with the Traveling Freemasons of the Middle Ages, and had assumed a permanent form, and thus become the parent of that Lodge which we find existing in 1705 in the city of York.

Anderson asserts that the tradition was "firmly believed by the old English Masons," that on December 27, 1561,[1] Queen Elizabeth sent an armed force to break up the annual Grand Lodge that was then meeting at York.

"But Sir Thomas Sackville, Grand Master," says Anderson, "took care to make some of the chief Men sent Freemasons, who then joining to that communication made a very honorable report to the Queen, and she never more attempted to dislodge or disturb them."

This story has been repeated by Preston and by others after him; but as all of them give it on the mere authority of Anderson, and as no other evidence has ever been adduced of its truth, we shall be compelled to reject it as historical, and receive it only as Anderson has called it a "tradition." Were it true, it would settle the question that there was a Grand Lodge at York in active existence in the 16th century.

In the "Manifesto" of the Lodge of Antiquity in 1778, it is asserted that "in the year 1567 the increase of lodges in the south of England being so great . . . it was resolved that a person under the title of Grand Master for the south, should be appointed with the approbation of the Grand Lodge at York, to whom the whole Fraternity at large were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection."

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[1] Bro. Woodford, in his very able article on "The Connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England," appended to Bro. Hughan's "Unpublished Records of the Craft" (p. 170), seems to attribute the particularizing of this date to the unknown author of "Multa Paucis." But the fact is that this date is first mentioned by Dr. Anderson, in the 2d edition of the "Book of Constitutions," p. 81.

If this statement were authentic it would not only confirm the fact that there was a Grand Lodge of York in the 16th century, but also that it exercised a supremacy over all the lodges of the kingdom.

Unfortunately for the interests of history the "Manifesto" of the Lodge of Antiquity was written for a particular object, which renders it partisan in character and suspicious in authority. And since there is no other evidence that in 1567 there was a Grand Lodge at York, or that it then appointed a Grand Master for the south of England, we are forced to dismiss this narrative of the Lodge of Antiquity with the Sackville story to the realm of fable, or at least of unsupported tradition.

The theory of the existence of a lodge at the city of York at the beginning of the 17th century is founded on the fact that in the year 1777 there was in the possession of the Lodge of York a manuscript Constitution of the date 1630, which is presumed to have been written at the time for the lodge in that city.

Such is the implied reasoning of Bro. Woodford, and although not absolutely conclusive, it may be accepted as probable, especially as Bro. Hughan tells us that there is evidence that a lodge existed there in 1643.[1]

But the authentic history of that Society of Freemasons which met in the city of York, really begins with the year 1706.[2]

In the Inventory of Regalia and Documents which were in the possession of the Grand Lodge of all England taken by a committee in 1779, and which inventory is still in possession of the Lodge at York, one of the articles is recorded as being "A narrow folio Manuscript Book, beginning 7th March 1705-6, containing sundry Accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge."

This manuscript is now unfortunately mislaid or lost, but the report of the committee is satisfactory evidence that it once existed, and hence we have a sufficient proof that there was a lodge in the year 1706 and very probably long before in the city of York.

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[1] "London Masonic Magazine," vol. iii., p. 259.

[2] It has been usual to quote the date of the commencement of the Minute Book of old York Lodge as 1705. But in the original the date is "7th March 1705-6." But March 7, 1705, of the old style is, according to the new style, March 18, 1706. So also, some-writers speak of the first meeting of the four lodges in London as occurring in 1716, because Anderson's date is February, 1716-17. They should remember that February, 1716-17, means always 1717.

In a work entitled the *Stream of English Freemasonry,* by Dr. J. P. Bell, a list is inserted of Grand Masters, as the author calls them, from the year 1705. But as Bro. Hughan observes, the presiding officers were always styled Presidents or Masters until 1725, when the Grand Lodge was organized and the office of Grand Master adopted.

Now, between 1705 or 1706, when we get the first authentic records of the existence of a lodge of Freemasons in the city of York, until the year 1725, when it assumed the rank and title of a Grand Lodge, the condition of guild Masonry or Freemasonry appears, so far as we can judge from existing records, to have been in about the same condition as it was in London just before the establishment of a Grand Lodge in that city at nearly the same period, with this difference, that in London there were four lodges and in York only one.

We have seen that from a very early period the guild of Operative Freemasons had existed in independent lodges established near the cathedrals or other public buildings in the construction of which they were engaged. We have seen this system pursued at the building of the Cathedral of York, and the written Constitutions which governed them then and there are extant in the *Fabric Rolls* of the Minster which have been published by the Surtees Society.

At that time the lodges were purely operative in their character. Subsequently, as in Scotland and in the south of England, persons of distinction, who were not working Masons, were admitted among the Craft, and thus the system of Theoretic or Honorary Members of the lodge was established.

The result was the same here as it had been elsewhere. The Operative element gradually yielded to the Speculative, which at the beginning of the 18th century had become in York more completely dominant than it was in London at the same period.

The manuscript book of Minutes beginning in March, 1706, has been lost, but there is extant a Roll which begins March 19, 1712, or rather 1713, for it appears that there is the same confusion of styles. The next minutes according to Bro. Hughan are of June, August, and December, 1713, which clearly shows that the minutes for March are of the same year, unless we suppose that there was a lapse of more than a year in the meetings—a thing not at all supposable.

At the lodge in March several members were sworn and admitted by Geo. Bowes, Esq., Deputy President. The Master was at that time a Speculative Freemason. In December, 1713, a "Private Lodge" was held, at which, says Hughan, "gentlemen were again admitted members, and at which Sir Walter Hawksworth, Knight and Baronet, was the President."

A "General Lodge of the Honorable Society and Company of Freemasons," so ran the Minutes, was held on Christmas, 1716, by St. John's Lodge, when John Turner, Esq., was admitted to the Society. These Minutes are signed, "Charles Fairfax, Esq. Dep. Prest."

All of which prove that at that time the Freemasons of York knew nothing of a Grand Lodge or a Grand Master, and that there was, even then, much more of the Speculative than of the Operative element in the Society.

From 1713 to 1725 there appears to have been but one lodge in the city of York, which did not, however, assume the title of a Grand Lodge, but in its minutes is called a "Private Lodge," and on a few occasions a "General Lodge." The presiding officer was called the President, who was assisted by a Deputy President.

There were at that time in the north of England many purely Operative lodges, and these as well as the York Lodge, which was more Speculative than Operative in its character, paid little or no attention to the proceedings of the Speculative Masons in London.

They gave no adherence to the Grand Lodge established in 1717, and were for a long time averse to the newly invented system by which Operative Freemasonry was displaced by a purely Speculative organization.

Still there were no signs of dissension while they all, in their implicit belief in the *Legend of the Craft*, assigned to the city of York the honor of being the birthplace of English Freemasonry. The Mother Lodge, as it was supposed to be, beheld without opposition the organization of the Grand Lodge at London, nor did it resist the Constitution in 1724 by that body of a lodge at Stockton-upon-Tees, in the adjoining county of Durham, nor of another in 1729 at Scarborough, in the county of York.

The fact is, that from 1713 to 1725 the "Old Lodge at York," as Anderson calls it, appears to have exercised but little energy. From 1713 to 1716 it held, says Findel, but one or two yearly

meetings, and none at all from 1717 to 1721, and only three meetings in the following two years.[1]

But the publication in 1723 of its *Book of Constitutions* by the Grand Lodge at London, appears to have awakened the Lodge of York into a new life.

For unless we suppose an improbable coincidence, it is very evident that some stimulus must have been applied to its energies, since in 1725 it met eleven and in 1726 thirteen times.[2]

The year 1725 was to the Lodge at York what the year 1717 had been to the four lodges of London. The same result was achieved, though the course adopted for attaining it was different.

The Grand Lodge at London had been formed by the union of four lodges, a method that has ever since been followed, except as to the precise number, in the organization of all modern Grand Lodges.

The Grand Lodge of York was established, if we can depend on the very meager details of history that have been preserved, by the simple change of title from that of a Private Lodge to that of a Grand Lodge. This change took place on December 27, 1725, when the Grand Lodge was formed by the election of Charles Bathurst as Grand Master with a Bro. Johnson as his Deputy, and Bros. Pawson and Francis Drake as Wardens. Brothers Scourfield and Inigo Russel were respectively the Treasurer and Clerk.[3]

The Grand Lodge now openly denied the superior authority of the body which had been established in London eight years before, and while it was content that that organization should be known as the "Grand Lodge of England," it assumed for itself the more pretentious title of the "Grand Lodge of all England."

In thus constituting itself a Grand Lodge by a mere change of title, and the assumption of more extensive prerogatives, the "Old Lodge at York" had asserted its belief in its own interpretation of the *Legend of the Craft.*

"You know," says Bro. Drake, its first Junior Grand Warden, "we can boast that the first Grand Lodge ever held in England was held in this city; where Edwin, the first Christian king of the Northumbers, about the sixth hundredth year after Christ, and who

[1] Findel, "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 160.

[2] Findel, ibid.

[3] Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 57, and Findel, p. 61.

laid the foundation of our cathedral, sat as Grand Master. This is sufficient to make us dispute the superiority with the lodges at London. But as nought of that kind ought to be among so amicable a fraternity, we are content they enjoy the title of Grand Master of England; but the *Totius Angliæ* we claim as our undoubted right."

Francis Drake, the author of this passage, which is taken from a speech delivered by him before the Grand Lodge at its session of December 27, 1726, was an antiquary who is well known by a work in folio published by him in 1735 on the *History and Antiquities of the City of York.* He was in respect to Freemasonry the Desaguliers of the Northern Grand Lodge. To him it was indebted for its first establishment and for the defense of its right to the position it had assumed.

Though he had been initiated only a year before his advancement to the position of Grand Warden, he seems to have taken at once a great interest in the institution and to have cultivated its history.

He was the first to advance the theory that the Edwin who is said in the *Legend of the Craft* to have convoked the General Assembly at York, was not the brother of Athelstan, but the converted King of Northumbria, and that the date of the Convocation was not in the 10th, but in the 7th, century.

This theory is now accepted by a great number of Masonic historians as the most plausible interpretation of the Legend.

Drake also exhibited in his speech a very sensible idea of what was the true origin of Freemasonry. He traces it to a purely Operative source, an opinion which is the favorite one of the historians of the present day.

The Grand Lodge at York, thus constructed by a mere change of title, had, in reality, by that act acquired a more plausible claim to be called a "Revival" than the Grand Lodge at London. It assumed to be a resumption of its functions by a Grand Lodge which had always been in existence since the days of Edwin of Northumbria, and which had been dormant for only a few years.

If this theory were sound, most undoubtedly the establishment of the Grand Lodge in 1725 would have been a real revival. Unfortunately, the facts are wanting which could support such a theory. There is not the slightest evidence, except that which is leg-

endary, that there ever was a Grand Lodge or a Grand Master in the city of York until the year 1725.

The fact is that, according to the modern principles of Masonic jurisprudence, the Grand Lodge of all England, as it styled itself, was not legally constituted, unless it be admitted that it was a mere continuation or revival of a former Grand Lodge at the same place. But this fact has not been established by any historical proof. The Grand Lodge was, therefore, really only a "Mother Lodge."

This system, where a private lodge assumes the functions and exercises the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, under the title of a "Mother Lodge," was first invented by the French innovators at a later period, and never has been acknowledged as a legal method of constitution in any English-speaking country.[1]

Laurence Dermott[2] has asserted that to form a Grand Lodge it was necessary that the representatives of five lodges should be present. He had selected this number designedly to invalidate the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of England, which had been formed by four lodges. His authority on Masonic law is not considered as good, and now the principle appears to be settled by the constant usage of America, and by its recognition in Great Britain and Ireland, that the requisite number of constituent lodges shall be limited to not less than three.

Some idea of the kind seems to have prevailed at an early period among the Masons of the south of England, although it had not been formulated into a statute, for Anderson, in 1738, spoke of the body which had been established, not as the "Grand Lodge," but as "the old Lodge of York City."[3]

So much I have deemed it necessary to say as a curious point of history, but the question of the legal constitution of the Grand Lodge of York is no longer of any judicial importance, as it has long since ceased to exist, and the lodges which were constituted

[1] This is the very epithet applied by Drake to the Grand Lodge in his celebrated speech. He calls it "the Mother Lodge of them all." See the extract from the speech farther on in this chapter.

Except in Scotland, where the Lodge of Kilwinning assumed the title of "Mother Lodge," and issued warrants for Daughter Lodges. But the act was never recognized as legal by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

[2] "Ahiman Rezon," p. xiii.

[3] "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 196.

by it were, on its dissolution, legitimately enrolled on the register of the Grand Lodge of England.

Besides the change from a Private Lodge to a Grand Lodge, which was made in 1725, others were adopted at the same time, which are worthy of notice.[1]

In 1725 and afterward the meetings of the Grand Lodge, which heretofore had been held in private houses, were transferred to taverns, in which they followed the example of their southern brethren. The "Star Inn" and the "White Swan" are recorded in the minutes of the first places of meeting.

In the earlier minutes we find the Craft styling themselves "the Honourable Society and Company of Freemasons." In 1725 they adopted the designation of the "Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons." The adoption of the word "Accepted" assimilated the Freemasons of York to those of London, from whose *Book of Constitutions* the former evidently borrowed it.

The minutes after 1725 record the initiation of "gentlemen," and the speech of Junior Warden Drake at the celebration in 1726 refers to three classes, the "working Masons," those who "are of other trades and occupations," and "gentlemen."

But there are many proofs in the records of the lodge that the second and third classes predominated, and that the Grand Lodge of York was earnestly striving, by the admission of non-Masons as members, to eliminate the Operative element, and, like its predecessor at London, to assume an entirely Speculative character.

It does not appear that at York there was that opposition to the change which had existed at London, where the Speculative element did not gain the control of the Society until six years after the organization in 1717. The Lodge at York had begun to prepare for the change twelve years before it assumed the rank of a Grand Lodge, for, in 1713, at a meeting held at Bradford, eighteen "gentlemen" were admitted into the Society.

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[1] Findel and Hughan both visited the city of York at different periods and made a personal inspection of the lodge records. It is to the "History of Freemasonry," by the former, and to the "History of Freemasonry in York," by the latter, that I am indebted for many of my facts. Preston, though furnishing abundant details, is neither accurate nor impartial, and Anderson and his successors, Entick and Northouck, supply scarcely any information. Some intimation of the character of the Grand Lodge at the time of its establishment may be derived from the speech by Bro. Drake in 1726.

From the records we learn also that the "Regulations" adopted by the Grand Lodge at London were adopted for the government of the body at York. Indeed, it is very probable that the publication of these "Regulations" in 1723 had precipitated the design of the York Freemasons to organize their Grand Lodge.

There is no doubt that in the general details of their new system they followed the "Regulations" of 1723. The titles of the presiding officers were changed in accordance with the London system from President and Deputy President to Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master, and it is supposable that other changes were made to conform to the new "Regulations."

Indeed, Anderson expressly states that the lodge at York had "the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., for substance as their Brethren of England," that is, of London.

But, in addition to the London "Regulations," the lodge at York had another set of rules for its government, which are still extant in the archives of the present York Lodge. They are contained on a sheet of parchment which is indorsed, "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725, No. 8."

These rules are said by both Findel and Hughan to have been adopted in 1725 by the new Grand Lodge. This is probable, because they are signed by "Ed. Bell, Master," who is recorded as having been the Grand Master in 1725; and they are subsequently referred to in the minutes of July 6, 1726, with the title of the "Constitutions."

But I think it equally probable that they were originally the rules which were made for the regulation of the lodge long before it assumed the rank and title of a Grand Lodge.

As the Constitution of a Grand Lodge, these rules are in remarkable contrast with the "Regulations" which were compiled by Payne for the use of the Grand Lodge at London and were published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions.*

They are nineteen in number, and with the exception of a single article—the eighth—they have the form of a set of rules for the regulation of a social and drinking club rather than that of a code of laws carefully prepared for the inauguration of a great moral and philosophical institution such as Speculative Freemasonry soon became, and such as it was evidently the design of Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson to make it.

But even as the rules of a mere club they are interesting, inasmuch as they make us acquainted, by an official authority, with the condition of Speculative Freemasonry at York, and with the social usages of the Craft there, in the second and third decades of the 18th century.

As they have been published in full only by Bro. Hughan in his *History of Freemasonry in York*, a most valuable work but of which both the English and American editions were unfortunately too limited in the number of copies to make it generally accessible, I have, therefore, thought that it would not be unacceptable to the reader to find them reprinted here. A few marginal annotations have been added which are partly intended to prove the truth of the opinion that the rules were not framed in 1725 after the Grand Lodge had been established, but had been previously used for the government of the private lodge, and were only continued in force by the Grand Lodge.

Rules Agreed to be Kept and Observed by the Ancient Society of Freemasons in the City of York, and to be Subscribed by Every Member Thereof at Their Admittance Into the Said Society.[1]

Imprimis. 1. That every first Wednesday in the month a lodge shall be held, at the house of a Brother according as their turn shall fallout.[2]

2. All subscribers to these articles, not appearing at the Monthly lodge, shall forfeit sixpence each time.

3. If any Brother appear at a lodge that is not a subscriber to these articles, he shall pay over and above his club the sum of one shilling.[3]

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[1] It will be remarked that the title "Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons" which was adopted by the Grand Lodge is not here used, but the "Ancient Society of Freemasons," which was the form employed by the "Private Lodge" in all the minutes prior to 1725. This is a very strong proof that the Rules were not framed after the Grand Lodge had been organized.

[2] Monthly meetings at the houses of different members in turn though appropriate enough for a private lodge, would scarcely have been adopted as a regulation by a Grand Lodge. In this article we clearly see what was the usage of the old lodge before it promoted itself to a higher rank.

[3] This article was evidently designed not for a Grand Lodge, but for the private lodge pursuing the social usages of a club. Freemasons who were not members of it might appear as visitors, but every visitor in addition to his "club," or share of the expenses of the evening which were equally distributed among all, was required to pay an additional shilling for the privilege of the visit.

4. The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese and Tobacco in common, but if anything more shall be called for by any brother, either for eating or drinking, that Brother so calling shall pay for it, himself, besides his club.[1]

5. The Master or Deputy shall be obliged to call for a Bill exactly at ten o'clock, if they meet in the evening and discharge it.[2]

6. None to be admitted to the Making of a Brother but such as have subscribed to these articles.[3]

7. Timely notice shall be given to all the Subscribers when a Brother or Brothers are to be made.

8. Any Brother or Brothers presuming to call a lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons, without the Master or Deputy, or one of them deputed, for every such offense shall forfeit Five Pounds.[4]

9. Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother shall forfeit one shilling.

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[1] This article must satisfy us that the "Old Lodge at York" had adopted the usages of the age, and while it cultivated Masonry from its ancient associations, it, like other societies of that period in England, indulged its members with the rational enjoyment of moderate refreshment, but strictly provided, by regulation, against all excess. The bowl was to be filled with punch only once. Other lodges elsewhere had similar regulations; they formed a part of the lodge organization in the beginning of the last century, when almost all associations assumed the form of clubs. But this very fact warrants us in believing that the rule was made for the government of the lodge, before it declared itself to be a Grand Lodge.

[2] The calling for the bill and the settlement of the expenses of the night's meeting is a rule that was universally adopted by all clubs. But mark the use of the word "Master" instead of "Grand Master." If these rules had been framed by the Grand Lodge in 1725, we may suppose that the latter title would have been employed.

[3] The "making" of Masons is no part of the business of a Grand Lodge. The London "Regulations," it is true, for a short time prescribed that Fellow-Crafts and Master Masons should be made in the Grand Lodge, but the "making of Masons," that is, the initiation of candidates into the Society, was always done in a particular or subordinate lodge. The Grand Lodge of York having, when it was established, no constituents, since it was formed by a self-transmutation from a lodge to a Grand Lodge, must, of course. have continued to initiate or make brothers. But the rule most probably was made when the lodge was in its primary condition.

[4] We must not suppose that "to call a lodge" denoted to hold a new lodge without warrant. If that were the meaning, the rule must have been enacted by a Grand Lodge. But the true meaning was that no brothers should call a meeting of the lodge without the consent of the Master. This is strictly a lodge rule. And here again we mark that the authority for calling was to come, not from the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, but from the Master of the lodge.

10. Clerk's Salary for keeping the Books and Accounts shall be one shilling, to be paid him by each Brother at his admittance, and at each of the two Grand days he shall receive such gratuity as the Company shall think proper.

11. A Steward to be chose for keeping the Stock at the Grand Lodge, at Christmas and the Accounts to be passed three days after each lodge.[1]

12. If any dispute shall arise, the Master shall silence them by a knock of the Mallet; any Brother that shall presume to disobey, shall immediately be obliged to leave the Company or forfeit five shillings.[2]

13. A Hour shall be set apart to talk Masonry.[3]

14. No person shall be admitted into the lodge but after having been strictly examined.[4]

15. No more persons shall be admitted as Brothers of this Society that shall keep a Public House.[5]

16. That these articles shall at lodges be laid upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, and also when any new Brothers are made, the clerk shall publickly read them.

17. Every new Brother, at his admittance, shall pay to the Waits,[6] as their Salary, the sum of two Shillings, the money to be

[1] In the whole of the nineteen rules this is the only one in which we find the title "Grand Lodge." The epithet "Grand," or perhaps the entire article was inserted, it is to be supposed, when the rules of the Old Lodge were adopted, confirmed or continued by it, when it became a self-constituted Grand Lodge. It was necessary to appoint a Treasurer, here called a Steward, to take charge of the stock or fund of the Grand Lodge and to account for all expenditures. I am inclined to believe that the rule, like the other eighteen, was originally framed by the lodge, but on account of the financial importance of the subject made more specific when it was adopted by the Grand Lodge, so as to define precisely what fund it was, that had been entrusted to the Steward.

[2] Note again the use of "Master" and not "Grand Master."

[3] "But one half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!" An hour "to talk Masonry," once a month! Still, thankful for small favors, we recognize in this Article the connection of the club with the ancient Craft.

[4] That visitors were required to submit to an examination proves that the ritual practiced by the lodge at York was the same as that in common use by the Craft elsewhere. Otherwise there could be no satisfactory examination of visiting strangers.

[5] This was a very general and necessary rule with the clubs of the 18th century. As they were almost always held at taverns, it was deemed expedient to avoid any more friendly relation with the landlord than that of hired host and guests who paid their scot as they went.

[6] Waits, says Mr. Raine, in his "Glossary of the Fabric Rolls," are "musicians who still (1859) parade the towns in the north of England at Christmas-time. At Durham

lodged in the Steward's hands and paid to them at each of the Grand days.[1]

18. The Bidder of the Society shall receive of each new Brother, at his admittance, the sum of one shilling as his Salary.[2]

19. No money shall be expended out of the Stock after the hour of ten, as in the fifth article.

These rules appear to me to throw very considerable light upon the rather uncertain subject of the condition of Freemasonry in the city of York before and at the time of the establishment of what is known as the "Grand Lodge of all England."

Whether the usual theory that York was the birthplace of English Freemasonry, and that it was founded there in the 10th century by Prince Edwin, the brother of King Athelstan, as the old manuscripts say, or in the 7th century by Edwin, King of Northumbria, as was, for the first time, advanced by Drake in his speech made in 1726—whether this theory is to be considered as an historical statement, or merely an unsupported tradition, is a question that need not now be discussed.

The architectural history of the church, cathedral, or, as it is now commonly called, the Minster of York, may be comprised in a few lines.

In 627 a wooden church was built by Edwin, King of Northumbria, at the suggestion of Bishop Paulinus, who had converted him to Christianity.[3]

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they had a regular livery and wore a silver badge. Their musical abilities at the present time are not of the most striking character, but formerly they were deemed worthy enough to assist the choristers of the Minster." In the "Fabric Rolls" under the date of 1602 there is a charge "to the Waites for their musicke to the same do. Imbassiador, 13s. 4d." It was the Spanish Ambassador who was thus complimented at the expense of the Chapter during his visit to York. It is possible that as an extraordinary occasion a supper may have followed the initiation of a new brother, when the musical service of the Waites would be required to give zest to the entertainment.

[1] Grand Days, says Brady (Clavis, Calendaria I., 164), were Candlemas Day, Ascension Day, Midsummer Day, and All Saints' Day. They were so called in the Inns of Court. The lodge might, however, have had, as its Grand Days, the festivals of St. John the Baptist and of St. John the Evangelist. This is merely problematical.

[2] The members were to receive "timely notice" when a Brother was to be made (Rule 7). He who served the notices and summoned the members was called the "Bidder."

[3] Bede says that the wooden church was temporarily erected for the public baptism of the king, but that immediately afterward he began a large stone edifice which included the wooden one, which was finished by his successor, Oswald. "Hist. Eccles.," ii., 14.

In 669 Bishop Wilfrid, the successor of Paulinus, made many important repairs and furnished the interior anew.

In 741, according to Roger Hovedon, the Minster was destroyed by fire.

In 767, according to Alcuin, who assisted in the work, Archbishop Albert erected a most magnificent basilica. This church, Raine thinks, was in existence at the time of the Norman Conquest, but in 1069 it was destroyed by fire.

In 1070 Bishop Thomas, the Norman, rebuilt the church from its foundations.

This church remained without alteration until 1171, when Archbishop Roger began to build a new choir. Raine doubts the story that the church of Archbishop Thomas was, in 1137, destroyed by fire.

In 1240 Archbishop Roger built the south transept, and immediately after commenced the building of the north transept.

In 1291 Archbishop John Romain laid the first stone of a new nave, which was completed in 1340 by Archbishop Melton.[1]

It is at about this period that we become, through the *Fabric Rolls*, familiarly acquainted with the usages of the Freemasons who were employed from that time to its completion in the construction of the Minster under the direction of the Chapter of the church.

In 1361 the Presbytery was begun and completed in 1373 by Archbishop Thoresby.

In 1380 the choir was commenced, and the works being carried on without interruption, it was completed in 1400.

In 1405 the work of the central tower was begun and finished at an uncertain period.

In 1432 the southwestern tower was begun, and at a later date the northwestern tower was erected, both being completed about 1470, when the painted vault of the central tower was set up and finished.

In 1472, the work having been completed, the Cathedral was reconsecrated.

It is thus seen that for the long period of eight hundred and forty-five years, with intervals of cessation, the great work of build-

[1] So far I have been indebted for dates to the authority of Raine. Preface to "Fabric Rolls," pp. vii. et seq. What follows has been derived from R. Willis, "Architectural History of York Cathedral," p. 47.

ing a cathedral in the city of York was pursued by Masons, most of whom were brought from the continent.

Roger, the Prior of Hexham, who lived in the 12th century, tells us that Bishop Wilfrid, while building the first stone church at York, brought into England Masons and other skillful artisans from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries wherever he could find them.[1]

Of the usages and regulations of these Masons, or of their organization as a guild or fraternity, we have no knowledge except that which is derived from conjecture or analogy.

But it is historically certain from the authority of the *Fabric Rolls*, to which such frequent reference has been made, that from the beginning of the 14th century Freemasons were employed in the construction of the cathedral which was then in course of erection, and that these Freemasons were organized into a body similar in its organization to that of the workmen who were engaged in the building of the cathedrals of Cologne and of Strasburg.

It is a singular coincidence, if it be nothing more, and it is certainly of great historical importance, that no manuscript Constitution yet discovered is claimed to have an older date than that of the 14th century, and about the time when the Freemasons of York were occupied in the construction of the cathedral of that city.

Hence it would not be an unreasonable hypothesis to suppose that the Freemasons who built the Cathedral of York in the 14th century were the original composers of the first of the "Old Constitutions," and of the *Legend of the Craft* which they all contain.

This would rationally account for the fact that in this Legend the origin of Freemasonry in England, as a guild, is attributed to Masons who congregated in the city of York, and there held a General Assembly.

If the Freemasons of the southern part of England had been the fabricators of the first copy of these Constitutions, they would have been more likely in framing the Legend to have selected London or some southern city as the birthplace of their guild, than to have chosen for that honor a city situated in the remotest limits of the

[1] De Roma, quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicumque invenire poterat, cementarios, et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat. Roger, Prior, Hagulst. liber i., cap. 5.

kingdom, and of which, from the difficulties of intercommunication, they would have no familiar knowledge.

But, on the other hand, nothing could be more natural than that the Freemasons who were living and working at York in the 14th century should have had a tradition among themselves that at some time in the remote past their predecessors had held a great convocation in their own city, and there and then framed that body of laws which were to become the Constitution of the Craft.

It is a self-evident proposition that there must have been a time when, and a place where, the first manuscript Constitution was written, and the *Legend of the Craft* was first committed to writing.

As to the time, we know of no manuscript that is older than the 14th century. The earliest is the Halliwell poem, and it has been assigned by competent authority to the year 1390. But there are good reasons for believing that the work published by Mr. Halliwell is really a compilation made up of two preceding poems, which might have been composed a few years before, and which would thus be brought to the very period when the Freemasons were at work on the York Cathedral.

As to the place where, we have only the internal evidence of the *Legend of the Craft*, which, as I have before said, would indicate from the story of the Assembly at York that the Legend was fabricated by the Freemasons of that city out of a tradition that was extant among them.

That the Halliwell poem does not particularize the city of York by name as the place where the General Assembly was held, is no proof that it was not so stated in the unwritten tradition out of which the poem was constructed. The tradition was probably so well known, so familiar to the Masons at York, that the writer of the poem did not deem it necessary to define the Assembly further than by the name of him who called it. But two centuries after, when the Freemasons of the south of England began to make copies of the Legend, they found it necessary to follow the tradition more closely and to define York as the place where the Assembly was held.

And then, too, these southern English Freemasons sought to impair the claim of their northern Brethren, and thus in the Cooke MS., written more than a century after the Halliwell poem, the "Legend of St. Alban" is introduced, and the Masons of Verulam

are said, instead of those of York, to have had "charges and maners" that is, Masonic laws and usages, "first in England."[1] But the later manuscripts admit the decay of Masonry after the death of St. Alban, and its subsequent revival at York.

Now, as the Halliwell poem speaks of the Assembly as having been held at "that syte," and as the subsequent manuscripts name that city as York, and retain the same tradition as the poem, we may, as Bro. Woodford justly says, fairly conclude that the "syte" or city in the Halliwell poem refers to York.

We need not absolutely determine, even if we could, whether Freemasonry was first established in England as a guild, at the city of York, as the earliest manuscript and the prototype of all the others says; or whether after its decadence subsequent to the rule of St. Alban, it was only revived in that city. Nor need we seek to settle the question whether the General Assembly was held and the Charges instituted by Edwin, the brother of Athelstan, in the 10th century, as all the old manuscripts say, or by Edwin, King of Northumbria, in the 7th, as was first advanced by Mr. Drake in 1726 (a theory which has since been adopted by several scholars), or finally by the Freemasons who built the York Cathedral in the 14th century, which appears to me to be the most plausible of all the hypotheses.

This need not, however, affect the probability of the fact that similar organizations existed among the Freemasons who at the same time were employed in the constructions of cathedrals in other parts of England and Scotland, of whose existence we have historical certainty, but of whose customs and regulations we have no knowledge because their *Fabric Rolls* have been either irrecoverably lost or have not yet been discovered.

Accepting, then, any of the three theories which have just been alluded to, we will arrive at the conclusion that Freemasonry assumed at the city of York that form which was represented at first by the building corporations or Craft guilds, known as Operative lodges in the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, and which in the 18th underwent a transmutation into that system of Speculative Freemasonry of which the Masonic lodges of the present day are the lineal offspring.

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[1] Cooke MS., line 608.

It is true that such an hypothesis is based on tradition only and on a recorded legend. But this tradition is so universal and is sustained by so much of logical inference and by so many collateral authentic circumstances, which can only be explained by a reference to that tradition, that the tradition itself becomes invested with an almost historical character.

Resuming, then, the history of the rise and progress of the Grand Lodge of all England, we find its germ in the guild of those Operative Freemasons who, certainly in the 14th and 15th centuries, were employed in the construction of the Cathedral of York, even if we do not choose to trace them to a remoter period.

There is no reason to suppose that there was a cessation of the labors of the York Lodge when the Cathedral was completed in 1472.[1] We infer not only that it continued to exist, but that it extended its influence, for there is abundance of proof that there were many lodges in other parts of England, and the old manuscript charges show that these lodges were all regulated by one common law and by similar usages.

But of the especial history of the lodge at York during the 16th century we have no authentic information. We infer, however, that it was in existence early in the 17th, because a manuscript copy of the "Old Constitutions" and the "Legend" was prepared for it in 1630. This manuscript was in the archives of the lodge in 1777, but was afterward lost.

There is also in the archives of the York Lodge another and a later manuscript Constitution which is still extant, and which bears the date of 1693. The lodge was, we may presume, at that time in active operation.

We have next an authentic record that the minutes of the lodge as early as 1704 were at one time in existence. These minutes have been unfortunately mislaid or lost, and the earliest records of the lodge which have been preserved, commence with the year 1712.

I will not cite the unreliable statements of Preston and some other writers, that there was a Grand Lodge and a Grand Master at York in the 16th century, because they are entirely without proof. We are studying history, not amusing ourselves with fiction.

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[1] As the church had been in fact rebuilt, it was reconsecrated on July 3, 1472, and that day was deemed to be the feast of the dedication of the church of York in future. Willis, "Architectural History of York Cathedral," p. 47.

But we do know that there was an Operative lodge at York about the close of the 14th century and for many years previous, and we also know that there was an Operative lodge in the same city about the beginning of the 17th century which was continued until the beginning of the 18th, and with no evidence to the contrary, we rightly infer that the one was the descendant or successor of the other.

Dr. J. P. Bell, in a work entitled the *Stream of English History,* gives a list of the presiding officers of the lodge from 1705 to 1781. I have not been able to get access to a copy of this work, and I am indebted for what I know of it to Bro. Hughan, who refers to it in his *History of Freemasonry in York.*

Hughan says that the List may be relied on. The author is, however, in error in assigning the title of Grand Master to the officers who presided from 1705 to 1724. They were, until the latter date, called "Presidents" or "Masters," and it was not until the lodge assumed the rank of a Grand Lodge in 1725 that the title of "Grand Master" was adopted.

Up to the year 1725 the lodge at York was strictly what it called itself, a "Private Lodge," and in its minutes it bears the name of St. John's Lodge. Preston says that in 1705 there were several lodges in York and its neighborhood. But I fail to find any other proof of this fact than his own assertion. Unfortunately, the disputes between the Lodge of Antiquity, of which Preston was a member, and the Grand Lodge of England, in which the Grand Lodge of York took a part, had created such a partisan feeling in Preston and his friends against the former and for the latter body, that his authority on any subject connected with York Masonry is of doubtful value. His natural desire was to magnify the Grand Lodge which had taken his own lodge under its protection, and to depreciate the one against which it had rebelled.

Until the contrary is shown by competent authority we must believe that in 1705 there was but one lodge at York, the same which twenty years afterward assumed the title and functions of a Grand Lodge.

From its earliest records we find that, though this was an Operative lodge in name, because at that time all Masonic lodges were of that character, yet the Theoretic members greatly predominated in numbers over the practical or working Masons. It was thus

gradually preparing the way for that change into a purely Speculative institution which about the same time was taking place in London.

It appears from the speech of the Junior Grand Warden, Drake, delivered before the Grand Lodge in 1726, that there were at that time three classes of members in the York Lodge, namely, "working Masons, persons of other trades and occupations, and Gentlemen." To the first of these classes he recommended a careful perusal of the Constitution, to the second class he counselled obedience to the moral precepts of the Society, and attention to their own business, without any expectation of becoming proficients in Operative Masonry. "You cannot," he says, "be so absurd as to think that a tailor, when admitted a Freemason, is able to build a church; and for that reason, your own vocation ought to be your most important study." On the "gentlemen" only, did he impress the necessity of a knowledge of the arts and sciences, and he especially recommended to them the study of geometry and architecture.

Francis Drake,[1] the author of this Speech, was a scholar of much learning and an antiquary. Like his contemporary, George Payne, of the London Grand Lodge, whom he resembled in the nature of his literary pursuits, his ambition seems to have been to establish a system of pure Speculative Freemasonry, to be created by its total severance from the Operative element.

Something of this kind he distinctly expresses in the close of his Speech before the Grand Lodge.

"It is true," he says, addressing the Gentlemen or Theoretic members, "by Signs, Words, and Tokens, you are put upon a level with the meanest brother; but then you are at liberty to exceed them as far as a superior genius and education will conduct you.

[1] He was born in 1695, and in early life established himself at York as a surgeon and practiced, Britton says, with considerable reputation, but the investigation of antiquarian researches was his favorite pursuit. He published a "Parliamentary History of England to the Restoration" and many essays in the "Archæologia" and in the "Philosophical Transactions." His principal work, however, and the one by which he is best remembered, was published at London in 1736 under the title of "Eboracum," or the "History and Antiquities of the City of York from its Original to the Present Time." From its title we learn that Drake was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London. The work is in two folio volumes and illustrated by many engravings, which, considering the most of them were donations to himself and his work, made by his wealthy patrons, might have been executed in a better style of art.

I am creditably informed that in most lodges in London, and several other parts of this kingdom, a lecture on some point of geometry or architecture is given at every meeting. And why the Mother Lodge of them all should so far forget her own institutions can not be accounted for, but from her extreme old age. However, being now sufficiently awakened and revived by the comfortable appearance of so many worthy sons, I must tell you that she expects that every Gentleman who is called a Freemason should not be startled at a problem in geometry, a proposition in Euclid, or, at least, be wanting on the history and just distinctions of the five orders of architecture."

On December 27, 1725, the lodge resolved itself into a Grand Lodge (I know not how to use a better term), and Charles Bathurst, Esq., was elected Grand Master, with Mr. Johnson for his Deputy, and Messrs. Pawson and Drake, both of whom had been initiated in the previous September, as Grand Wardens.[1]

On the festival of St. John the Evangelist, in the following year,[2] Bathurst was again elected Grand Master, and the Society marched in procession to Merchants' Hall, where a Speech was delivered by Bro. Francis Drake, the Junior Grand Warden.

Like its sister of London, the Grand Lodge at York was troubled with schism at a very early period of its existence.[3] William Sourfield had convened a lodge and made Masons without the consent of the Grand Master or his Deputy. For this offense he was expelled, or as the Minutes say, "banished from the Society for ever."

It was agreed that John Carpenter, W. Musgrave, Th. Alleson, and Th. Preston, who had assisted Sourfield in his illegal proceedings, should, on their acknowledging their error and making due submission, be restored to favor.

Findel gives the following account of the subsequent proceedings which was taken by him from the Minutes of the Grand Lodge

"After the Minutes of December 22, 1726, a considerable space

[1] Bro. Findel, who had inspected the Minutes while on a visit to York, says these officers are there called Wardens, and not Grand Wardens. "History of Freemasonry," p. 161.

[2] Findel gives this date as 1725, but he is clearly in error, as the printed title of the Speech states that it was delivered "on St. John's Day, December 27, 1726."

[3] The reader is reminded of the schismatic proceedings at the London Grand Lodge in 1722 in reference to the election of the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master.

is left in the page,[1] and then follow the Minutes of June 21, 1729, wherein it is said that two Gentlemen were received into the St. John's Lodge and their election confirmed by vote: Edw. Thompson, Esq., Grand Master; John Willmers, Deputy Grand Master; G. Rhodes, and Reynoldson, Grand Wardens. The Grand Master on his part appointed a Committee of seven brothers, amongst whom was Drake, to assist him in the management of the lodge, and every now and then support his authority in removing any abuses which might have crept in.

"The lodge was, however, at its last gasp, and therefore the Committee seem to have effected but little; for on May 4, 1730, it was found necessary to exact the payment of a shilling from all officers of the lodge who did not make their appearance and with this announcement the Minutes close."[2]

At this time, according to Findel, there were no lodges subordinate to the Grand Lodge. His statement, however, that after the meeting in May, 1730, it was inactive until 1760, is shown by the records to be not precisely accurate.

The fact is that the lodge, or the Grand Lodge, after 1729, must for some years have dragged out a life of inactivity. Bell's list shows that there were no Grand Masters (probably because there were no meetings) in 1730, 1731, and 1732. John Johnson, M.D.,is recorded as Grand Master in 1733, and John Marsden, Esq., in 1734.

There are no records of Grand Masters or of Proceedings from 1734 until 1761. During that period of twenty years, while the Grand Lodge of England was diffusing the light of Speculative Freemasonry throughout the world, the Grand Lodge of all England was asleep, if not actually defunct.

From this long slumber it awoke in the year 1761, and the method of its awaking is made known to us in the Minutes of the meeting which have been preserved.

As this event is one of much importance in the history of Freemasonry at York, I do not hesitate to copy the Minute in full.

The Ancient and Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons, belonging to the City of York, was, this Seven-

[1] In Dr. Bell's List, heretofore cited, there are no names of Grand Masters in 1722 and 1728.

[2] "History of Freemasonry," p. 164.

teenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1761, Revived by Six of the Surviving Members of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge being opened, and held at the House of Mr. Henry Howard, in Lendall, in the said City, by them and others hereinafter named.

When and where it was farther agreed on that it should be continued and held there only the Second and Last Monday in every Month.

PRESENT:

Grand Master, Brother	Francis Drake, Esq., F.R.S.
Deputy G. M. "	George Reynoldson.
Grand Wardens "	George Coates and Thomas Mason.

VISITING BRETHREN:

Tasker, Leng, Swetnam, Malby, Beckwith, Frodsham, Fitzmaurice, Granger, Crisp, Oram, Burton, and Howard.

Minutes of the Transactions at the Revival and Opening of the said Grand Lodge:

Brother John Tasker was, by the Grand Master and the rest of the Brethren, unanimously appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer, he having just petitioned to become a Member and being approved and accepted nem. con.

Brother Henry Howard also petitioned to be admitted a Member, who was accordingly ballotted for and approved nem. con.

Mr. Charles Chaloner, Mr. Seth Agar, George Palmes, Esq., Mr. Ambrose Beckwith, and Mr. William Siddall petitioned to be made Brethren the first opportunity, who, being severally ballotted for, were all approved of nem. con.

This Lodge was closed till Monday, the 23d day of this instant Month, unless in case of Emergency.

The Grand Lodge, thus revived, had at first and for some years but one constituent lodge under its obedience, or, to speak more correctly, the Grand Lodge of all England and the Lodge at York were really one and the same body. While it claimed the title and the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, it also performed the functions of a private lodge in making Masons. But it afterward increased its constituency, and in the year 1769 granted Warrants for opening lodges at Ripon, at Knaresborough, and at Iniskilling.

In 1767 the Grand Lodge of England, at London, had addressed a report of the business done at its quarterly communication to a lodge held at the Punch Bowl, in the city of York, and to which lodge it had granted a Warrant, as No. 259, on the 12th of January, 1761.

But this lodge having ceased to exist, the document appears to have fallen into the hands of the Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge. It was laid before the Grand Lodge at a meeting held on the 14th December, 1767, when it was resolved that a letter should be sent by the Grand Secretary to the Grand Lodge at London.

In this letter the pretensions of the York Grand Lodge are set forth in very emphatic terms. It is stated that "the Most Ancient Grand Lodge of all England, held from time immemorial in this city (York), is the only Lodge held therein."

It is also stated that "this Lodge acknowledges no Superior, that it exists in its own Right, that it grants Constitutions and Certificates in the same manner as is done by the Grand Lodge in London, and as it has from Time immemorial had a Right and used to do, and that it distributes its own Charity according to the true principles of Masons."

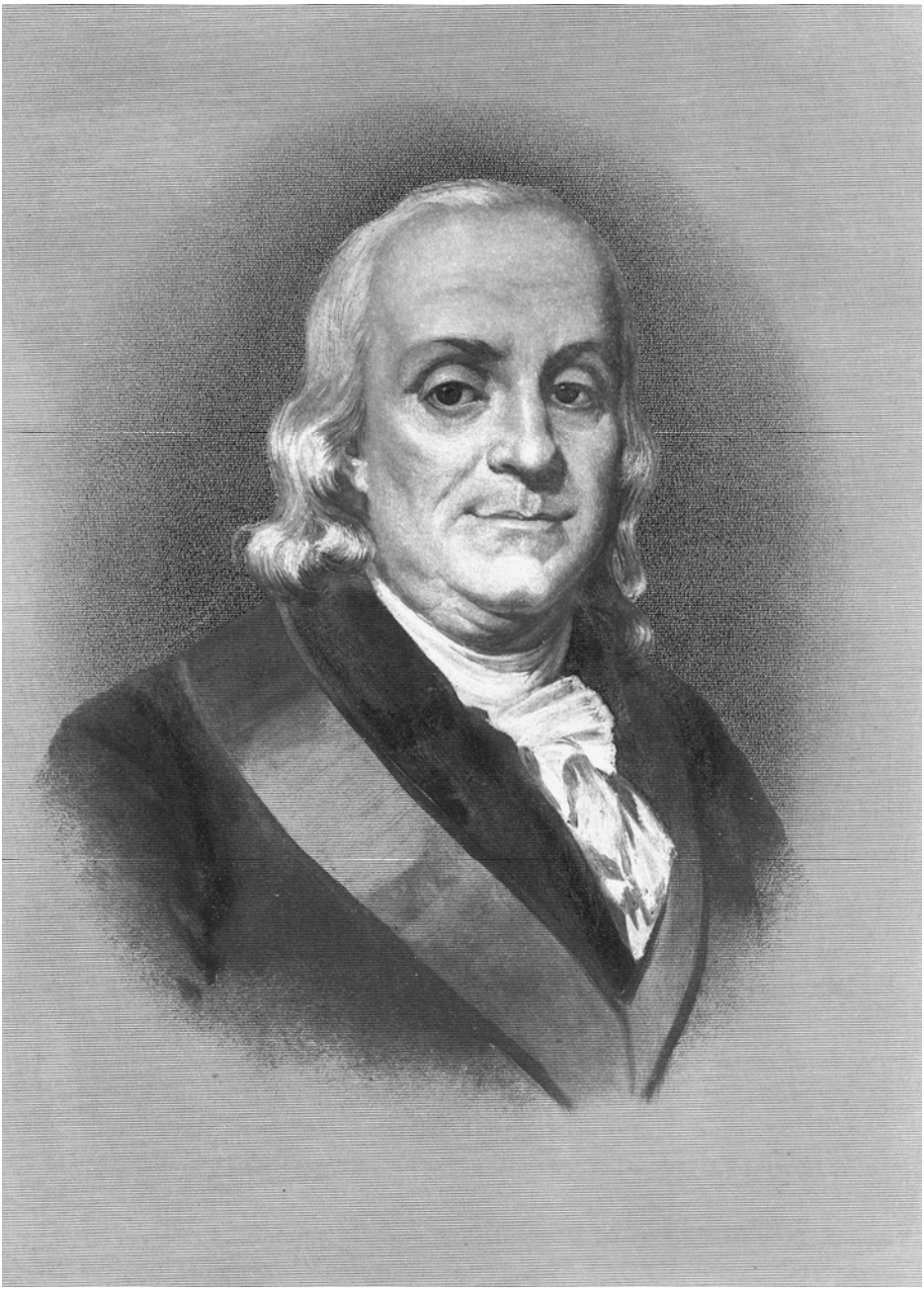
Hence it does not doubt that the Grand Lodge at London will pay due respect to it and to the Brethren made by it, professing that it had ever had a very great esteem for that body and the brethren claiming privileges under its authority.

Findel says that "a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England in London, in the year 1767, proves that the York Lodge was then on the best of terms with the former."[1]

I confess that I fail to find the proof of this feeling simply because there is no proof of the correspondence of which Findel speaks. A correspondence is the mutual interchange of letters. The Grand Lodge in London had sent an official communication to a lodge in the city of York, ignoring, in so doing, the Grand Lodge of York. This was itself an act of discourtesy. The lodge having been discontinued, this communication comes into the possession of the Grand Lodge at York, for which it had not been originally intended. It sends to the Grand Lodge at London a letter in which it asserts its equality with that Grand Lodge and the

[1] "History of Freemasonry," p. 166.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



immemorial right that it had to grant Warrants, which right it trusts that the Grand Lodge in London will respect.

It appears to me that this language, if it means anything, is a mild protest against the further interference of the London Grand Lodge, with the territorial jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in York.

It is true that in the close of the letter the York Grand Lodge expresses its esteem for the Body at London and its willingness to concur with it in anything that will affect the general good of Masonry.

The letter was dignified and courteous. It asserted rights and prerogatives, which it need not have done if they had not been invaded, and it made the offer of a compact of friendship.

To this letter there is no evidence that the Grand Lodge of England deigned to make a reply. It was treated with frigid silence, and hence there was no correspondence between the two bodies.

Bro. Hughan, however, concurs with Bro. Findel, so far as to say that this letter is of much consequence in proving that the two Grand Lodges were on excellent terms.[1]

I am very reluctant to differ with two such authorities on Masonic history, but I can not consider that the conclusion to which Bro. Hughan has arrived is a legitimate one. The letter certainly shows a desire on the part of the Grand Lodge of York to cultivate friendly relations with that in London. But there is no evidence that the amicable feeling was reciprocated.

On the contrary, all the records go to show that the Grand Lodge at London was aggressive in repeated acts which demonstrated that it did not think it necessary to respect the territorial rights of the Masonic authority at York.

In 1738 Dr. Anderson speaks of it not as a Grand Lodge, but as "the Old Lodge at York" which he says "affected independence." It was evidently, in his opinion, merely a lodge that was unwilling to place itself under obedience to his own Grand Lodge.

That the Grand Lodge of England refused to recognize the authority of the lodge at York in its sovereign capacity as a Grand

[1] "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 70.

Lodge having territorial jurisdiction over the north of England or even over the two Ridings of Yorkshire is shown by the records. In 1729, four years only after the lodge at York had assumed the title of a Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodge of England constituted a lodge at Scarborough; in 1738 another at Halifax; in 1761, a third and fourth at the city of York, and at Darlington the one two months before and the other three months after the York Grand Lodge had been resuscitated; in 1762, a fifth at Orley; in 1763, a sixth at Richmond; and in 1766, a seventh at Wakefield, all situated within the county of York, and one in the very city where the Grand Lodge held its sessions.

It is not surprising that the York Grand Lodge in time resorted to reprisals, and as will presently be seen, most decidedly invaded the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge at London.

Dr. Bell, in *his History of the Grand Lodge of York*,[1] says that "the two Grand Lodges continued to go on amicably until the year 1734, when in consequence of the Grand Lodge of England having granted Warrants, out of its prescribed jurisdiction, shyness between the lodges ensued."

Both Bell and Findel, who make the same statement as to a lodge warranted in 1734, are wrong as to the date, for no lodge was constituted in York by the Grand Lodge of England in that year. But as it had constituted one in 1729, I am ready to give credit to the account of the "shyness." The mistake of a date will not affect the existence of the feeling.

Preston commits the same error as Bell and Findel concerning the Constitution of two lodges in York in 1734.[2] But he adds what is of importance, considering his intimacy with the subject, that the Grand Lodge in York highly resented the encroachments

[1] "History of the Provincial Grand Lodge of North and East Yorkshire, Including Notices of the Ancient Grand Lodge of York," cited by Bro. Hughan in his "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 45.

[2] It is from Preston that Bell and Findel have derived their authority for the statement of lodges having been constituted in 1734. Bro. Hughan investigated the subject with his wonted perseverance and says that "there is no register of any lodge being warranted or Constituted in Yorkshire or neighborhood in A.D. 1734. We have searched every List of Lodges of any consequence from A.D. 1738 to A.D. 1784, including the various editions of the Constitutions, Freemason's Calendars, Companions and Pocket Books, etc., but can not find any "Deputation granted within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of all England, during 1734 by the Grand Lodge of England." "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 47.

of the Grand Lodge of England on its jurisdiction and "ever after seems to have viewed the proceedings of the Brethren in the South with a jealous eye; as all friendly intercourse ceased, and the York Masons from that moment considered their interests distinct from the Masons under the Grand Lodge in London."[1]

Soon after the revival of the Grand Lodge it was visited by Preston and Calcott, two distinguished Masonic writers, and Hughan supposed that about this time the Royal Arch degree was introduced into the York system by the latter. This subject will, however, be more appropriately considered in a distinct chapter devoted to the history of that degree.

From the time of its re-opening in 1761 until near the close of the 18th century the Grand Lodge appears to have flourished with considerable activity.[2]

The festival of St. John the Evangelist was celebrated in 1770 by a procession to church, and a sermon on the appropriate text "God is love." Representatives from the three lodges at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Iniskilling were present. Sir Thomas Gascoigne was elected Grand Master.[3]

In the same year a Warrant was granted for the Constitution of a lodge at Macclesfield in Cheshire, so that there were now at least four subordinates acknowledging obedience to the York Grand Lodge.

A controversy having sprung up between the Lodge of Antiquity in London and the Grand Lodge of England, the former body withdrew from its allegiance to the latter, and in 1778 received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of York, authorizing it to assemble as a Grand Lodge for all that part of England situated to the south of the river Trent.

This episode in the history of the Freemasonry of England,

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[1] Preston, Jones edition, p. 214.

[2] Findel says that from 1765 the name of "Bro. Drake is seldom mentioned." If we consider that at that date Drake had reached the seventieth year of his age, and that five years afterward, in 1770, he died, we will find ample cause in the infirmities of age for his withdrawal from participation in the active duties of Masonic labor.

[3] This baronet was a lineal descendant of Nicholas Gascoigne, the brother of that celebrated Chief Justice who in the reign of Henry IV. committed the heir apparent to the throne, the "Merry Prince Hal," to prison for contempt of court. He was a native and resident of Yorkshire, having seats at Barstow, Lasingcroft, and Parlington, all in the county. See Kimber and Johnson's "Baronetage of England," London, 1771, vol. iii., p. 352.

which involved very important results, demands and must receive a more detailed consideration in a distinct chapter.

It is scarcely necessary to pursue the minute history of the Grand Lodge of York from that period to the date of its final collapse.

The last reference in the minutes of the lodge at York to the Grand Lodge of all England has the date of August 23, 1792. It is a rough minute on a sheet of paper, which records the election of Bro. Wolley as Grand Master, George Kitson as Grand Treasurer, and Richardson and Williams as Grand Wardens.[1]

We have no evidence from any records that the Grand Lodge ever met again. It seems to have silently collapsed; the lodge at York continued its existence as a private lodge, and finally came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

In fact, as the Rev. Bro. Woodford has stated, the York Grand Lodge was never formally dissolved, but simply was absorbed, so to say, by the predominance of its more prosperous southern rival of 1717.[2]

In bringing this history of the rise and progress of Speculative Freemasonry in the city of York to a close, I am almost irresistibly impressed with the opinion that the "Old Lodge at York" was never, in the legal sense of the word, a Grand Lodge. It was not formed, like the Grand Lodge at London, by the union and co-operation of several private lodges. It was never recognized as such by the Grand Lodge of England, but was always known as the "Old Lodge at York."

Anderson so called it in 1738, and his successor, Northouck, writing in 1784, says of it that "the ancient York Masons were confined to one lodge, which is still extant, but consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated."[3]

It was simply, like the lodges of Kilwinning in Scotland and of Marseilles in France, a "Mother Lodge," a term which, in Masonic language, has been used to denote a private lodge which, of its own motion, has assumed the prerogatives and functions of a Grand Lodge by granting Warrants. This title was applied to it by Drake,

[1] Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 79.

[2] The connection of York with the "History of Freemasonry in England," by A. F. A. Woodward, A.M., in Hughan's "Unpublished Records of the Craft," p. 172.

[3] Northouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 240.

its Junior Grand Warden, when he delivered his "Speech" in 1726, the year after it had assumed the attitude of a Grand Lodge.

But it continued at all times to exercise the function of "making Masons," a function which has been invariably delegated by Grand Lodges to their subordinates.

As late as the year 1761, when, after a long slumber, the Grand Lodge was revived, one of its first acts was to ballot for five candidates who were, on the first opportunity, initiated by it.

In the rules adopted for its government in 1725 the title of "Lodge" is used by it five times as the designation of the Society, and that of "Grand Lodge" only once in reference to the funds.

Their rules are signed by Ed. Bell, who calls himself not "Grand Master," but simply "Master." In the vacillating position in which the Freemasons of York had placed themselves, between a desire to imitate their London brethren by establishing a Grand Lodge and a reluctance to abandon the old organization of a private lodge, they entirely lost sight of the true character of a Grand Lodge, as determined by the example of 1717.

It is not, therefore, surprising, as Bro. Hughan remarks, that these rules should offer a strange contrast to the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England which had been published two years before.

There can, however, be little or no doubt, as the same astute writer has observed, that in consequence of the publication of the London Constitutions the Freemasons of York "began to stir themselves and to assume the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge."

It is to be regretted that in borrowing from their Brethren the title of a Grand Lodge, the York Freemasons did not also follow their example by adopting the same regularity of organization.

In view of all these facts it is impossible to recognize the body at York in any other light than that of a Mother Lodge, a body assuming, without the essential preliminaries, the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, while to the body established at London in 1717 must be conceded the true rank and title of the Mother Grand Lodge of the World, from which, directly or indirectly, have proceeded as its legitimate offspring all the Grand Lodges which have been organized in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Now, what must we infer from these historical facts? This and no more nor less: that there never was, as a legitimate organization, a Grand Lodge of York or a Grand Lodge of all England, but only a Mother Lodge in the city of York, which assumed the title and prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, but exercised the functions both of a Grand and a private lodge—an anomaly unknown to and unrecognized by Masonic law.

CHAPTER XL

ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND

IT is much easier to write the history of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Scotland than that of England. The materials in the former case are far more abundant and more authentic, and the growth of the organization was more gradual, and each step more carefully recorded. In England almost the only authority or guide that we have for the occurrences which led to the establishment of the Grand Lodge, in the year 1717, is the meager history supplied by Anderson in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions.*

The four old Lodges suddenly sprung, as we have already seen, into being, with no notification of their previous existence, and no account of the mental process by which their members were led to so completely change their character and constitution from the Operative to a purely Speculative institution.

In Scotland, on the contrary, the processes which led to the change are well marked—the previous condition of the lodges is recorded, and we are enabled to trace the distinct steps which finally led to the establishment of the Grand Lodge in the year 1736.

It would appear from historical evidence that in the 17th century there were three methods by which a new lodge could be formed in Scotland. The first of these was by the authority of the King, the second by that of the General Warden, perhaps the most usual way, and the third was by members separating from an old and already established lodge, and with its concurrence forming a new one, the old lodge becoming, in technical terms, the mother, and the new one the descendant.

All of these methods are referred to in a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh in the year 1688. A certain number of the members of that lodge having left it, without its sanction formed a new lodge

in the Cannongate and North Leith. Whereupon the Lodge of Edinburgh declared the Cannongate and Leith Lodge to have acted "contrary to all custom, law, and reason," inasmuch as it had been formed in contempt of the Edinburgh Lodge, and "without any-Royal or General Warden's authority." This is said to be "Mason Law," and for its violation the lodge was pronounced illegal, all communication with its members, or with those who were entered or passed in it, was prohibited, and it was forbidden to employ them as journeymen under a heavy penalty. In a word, the lodge was placed in the position of what, in modern parlance, we should call "a clandestine lodge."

But the old law for the organization of new lodges seems by this time to have become obsolete, and the denunciation of the Edinburgh Lodge amounted to a mere *brutum fulmen.* The Cannongate and Leith Lodge continued to exist and to nourish, and almost a half century afterward was recognized, notwithstanding its illegal birth, as a regular body, and admitted into the constituency of the Grand Lodge.

We may therefore presume that at or about the close of the 17th century the Scottish lodges began to assume the privileges which Preston says at that time belonged to the English Masons, when any number could assemble and, with the consent of the civil authority, organize themselves into a lodge.

At the beginning of the 18th century there were many lodges of Operative Masons in Scotland, which had been formed in one of the three ways already indicated. The two most important of these were the Lodge of Edinburgh and that of Kilwinning. The latter especially had chartered several lodges, and hence was by its adherents called the Mother Lodge of Scotland, a title which was, however, disputed by the Lodge of Edinburgh and never was legally recognized.

A preliminary step to the establishment of a Speculative Grand Lodge must have necessarily been the admission into the ranks of the Operative Craft of non-professional members. We have seen the effect of this in the organization of the Grand Lodge of England. In Scotland the evidences of the result of the admission of these non-professionals is well shown in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh. The contentions between the Operative and the non-operative elements for supremacy, and the final victory of the

latter, are detailed at length. If such a spirit of contention existed in England, as an episode in the history of its Grand Lodge, no record of it has been preserved.

The earliest instance of the reception of a non-professional member is that of Lord Alexander, who was admitted as a Fellow Craft in the Lodge of Edinburgh on July 3, 1634. On the same day Sir Alexander Strachan was also admitted.

But the mere fact that these are the first recorded admissions of non-operatives among the Craft does not necessarily lead us to infer that before that date non-operatives were not received into lodge membership.

On the contrary, there is a minute of the date of the year 1600 which records the fact that the Laird of Auchinleck was present at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, and as one of the members took part in its deliberations. William Schaw, who was recognized as the General Warden and Chief Mason of Scotland in 1590, was, most probably, not an Operative Mason. Indeed, all the inferential evidence lies the other way. Yet his official position required that he should be present at the meetings of the lodges, which would lead to the necessity of his being received into the Craft. The same thing is pertinent to his predecessors, so that it is very evident that the custom of admitting non-operatives among the Craft must have been practiced at a very early period, perhaps from the very introduction of Masonry into Scotland, or the 13th century.

It will be seen hereafter how this non-operative element, as it grew in numbers and in strength, led, finally, to the establishment of a non-operative or Speculative Grand Lodge.

But attention must now be directed to another episode in the history of Scottish Masonry, namely, the contests between the Masters and the Journeymen, which also had its influence in the final triumph of Speculative over Operative Masonry.

Taking the Lodge of Edinburgh as a fair example of the condition and character of the other lodges of the kingdom, we may say that during all of the 17th century there was observed a distinction between the Master Masons or employers and the Fellow Crafts or Journeymen who were employed.

The former claimed a predominant position, which the latter from necessity but with great reluctance conceded. It was only on

rare occasions that the Masters admitted the Fellows to a participation in the counsels of the lodge.

This assumption of a superiority of position and power by the Masters was founded, it must be admitted, upon the letter and spirit of the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599.

In these Statutes the utmost care appears to have been taken to deprive the Fellows of all power in the Craft and to bestow it entirely on the Wardens, Deacons, and Masters.

Thus the Warden was to be elected annually by the Masters of the lodge, all matters of importance were to be considered by the Wardens and Deacons of different lodges to be convened in an assembly called by the Warden and Deacon of Kilwinning; all trials of members, whether Masters or Fellows, were to be determined by the Warden and six Masters; all difficulties were to be settled in the same way. In a word, these Statutes seem to have passed over the Fellows in the distribution of power and concentrated it wholly upon the Masters.

But this evidently very unjust and unequal distribution of privileges appears toward the middle of the 17th century, if not before, to have excited a rebellious spirit in the Fellows.

This is very evident from the fact that from the year 1681 enactments began to be passed by the Lodge of Edinburgh against the encroachments of the Fellows or Journeymen, who must have at or before that time been advancing their claim to the possession of privileges which were denied to them. "Though there can be no doubt," says Lyon, "that all who belonged to the lodge were, when necessity required, participants in its benefits, the journeymen appear to have had the feeling that it was not right that they should be entirely dependent, even for fair treatment, on the good-will of the Masters."

It was in fact but a faint picture of that contest for supremacy between capital and labor, which we have since so often seen painted in much stronger colors. The struggle in the Masonry of Scotland began to culminate in the year 1708, when a petition was laid before the Lodge of Edinburgh from the Fellows, in which they complained that they were not permitted to inspect the Warden's accounts.

The lodge granted the petition, and agreed that thereafter "six of the soberest and discretest Fellow-Craftsmen" should be

appointed by the Deacon to oversee the Warden's accounts. The lodge also granted further concessions and permitted the Fellow-Crafts to have a part in the distribution of the charity fund to widows.

But these concessions do not appear to have satisfied the Fellows, who, as Lyon supposes, must have been guilty of decided demonstrations, which led the lodge in 1712 to revoke the privilege of inspecting the accounts that had been conferred by the statute of 1708.

This seems to have brought matters to a climax. At the same meeting the Fellow-Crafts who were present, except two, left the room and immediately proceeded to organize a new lodge known afterward as the Journeymen's Lodge. Every attempt on the part of the Masters' Lodge to check this spirit of independence and to dissolve the schismatic lodge, though renewed from time to time for some years, proved abortive. The Journeymen's Lodge continued to exercise all the rights of a lodge of Operative Masons, and to enter Apprentices and admit Fellows just as was done by the Masters' Lodge from which it had so irregularly emanated.

Finally, in 1714, the most important and significant privilege of giving the "Mason Word" was adjudged to the Lodge of Journeymen by a decree of Arbitration.

The lodge, now perfected in its form and privileges, flourished, notwithstanding the occasional renewal of contests, until the organization of the Grand Lodge, when it became one of its constituents.

There can, I think, be no doubt that this independent action of the Journeymen Masons of Edinburgh led to an increase of lodges, when the prestige and power of the incorporated Masters had been once shaken. Twenty-four years after the establishment of the Journeymen's Lodge we find no less than thirty-two lodges uniting to organize the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Another event of great importance in reference to the history of the Grand Lodge is now to be noticed. I allude to the process through which the Masons of Scotland attained to the adoption of a Grand Master as the title of the head of their Order.

There can be no doubt that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was organized upon the model of that of England, which had sprung into existence nineteen years previously. As the English Grand Lodge had bestowed upon its presiding officer the title of Grand

Master, it was very natural that the Scotch body, which had derived from it its ritual and most of its forms, should also derive from it the same title for its chief.

But while we have no authentic records to show that previous to 1717 the English Masons had any General Superintendent, under any title whatever, it is known that the Scottish Masons had from an early period an officer who, without the name, exercised much of the powers and prerogatives of a Grand Master.

On December 28, 1598, William Schaw enacted, or to use the expression in the original document, "sett down" certain "statutes and ordinances to be observed by all Master Masons" in the realm of Scotland. In the heading of these Statutes he calls himself "Master of Work to his Majesty and General Warden of the said Craft." In a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, of the date of 1600, he is designated as "Principal Warden and Chief Master of Masons."

Now in the Statutes and Ordinances just referred to, as well as in a subsequent code of laws, ordained in the following year, there is ample evidence that this General Warden exercised prerogatives very similar to those of a Grand Master and indeed in excess of those exercised by modern Grand Masters, though Lyon is perfectly correct in saying that the name and title were unknown in Scotland until the organization of the Grand Lodge in 1736.[1]

The very fact that the Statutes were ordained by him and that the Craft willingly submitted to be governed by codes of laws emanating from his will—that he required the election of Wardens by the lodges to be submitted to and to be confirmed by him, "that he assigned their relative rank to the lodges of Edinburgh, of Kilwinning, and of Stirling," and that he delegated or "gave his power and commission" to the lodges to make other laws which should be in conformity with his Statutes—proves, I think, very conclusively that if he did not assume the title of Grand Master of Masons of Scotland, he, at all events, exercised many of the prerogatives of such an office.

It is true that it is said in the preamble to the Statutes of 1598 that they are "sett down" (a term equivalent to "prescribed") by the General Warden "with the consent of the Masters;" but the

[1] Except in 1731, when the Lodge of Edinburgh elected its presiding officer under the title of Grand Master. This was, however, entirely local, and was almost immediately abandoned.

acceptance of such consent was most likely a mere concession of courtesy, for the Statutes of 1599 are expressly declared in many instances to be "ordained by the General Warden," and in other instances it is said that the law or regulation is enacted because "it is thought needful and expedient by the General Warden." All of which shows that the Statutes were the result of the will of the General Warden and not of the Craft. That the Masters accepted them and consented to them afterward was very natural as a matter of necessity. There might have been a different record had they been uncompliant and refused assent to regulations imposed upon them by their superior.

Therefore, though the theory of the existence of Grand Masters in Scotland under that distinctive title at a period anterior to the organization of the Grand Lodge must be rejected as wholly untenable, it can hardly be denied that William Schaw, under the name of General Warden, did, at the close of the 16th century, exercise many of the prerogatives of the office of Grand Master.

Schaw died in 1602, and with him most probably died also the peculiar prerogatives of a General Warden, but the Scottish Craft appear not to have been in consequence without a head.

This leads us to the consideration of the St. Clair Charters, documents of undoubted authenticity but which have been used by Brewster in *Laurie's History,* under a false interpretation of the existence of the office of Grand Master of Masons in Scotland, from the time of James IL, an hypothesis which has, however, been proved to be fallacious and untenable.

There are two ancient manuscripts in the repository of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which are known by the title of the St. Clair Charters. The date of the first of these is supposed to be about the year 1601, and is signed by William Schaw as Master of Work, and by the office-bearers of five different lodges. The date of the other is placed by Lyon, with good reason, at 1628. It is signed by the office-bearers of five lodges also.

In the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh there is a small manuscript volume known as the "Hays MSS." which contains copies of these charters, not materially or substantially varying from the originals in the repository of the Grand Lodge.

The genuineness of these original manuscripts is undeniable. Whatever we can derive from them in relation to the position as-

signed by the Scottish Craft to the St. Clairs of Roslin in the beginning of the 17th century will be of historical value.

By them alone we may decide the long-contested question whether the St. Clairs of Roslin were or were not Hereditary Grand Masters of the Masons of Scotland. The Editor of *Laurie's History of Freemasonry* asserts that these charters supply the proof that the grant to William Sinclair as Hereditary Grand Master was made by James II. Mr. Lyon contends that the charters furnish a conclusive refutation of any such assertion. The first of these opinions has for a long time been the most popular. The last has, however, under more recent researches been now generally adopted by Masonic scholars. An examination of the precise words of the two charters will easily settle the question.

The first charter, the date of which is 1601, states (transmuting the Scottish dialect into English phrase) that "from age to age it has been observed among us that the Lords of Roslin have ever been patrons and protectors of us and our privileges, and also that our predecessors have obeyed and acknowledged them as patrons and protectors, which within these few years has through negligence and slothfulness passed out of use." It proceeds to state that in consequence the Lords of Roslin have been deprived of their just rights and the Craft subjected to much injury by being "destitute of a patron, protector, and overseer." Among the evils complained of is that various controversies had arisen among the Craftsmen for the settlement of which by the ordinary judges they were unable to wait in consequence of their poverty and the long delays of legal processes.

Wherefore the signers of the charter for themselves and in the name of all the Brethren and Craftsmen agree and consent that William Sinclair of Roslin shall for himself and his heirs purchase and obtain from the King liberty, freedom, and jurisdiction upon them and their successors in all time to come as patrons and judges of them and all the professors of their Craft within the realm (of Scotland) of whom they have power and commission.

The powers thus granted by the Craft to the Lord of Roslin were very ample. He and his heirs were to be acknowledged as patrons and judges, under the King, without appeal from their judgment, with the power to appoint one or more deputies. In conclusion the jurisdiction of the Lords of Roslin was to be as ample and large as the King might please to grant to him and his heirs.

The second charter was issued in 1628 by the Masons and Hammermen of Scotland. It repeats almost in the same words the story-contained in the first that the Lords of Roslin had ever been patrons and protectors of the Scottish Craft, and adds the statement that there had been letters patent to that effect issued by the progenitors of the King, which had been burnt with other writings in a fire which occurred in a year not stated within the Castle of Roslin.

The William Sinclair to whom the previous charter had been granted having gone over to Ireland, the same evils complained of in the beginning of the century were renewed, and the Craft now in this second charter grants to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin the same powers and prerogatives that had been granted to his father, as their "only protector, patron, and overseer."

The contents of these two charters supply the following facts, which must be accepted as historical since there is no doubt of the genuineness of the documents.

In the first place there was a tradition in the beginning of the 17th century, and most probably at the close of the 16th, if not earlier, that the Sinclairs of Roslin had in times long passed exercised a superintending care and authority over the Craft of Scotland.

This superintendence they exercised as protectors, patrons, and overseers, and it consisted principally in settling disputes and deciding controversies between the brethren without appeal, which disputes and controversies would otherwise have to be submitted to the decision of a court of law.

The tradition implied that this office of protectorate of the Craft was hereditary in the house of Roslin, but had not been exercised continuously and uninterruptedly, but on the contrary had, in the beginning of the 17th century, been long disused.

It is true that there is no reference in the first charter to any crown grant, at least in explicit terms, but it speaks of the Lord of Roslin as lying out of his "just right" by the interruption in the exercise of the prerogative of patron, and if he had or was supposed to have such "just right," then the implication is strong that it was founded on a royal grant. The second charter is explicit on this subject and asserts that the record of the grant had been destroyed by a conflagration. This statement is very probably a myth, but it shows that a tradition to that effect must have existed among the Craft.

We may imply also from the language of the first charter that the Craft were in some doubt whether by this non-user the hereditary right had not been forfeited, since it is required by them that Sinclair should "purchase and obtain" from the King permission to exercise the jurisdiction of a patron and judge. In fact the sole object of the charter was to authorize William Sinclair to get the royal authority to resume the prerogatives that had formerly existed in his family. Whether the Craft were correct in this judgment, and whether by lying in abeyance the hereditary right had lapsed and required a renewal by the royal authority are not material questions. It is sufficient that such was the opinion of the Scottish Masons at the time.

Lastly, the two charters are of historical importance in proving that at the time of their being issued, the title of Grand Master was wholly unknown to the Craft.

The Editor of *Laurie's History* is, therefore, entirely unwarranted in his theory, which, however, he presents as an undoubted historical fact that the Sinclairs of Roslin were "Hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland."

Equally unwarranted is he in making Kilwinning, in Ayrshire, the seat of his mythical Grand Lodge, not, as has been urged by Bro. Lyon, because the Sinclairs[1] had no territorial connection with Ayrshire, but simply because there is not the least historical evidence that Kilwinning was the center of Scottish Masonry, though the lodge in that village had assumed the character of a Mother Lodge and issued charters to subordinates.

The true historical phase which these charters seem to present is this: In the 17th century, or during a part of it, the Operative Masons of Scotland adopted the family of Sinclair of Roslin as their patrons and protectors, and as the umpires to whom they agreed to refer their disputes, accepting their decisions without appeal, as a much more convenient and economical method of settling disputes than a reference to a court of law would be. Out of this very simple fact has grown the mythical theory, encouraged by fertile imaginations, that they were Grand Masters by royal grant and hereditary right.

The immediate superintendence of the Scottish Masons seems,

[1] The modern spelling of the name is St. Clair, but I have for the present retained the form of Sinclair to be in conformity with the orthography of the charter.

however, to have continued to be invested in a General Warden. In 1688, when there was a secession of members from the Lodge of Edinburgh, who established an independent lodge in the Canongate, one of the charges against them was that they had "erected a lodge among themselves to the great contempt of our society, without any Royal or General Warden's authority."

But the St. Clairs were the patrons and the General Wardens were the Masters of Work, while no reference was made to nor any word said of the title or the prerogatives of a Grand Master.

The point is, therefore, historically certain that there never was a Grand Master in Scotland until the establishment of the Grand Lodge, in 1736.

As early as the year 1600 we find the record of the admission of a non-professional into the Lodge of Edinburgh. The custom of admitting such persons as honorary members continued throughout the whole of the 17th century. Before the middle of the century, noblemen, baronets, physicians, and advocates are recorded in the minutes as having been admitted as Fellow-Crafts. The evidence that at that time the Speculative element had begun to invade the Operative is not confined to the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh. There are records proving that the same custom prevailed in other lodges.

Much importance has rightly been attached to the fact that there is an authentic record of the admission of two gentlemen into an English lodge of Operative Masons in the year 1646. There are numerous instances of such admissions before that time in Scottish lodges. Indeed it has been well proved by records that it was a constant habit, from about 1600, in the Scottish lodges, to admit non-masons into the Operative lodges.

There ought not to be a doubt that the same practice prevailed in England at the same time. That there is no proof of the fact is to be attributed to the absence of early English lodge minutes. The Scottish Masons have been more careful than the English in preserving their records.

The minutes of the Scottish lodges, and the one authentic record contained in Ashmole's Diary, furnish sufficient evidence that in the 17th century the Operative Masons were admitting into their society men of wealth and rank, scholars, and members of the learned professions. This was undoubtedly the first step in that train of events

which finally led to the complete detachment of the theoretic from the practical element, and the organization of the present system of Speculative Freemasonry.

The change from an Operative to a Speculative system was very sudden in England. At least, if the change was gradual and foreseen, we can not now trace the progress of events because of the absolute want of records.

In Scotland the change was well marked and its history is upon record. It was much slower than that in England. It was not until nineteen years after the Grand Lodge of England was organized that a similar organization took place in Scotland. And whereas the English lodges all assumed the Speculative character at once, after the Grand Lodge was established, and abandoned Operative Masonry altogether, some of the Scottish lodges, for many years after their connection with the Grand Lodge of Speculative Masonry, retained an Operative character, mingled with the Speculative.

The closing years of the 17th century were marked in Scotland by contests between the Masters and the Journeymen Masons, the former having long secured the dominant power. These contests led in the Lodge of Edinburgh to a secession of the Fellow-Crafts, who having been denied certain privileges, formed an independent lodge, which after some years of conflict with the Mother Lodge received by a decree of arbitration the power of admitting Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts and what appears to have been deemed of vast importance, the privilege of communicating the "Mason Word."

This seems to have been at that time the sum of esoteric instruction received by candidates on their admission.

Another cause of contest in Scottish Masonry at that period was the growing custom of receiving non-professional members into the lodges of Operative Masons. This custom had originated at least a century before, and there are records in the 17th century from its very commencement of the presence in the lodges as members of persons who were not Operative Masons. But in the early part of the 18th century the practice grew to such an extent that at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh in the year 1727, out of sixteen members present only three were operative Masons. And in the same year a lawyer was elected as Warden or presiding officer of the lodge.

In the year 1700 there were several lodges in various parts of Scotland. Although perhaps all of them contained among their members some persons of rank or wealth who were not Masons by profession, still the lodges were all Operative in their character.

Seventeen years afterward the English Operative Masons had merged their society into a Speculative Grand Lodge. The influence of this act was not slow to extend itself to Scotland, where the non-professionals began slowly but surely to dominate over the professional workmen.

In 1721 Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, who was the principal founder of the Grand Lodge of England, paid a visit to Edinburgh. He was received as a brother by the lodge, and at two meetings held for the purpose, several gentlemen of high rank were admitted into the fraternity.

As the records of these meetings are of historic importance, as showing the introduction of the new English system of Speculative Masonry into Scotland, I shall not hesitate to give them in the very words of the minute-book, as copied from the original by Bro. Lyon.

"Likeas (likewise) upon the 25th day of the sd moneth (August 1721) the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers having mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell Esqr. Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston and Hugh Hathorn, Bailies; James Nimo, Thesuarer, William Livingston Deacon convener of the Trades thereof; and Geroge Irving Clerk to the Dean of Guild Court,—and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts accordingly.

"And siclike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr. Duncan Campbell of Locknell, Barronet; Robert Wightman Esqr., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond Esq., late Theasurer thereof; Archibald McAuley, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they receaved as members of the societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day, James Key and Thomas Aikman servants to James

Wattson, deacon of the Masons, were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and payed to James Mack, Warden the ordinary dues as such."

There can be no doubt that the object of Desaguliers in visiting Scotland at that time was to introduce into the Scottish lodges the esoteric ritual so far as it had been perfected by himself and his colleagues for the Masons of England. Bro. Lyon very properly suggests that the proceedings of the lodge on that occasion "render it probable that taking advantage of his social position, he had influenced the attendance of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburg and the other city magnates who accompanied them as applicants for Masonic fellowship in order to give a practical illustration of the system with which his name was so closely associated with a view to its commending itself for adoption by the lodges of Scotland."[1]

Hence in these two meetings we see that the ceremonies of entering and passing were performed; or, in other words, that the two new degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, as practiced in the Grand Lodge of England, were introduced to the Scottish Masons. The degree of Master was not conferred, and for this omission Bro. Lyon assigns a reason which involves an historic error most strange to have been committed by so expert and skilled a Masonic scholar as the historian of the Lodge of Edinburgh and the translator of Findel's work.

Bro. Lyon's words are as follows: "It was not until 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed. This may account for the Doctor confining himself to the two lesser degrees."[2]

But the facts are that the regulation restricted the conferring of the Second as well as the Third degree to the Grand Lodge; that this regulation, instead of being repealed in 1722-23, was not promulgated until 1723, being first published in the Thirty-nine Articles contained in the *Book of Constitutions* of that date; and that it was not repealed until 1725.

Now if it be said that the restriction existed before it was promulgated, having been approved June 24, 1721, and was known to Desaguliers, it would have prevented him from conferring the Second as well as the Third degree.

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[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 152.
[2] Ibid., p. 153.

If, however, the regulation was in force in England in 1721, which I have endeavored heretofore[1] to prove to be very doubtful, Desaguliers, in violating it so far as respected the Second degree, showed that he did not conceive that it was of any authority in Scotland, a country which was not under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

If so, the question arises, why did he not, at the same meeting, confer the Third degree?

The answer is that the Third degree had not yet been fabricated. In the task of formulating a ritual for the new system of Speculative Masonry, Desaguliers, Anderson, and the others, if there were any who were engaged with them in the task, had, in 1721, proceeded no further than the fabrication of the ritual of the First and Second degrees. These degrees only, therefore, he communicated to the Masons of Edinburgh[2] on his visit to the lodge there. Subsequently, when the Third degree had received its form, it was imparted to the Masons of Scotland. Of the precise time and manner of this communication we have no record, but we know that it took place before the Grand Lodge of Scotland was organized. Lyon says that the year 1735 is the date of "the earliest Scottish record extant of the admission of a Master Mason under the modern Masonic Constitution."[3]

The visit of Desaguliers and the events connected with it develop at least two important points in the history of Scottish Masonry.

In the first place, we notice the great increase of non-professional members over the working craftsmen, so that in six or seven years after that visit the Speculative element had gained the supremacy over the Operative which led, in the second place, to the adoption of various forms indicative of the growing influence of Speculative Masonry, such as the change of the title of the presiding officer from "Warden" to that of "Master," and the substitution, in the nomenclature of the Craft, of the word "Freemason" for the formerly common one of "Mason."

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[1] When treating of the origin of the three degrees.

[2] The connection of this visit of Desaguliers to Edinburgh with the history of the fabrication of the three degrees of Symbolic Masonry has already been discussed in a previous chapter devoted to that subject.

[3] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 213.

From all this, and from certain proceedings in the years 1727, 1728, and 1729 connected with the contests between the Theoretic and the Operative members of the lodges, "it may be inferred," says Bro. Lyon, "that, departing from the simplicity of its primitive ritual and seizing upon the more elaborate one of its Southern contemporaries, and adapting it to its circumstances, the ancient lodge of the Operative Masons of Edinburgh had, in a transition that was neither rapid nor violent, yielded up its dominion to Symbolical Masonry and become a unit in the great Mystic Brotherhood that had started into existence in 1717."[1]

The next step that was naturally to be taken was the establishment of a Grand Lodge in close imitation in its form and Constitution of that of the similar body which had been previously instituted in the sister kingdom. The record of the occurrences which led to this event is much more ample than the meager details preserved by Anderson of the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, so that we meet with no difficulty in writing the history.

It had long been supposed, on the authority of the *History* attributed to Laurie, that the Scottish Masons had been prompted to first think of the institution of a Grand Lodge in consequence of a proposition made by William St. Clair of Roslin to resign his office of "Hereditary Grand Master." This is said to have been done in 1736. Lyon, however, denies the truth of this statement, and says that more than a year before the date at which St. Clair is alleged to have formally intimated his intention to resign the Masonic Protectorate, the creation of a Grand Mastership for Scotland had been mooted among the brethren.[2]

The authentic history is perhaps to be found only in the pages of Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, and from it I therefore do not hesitate to draw the material for the ensuing narrative.

On September 29, 1735, at a meeting of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, a committee was appointed for the purpose of "framing proposals to be laid before the several lodges in order to the choosing of a Grand Master for Scotland." At another meeting, on October 15th, the same committee was instructed to "take under consideration proposals for a Grand Master."

On August 4, 1736, John Douglas, a surgeon and member of

[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 160.
[2] Ibid., p. 167.

the Lodge of Kirkcaldy, was affiliated with the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning and appointed Secretary, that he might make out "a scheme for bringing about a Grand Master for Scotland."

On September 20th the lodge was visited by brethren from the Lodge Kilwinning Scots Arms, who made certain proposals on the subject.

The matter was now hastening to maturity, for on October 6th the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge met for the purpose, as its minutes declare, of "concerting proper measures for electing a Grand Master for Scotland." Proposals were heard and agreed to. The four lodges of Edinburgh were to hold a preliminary meeting, when proper measures were to be taken for accomplishing the desired object.

Accordingly delegates from the four Edinburgh lodges, namely, Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms, and Leith Kilwinning, met at Edinburgh on October 15, 1736. It was then resolved that the four lodges in and about Edinburgh should meet in some convenient place to adopt proper regulations for the government of the Grand Lodge, which were to be sent with a circular letter to all the lodges of Scotland. A day was also to be determined for the election of a Grand Master, when all lodges which accepted the invitation were to be represented by their Masters and Wardens or their proxies.

The circular, which brought a sufficient number of lodges together at the appointed time to institute a Grand Lodge and elect a Grand Master, is in the following words:

"Brethren: The four lodges in and about Edinburgh, having taken into their serious consideration the great loss that Masonry has sustained through the want of a Grand Master, authorized us to signify to you, our good and worthy brethren, our hearty desire and firm intention to choose a Grand Master for Scotland; and in order that the same may be done with the greatest harmony, we hereby invite you (as we have done all the other regular lodges known by us) to concur in such a great and good work, whereby it is hoped Masonry may be restored to its ancient luster in this kingdom. And for effectuating this laudable design, we humbly desire that betwixt this and Martinmas day next, you will be pleased to give us a brotherly answer in relation to the election of a Grand Master, which we propose to be on St. Andrew's day, for the first

time, and ever thereafter to be on St. John the Baptist's day, or as the Grand Lodge shall appoint by the majority of voices, which are to be collected from the Masters and Wardens of all the regular lodges then present or by proxy to any Master Mason or Fellow-Craft in any lodge in Scotland; and the election is to be in St. Mary's Chapel. All that is hereby proposed is for the advancement and prosperity of Masonry in its greatest and most charitable perfection. We hope and expect a suitable return; wherein if any lodges are defective, they have themselves only to blame. We heartily wish you all manner of success and prosperity, and ever are, with great respect, your affectionate and loving brethren."

This circular letter was accompanied by a printed copy of the regulations which had been proposed and agreed to at the meeting. By these regulations the Grand Master was to name the new Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary, but the nomination was to be unanimously approved by the Grand Lodge, and if it was not these officers were to be elected by ballot. The requirement of unanimity would be very certain to place the choice of most occasions in the Grand Lodge. The Grand Master was to appoint his own Deputy, provided he was not a member of the same lodge. There were to be quarterly communications, at which the particular lodges were to be represented by their Masters and Wardens with the Grand Master at their head. There was to be an annual visitation by the Grand Master with his Deputy and Wardens of all the lodges in town. There was to be an annual feast upon St. John's day, and several other regulations, all of which were evidently copied from the Articles adopted in 1721 by the Grand Lodge of England and published in 1723 in the first edition of its *Book of Constitutions.*

There were several meetings of the four Edinburgh lodges, and finally, on November 25, 1736, it was agreed that the election of Grand Master should take place in Mary's Chapel on Tuesday, November 30, 1736.

But while these preliminary meetings were being held a rivalry sprung up (as might have been anticipated from the nature of human passions) between two of the lodges, in the choice of the proposed Grand Master.

The Lodge of Edinburgh nominated for that office the Earl of Home, who was one of its members. But the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, which was really the prime instigator of the movement

for the institution of a Grand Lodge, was unwilling to surrender to another lodge the honor of providing a ruler of the Craft.

William St. Clair, who, notwithstanding the high claims advanced for his family does not appear to have taken any interest in Masonry, had been received as an Apprentice and Fellow-Craft only six months before (May 18, 1736) by the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, and had been raised to the Third degree only eight days before the election, was placed before the fraternity by the lodge of which he was a recent member, as a proper candidate for the Grand Mastership. It will be seen in the subsequent details of the election that the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge availed itself of a strategy which might have been resorted to by a modern politician.

What Lyon calls "the first General Assembly of Scotch Symbolical Masons" was, according to agreement, convened at Edinburgh on Tuesday, November 30, 1736. There were at that time in Scotland about one hundred particular lodges. All of them had been summoned to attend the convention, but of these only thirty-three were present, each represented by its Master and two Wardens.

While in this scanty representation, only one-third of the lodges having responded to the call, we see that the interest in the legal organization of the Speculative system and the complete abandonment of the Operative had not been universally felt by the Scottish Craft, we find in the method of conducting the meeting that the spirit and forms of the English Constitution had been freely adopted by those who were present.

The list of the lodges which united in the establishment of a Grand Lodge is given both by Laurie's Editor and by Lyon, and it is here presented as an important part of the historical narrative. The lodges present were as follows:

Mary's Chapel,
Kilwinning,
Canongate Kilwinning,
Kilwinning Scots Arms,
Kilwinning Leith,
Kilwinning Glasgow,
Coupar of Fife,
Linlithgow,
Dumfermling,
Dundee,
Dalkeith,
Aitcheson's Haven,
Selkirk,
Inverness,
Lesmahagoe,
St. Brides at Douglas,

Lanark,
Strathaven,
Hamilton,
Dunse,
Kirkcaldy,
Journey Masons of Edinburgh,
Kirkintilloch,
Biggar,
Sanquhar,
Peebles,
Glasgow St. Mungo's,
Greenock,
Falkirk,
Aberdeen,
Mariaburgh,
Canongate and Leith,
Leith and Canongate,
Montrose.

After the roll had been called, and the draft of the Constitution with the form of proceedings had been submitted and approved, St. Clair of Roslin tendered a document to the convention which was read as follows:

"I, William St. Clair of Roslin, Esquire, taking into my consideration that the Masons in Scotland, did, by several deeds, constitute and appoint William and Sir William St. Clairs of Roslin, my ancestors and their heirs to be their Patrons, Protectors, Judges or Masters; and that my holding or claiming any such jurisdiction, right or privilege might be prejudicial to the Craft and vocation of Masonry, whereof I am a member, and I being desirous to advance and promote the good and utility of the said Craft of Masonry, to the utmost of my power, do therefore hereby, for me and my heirs, renounce, quit claim, overgive and discharge all right, claim or pretence that I or my heirs, had, have or anyways may have, pretend to or claim, to be Protector, Patron, Judge or Master of the Masons in Scotland, in virtue of any deed or deeds made and granted by the said Masons, or of any grant or charter made by any of the Kings of Scotland, to and in favour of the said William and Sir William St. Clairs of Roslin, my predecessors; or any other manner or way whatsoever, for now and ever. And I bind and oblige me and my heirs to warrant this present renunciation and discharge at all hands. And I consent to the registration hereof in the books of Council and Session or any other judges' books competent, therein to remain for preservation, and thereto I constitute . . . my procurators, etc. In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents (written by David Maul, Writer to the Signet) at Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six years, before these witnesses, George Frazer, deputy auditor of

the excise in Scotland, Master of the Canongate Lodge, and William Montgomery, Merchant in Leith, Master of the Leith Lodge."

This document was signed by W. St. Clair and attested by the two witnesses above mentioned. The reading of it at the opportune moment, just before the election of Grand Master was entered upon, is the strategical point to which reference has already been made. It succeeded in securing, as had been expected by the promoters of the scheme, the immediate election of William St. Clair as the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

As a legal instrument the renunciation of his ancestral rights by St. Clair is worthless. Whatever prerogatives he may have supposed that he possessed as a Masonic "Protector, Patron, Judge and Master," referred exclusively to the Guild of Operative Masonry, and could not by any stretch of law have been extended to a voluntary association of Speculative Masons, the institution of which was expressly intended to act as a deletion of the Operative organization whose design and character were entirely cancelled and obliterated by the change from a practical art to a theoretical science. The laws of Operative Masonry can be applied to Speculative Masonry only by a symbolic process. If the Lords of Roslin had even been the "Hereditary Grand Masters" of the stonecutters and builders who were congregated in a guild spirit in the Operative lodges of Scotland, it did not follow that they were by such hereditary right the Grand Masters of the scholars and men of rank, the clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and merchants who, having no connection or knowledge of the Craft of Masonry, had united to establish a society of an entirely different character.

But in a critical point of view in reference to the traditional claims of the St. Clairs to the Hereditary Grand Mastership, this instrument of renunciation is of great value.

It is but recently that the historians of Freemasonry have begun to doubt the statement that James II. of Scotland had conferred by patent the office of Grand Master on the Earl of Orkney, the ancestor of the St. Clairs and on his heirs. Brewster had boldly asserted it in the beginning of the present century, and although it has been more recently doubted whether such patent was issued, the statement continues to be repeated by careless writers and to be believed by credulous readers.

Now the language used by St. Clair in his renunciation before the Grand Lodge of Scotland must set this question at rest. He refers not to any patent granted to his original ancestors the Earls of Orkney, but to the two charters issued in 1601 and 1628 in which not the king but the Masons themselves had bestowed the office of patrons and protectors, first on William St. Clair and afterward on his son.

James Maidment, Advocate, the learned Editor of Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saint Claires of Roslyn,* comes to this conclusion in the following words:

"Thus the granter of the deed, who it must be presumed was better acquainted with the nature of his rights than any one else could be, derives his title from the very persons to whom the two modern charters were granted by the Masons; and in the resignation of his claim as patron, etc., exclusively refers to these two deeds or any 'grant or charter made by the Crown,' not in favor of William Earl of Orkney, but of William and Sir William St. Clair, the identical individuals in whose persons the Masons had created the office of patron."

But in the excitement of the moment the representatives of the lodges were not prepared to enter into any such nice distinctions.

The apparent magnanimity of Mr. St. Clair in thus voluntarily resigning his hereditary claims had so fascinating an influence that though many of them had been instructed by their lodges to vote for another candidate, St. Clair was immediately elected Grand Master with great unanimity.

The remaining offices were filled by the election of Capt. John Young as Deputy Grand Master; Sir William Baillie as Senior Grand Warden; Sir Alexander Hope as Junior Grand Warden; Dr. John Moncrief as Grand Treasurer; John Macdougal, Esq., as Grand Secretary; and Mr. Robert Alison, Writer, as Grand Clerk.

Upon the institution of the Grand Lodge nearly all the lodges of the kingdom applied for Warrants of Constitution and renounced their former rights as Operative lodges, acknowledging thereby the supreme jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge as the Head of Speculative Masonry in Scotland.

In a review of the proceedings which finally led to the estab-

lishment of a Speculative Grand Lodge in Scotland, several circumstances are especially worthy of remark.

It has been seen that from a very early period, as far back as the close of the 16th century, theoretical Masons, or persons who were a part of the working Craft, had been admitted as members of the Operative lodges. The custom of receiving non-professionals among the brethren was gradually extended, so that in the early years of the 18th century the non-professional members in some of the lodges greatly exceeded the professional.

In this way the transition from Operative to Speculative Masonry was made of easy accomplishment, so that when the Grand Lodge was established, several of the leading lodges which were engaged in the act of organization were already Speculative lodges in everything but the name.

Another event, which exerted a great influence in hastening the change in Scotland, was the visit of Desaguliers in the year 1721 to Edinburgh. He brought with him the ritual of Speculative Masonry, so far as it had then been formulated in England, and introduced it and the newly adopted English lodges into Scotland. Lyon refers to the formation of the Lodge Kilwinning Scots Arms in February, 1729, as one of the results of the Masonic communication between the northern and the southern capitals, which had been opened by this visit of Desaguliers. It was from the beginning a purely Speculative lodge, all of its original members having been theoretical Masons, chiefly lawyers and merchants. It was one of the four Edinburgh lodges which were engaged in the preliminary steps for the organization of the Grand Lodge.

As an evidence of how extensively the theoretical principle had spread, so that the scheme of abandoning the Operative character of the institution must have been easily effected, it may be stated that of the twelve hundred brethren returned to the Grand Lodge as members of the several lodges represented at the first election of officers in that body, one half were persons not engaged in mechanical pursuits.[1]

The influence of English Masonry is also seen in the fact that in the middle of the 17th century the English *Legend of the Craft* was known to and used by the Aitcheson's Haven Lodge of Mussel-

[1] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 176.

burg and the Lodge of Edinburgh as well as other Scottish lodges and was in all probability used in the initiation of candidates. As the two manuscripts which still remain in Scotland are known from their form and language to have been copies of some of the old English Records of the "Legend" and "Charges," no better evidence than the use of them by Scottish lodges could be needed to prove that the English Masonry had been constantly from the 17th century exerting a dominating influence upon the Craft in Scotland which finally culminated in the organization of the Grand Lodge.

Finally, the Grand Lodge of Scotland presents an important and marked peculiarity in the cause and manner of its institution.

The first Grand Lodge of Speculative Masons ever established was the Grand Lodge of England organized in the year 1717 at London. From this Grand Lodge every other Grand Lodge in the world, with one exception, has directly or indirectly proceeded. That is to say, the Grand Lodge of England established in foreign countries either lodges which afterward uniting, became Grand Lodges, or it constituted Provincial Grand Lodges which, in the course of time and through political changes, assumed independence and became national supreme bodies in Masonry.

But however instituted as Grand Lodges, they derived, remotely, the authority for their legal existence from the Grand Lodge of England, so that that venerable body has very properly been called the "Mother Grand Lodge of the World."

The single exception to this otherwise universal rule is found in the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Of all Grand Lodges it alone has derived no authority for its constitution from the English body. The Scottish lodges existed contemporaneously with the English; at a very early period they admitted non-professional members and they began at the beginning of the 18th century to take the preliminary steps for their conversion from an Operative to a Speculative character. In this they were undoubtedly influenced by the English Masons, who about the same time had begun to contemplate the expediency of a similar conversion.

But although while the Scottish lodges, in organizing their Grand Lodge, were undoubtedly led to take the necessary steps by the previous action of the English lodges, and while they borrowed much of the forms and imitated the example of their English

brethren, they derived from them no authority or warrant of Constitution.

The Masonry of Scotland produced from its own Operative lodges its Speculative Grand Lodge, precisely as was the case with the Masonry of England. And in this respect it has differed from the Masonry of every other country where the Operative element never merged into the Speculative, but where the latter was a direct and independent importation from the Speculative Grand Lodge of England, wholly distinct from the Operative Masonry which existed at the same time.

CHAPTER XLI

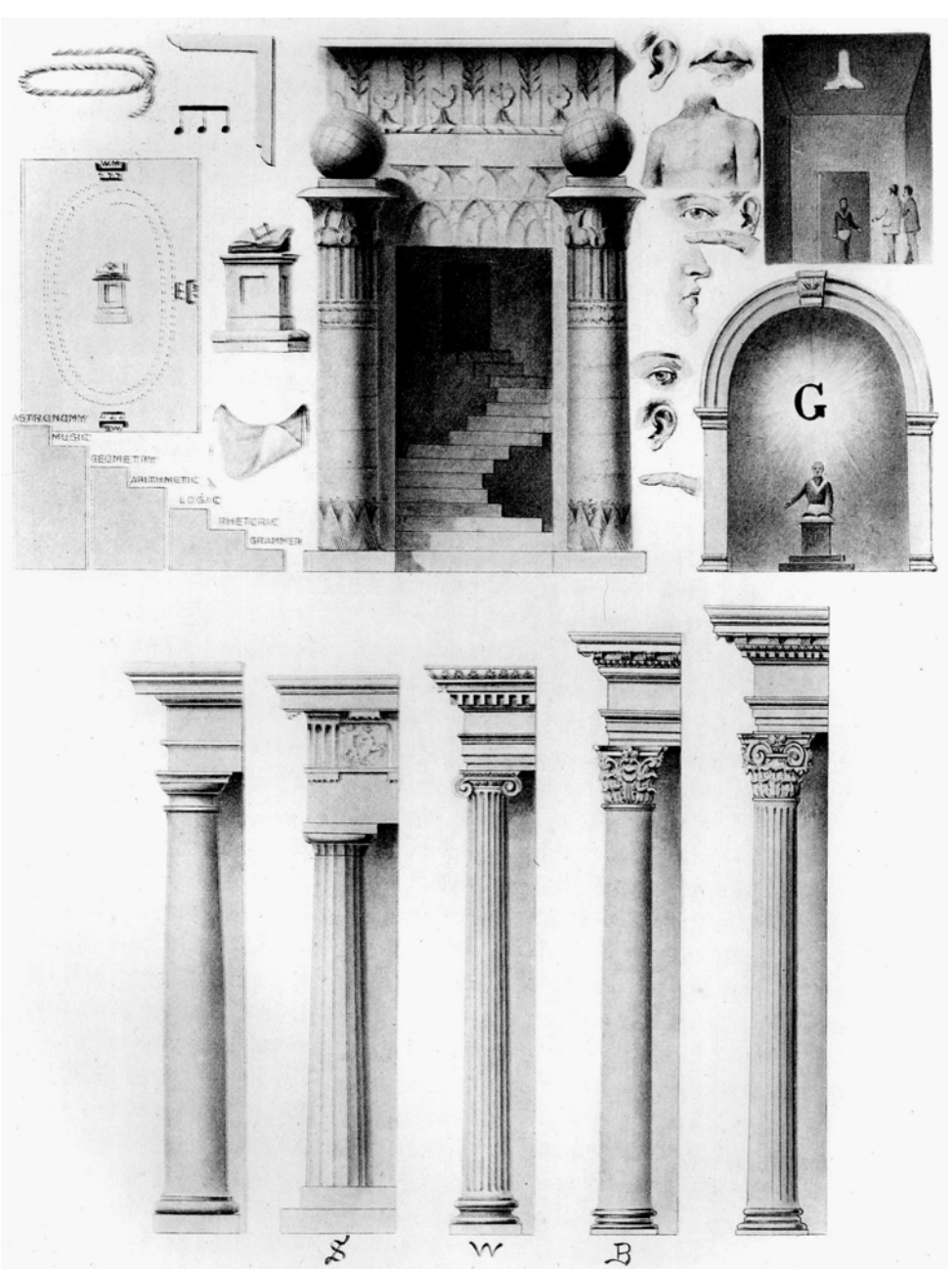
THE ATHOLL GRAND LODGE, OR THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE OLD INSTITUTIONS

THE first important event in the history of English Freemasonry which seriously affected the harmony of the Fraternity, was the schism which occurred in the year 1753. The interposition of a new and rival authority in the north of England by the self-constitution of a Grand Lodge at the city of York in the year 1725, seems to have created no embarrassment, save in its immediate locality, to the Grand Lodge at London.

The sphere of its operations was limited to its own narrow vicinity, nor, until nearly half a century after its organization, did it seek, by traveling beyond those meager limits, to antagonize, in the south of the kingdom, the jurisdiction of the body at London.

But the schism which commenced at London and in the very bosom of the Grand Lodge in the year 1753, and to the history of which this chapter shall be dedicated, was far more important in its effects, not only on the progress of Speculative Masonry in England, but also in other countries.

The Grand Lodge, which in the above-mentioned year was organized as a successful rival and antagonist of the regular Grand Lodge, has received in the course of its career various names. Styling itself officially the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," it was also called, colloquially, the "Grand Lodge of Ancients," both designations being intended to convey the vainglorious boast that it was the exponent of a more ancient system of Freemasonry than that which was practiced by the regular Grand Lodge, which had been in existence only since 1717. Upon that later system, as it was asserted to be, the Schismatics bestowed the derogatory designation of the "Grand Lodge of Moderns." And so the schismatic body having been formed by a secession from the


ASTRONOMY
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regular and constitutional Grand Lodge, its members were often called the "Seceders." Subsequent writers have been accustomed to briefly distinguish the two rival bodies as the "Moderns" and the "Ancients;" without however any admission on the part of the former of the legal fitness of the terms, but simply for the sake of avoiding tedious circumlocutions.

Another and a very common title bestowed upon the schismatic body was that of the "Atholl Grand Lodge," because the Dukes of Atholl, father and son, presided over it for many successive years, and it has also been sometimes called the "Dermott Grand Lodge," in allusion to Laurence Dermott, who was once its Deputy Grand Master, and for a long time its Grand Secretary, and who was one of its founders, its most able defender, and the compiler of its *Ahiman Rezon,* or Book of Constitutions.

In the present sketch this body will, for convenience, be distinguished as the "Atholl Grand Lodge," and its members as the "Ancients," without, however, the remotest idea of conceding to them or to their Grand Lodge the correctness of their claim for a greater antiquity than that which rightly belongs to the Constitutional Grand Lodge, established in 1717.

The progress of the schism which culminated in the organization of the Atholl Grand Lodge was not very rapid. As far back as 1739, complaints were made in the Grand Lodge against certain brethren, who, as Entick euphemistically phrases it, were "suspected of being concerned in an irregular making of Masons."[1]

But the inquiry into this matter was postponed.

At a subsequent quarterly Communication held in the same year the inquiry was resumed, and the offending brethren having made submission and promised good behavior, they were pardoned, but it was ordered by the Grand Lodge that the laws should be strictly enforced against any brethren who should for the future countenance or assist at any irregular makings.[2]

The language of Entick is not explicit, and it authorizes us to suppose either that the pardon granted by the Grand Lodge was consequent on the submission of the offenders which had been made before the pardon was given, or that it was only promissory and depended on their making that submission.

[1] Entick, "Book of Constitutions," p. 228.

[2] Ibid., p. 229.

Some may have made the submission and received the pardon, but the reconciliation was by no means complete, for Northouck[1] tells us that the censure of the Grand Lodge irritated the brethren who had incurred it, and who, instead of returning to their duty and renouncing their error, persisted in their contumacy and openly refused to pay allegiance to the Grand Master or obedience to the mandates of the Grand Lodge.

"In contempt of the ancient and established laws of the Order," says Northouck, "they set up a power independent, and taking advantage of the inexperience of their associates, insisted that they had an equal authority with the Grand Lodge to make, pass, and raise Masons."

In the note, whence this passage is taken, and in which Northouck has committed several errors, he has evidently anticipated the course of events and confounded the "irregular makings" by private lodges which began about the year 1739, with the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Ancients, which did not take place until about 1753.

This body of disaffected Masons appears, however, to have been the original source whence, in the course of subsequent years, sprang the organized Grand Lodge of the Ancients.

The process of organization was, however, slow. For some time the contumacious brethren continued to hold their lodges independently of any supreme authority. Nor is it possible, from any records now existing, to determine the exact year in which the Grand Lodge of the Ancients assumed a positive existence.

Preston tells us that the brethren who had repudiated the authority of the Constitutional Grand Lodge held meetings in various places for the purpose of initiating persons into Masonry contrary to the laws of the Grand Lodge.[2]

Preston also says that they took advantage of the breach which had been made between the Grand Lodges of London and York, and assumed the title of "York Masons." In this statement he is, however, incorrect. There was never any recognition by the London Grand Lodge of the body calling itself the Grand Lodge of York, nor was that Grand Lodge in active existence at the time, having suspended its labors from 1734 to 1761.

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[1] Northouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 240, note.

[2] Preston, "Illustrations," p. 210, Oliver's edition.

The name of "York Masons," adopted by these seceders, was derived from the old tradition contained in the *Legend of the Craft*, that the first Grand Lodge in England was established by Prince Edwin in 926 at the city of York.

Northouck assigns this reason for the title when he says that "under a fictitious sanction of the Ancient York constitutions, which was dropped at the revival of the Grand Lodge in 1717, they presumed to claim the right of constituting Lodges."[1]

The Grand Lodge at London now committed an act of folly, the effects of which remain to the present day. Being desirous to exclude the seceding Masons from visiting the regular lodges, it made a few changes in the ritual by transposing certain significant words in the lower degrees, and inventing a new one in the Third.

The opportunity of raising the cry of innovation (a phrase that has always been abhorrent to the Masonic mind) was not lost. But availing themselves of it, the seceders began to call themselves "Ancient Masons," and stigmatize the members of the regular lodges as "Modern Masons," thus proclaiming that they alone had preserved the old usages of the Craft, while the regulars had invented and adopted new ones.

At this day, when the turbulence of passion has long ceased to exist, and when the whole Fraternity of English Masons is united under one system, it is impossible duly to estimate the evil consequences which arose from this measure of innovation adopted by the Grand Lodge.

If it had made no change in its ritual, but confined itself to the exercise of discipline according to constitutional methods, provided by its own laws, it is probable that the irregular lodges would have received little countenance from the great body of the Craft, and as they would have had no defense for their contumacy, except their objection to the stringency of the Grand Lodge regulations, that objection could have been easily met by showing that the regulations were stringent only because stringency was necessary to the very existence of the institution.

Unsustained by any justification of their rebellion, they would, under the general condemnation of the wiser portion of the Fra-

[1] Northouck, "Constitutions," p. 240, note.

ternity, have been compelled in the course of time to abandon their independent and irregular lodges and once more to come under obedience to their lawful superior, the Grand Lodge of England.

But the charge that the landmarks had been invaded and that innovations on the ancient usages had been introduced, had a wonderful effect in giving strength to the cause of those who thus seemed in their rebellion to be only defenders of the old ways.

"Antiquity," says one who was himself an Ancient York Mason, "is dear to a Mason's heart; innovation is treason, and saps the venerable fabric of the Order."[1]

And so the seceders, instead of returning to their allegiance to the legitimate Grand Lodge, persisted in their irregularities, and making new converts, sometimes of individuals and sometimes of entire lodges, which were attracted by their claim of antiquity, at length resolved to acquire permanent life and authority by the establishment of a Grand Lodge to which they gave the imposing name of "The Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions."

But the seceders themselves were not less obnoxious to the charge of innovating on the landmarks. One change in the existing ritual introduced by them was far more important than any mere transposition of passwords. This innovation having been extended by them into all the foreign countries where the Grand Lodge of the Ancients subsequently established lodges or Provincial Grand Lodges, and afterward compulsorily accepted by the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, at the union of the Grand Lodges at London in 1813, has entirely changed the whole system of Freemasonry from that which existed in the constitutional Grand Lodge of England during the 18th century.

This innovation consisted in a mutilation of the Third degree or "Master's Part," and the fabrication of a Fourth degree, now known to the Fraternity as the Royal Arch degree.

"The chief feature in the new ritual," says Brother Hughan, "consisted in a division of the Third degree into two sections, the second of which was restricted to a few Master Masons who were approved as candidates and to whom the peculiar secrets were alone communicated."[2]

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[1] Dalcho, "Ahiman Rezon of South Carolina," second edition, p. 191.

[2] "Memorials of the Masonic Union," p. 5.

From the year 1723 and onward throughout the 18th century and the early portion of the 19th the Grand Lodge of Moderns practiced only three degrees. The adoption of a Fourth degree by the Grand Lodge of Ancients gave to that body a popularity which it probably would not otherwise have obtained. "Many gentlemen," says Hughan, in the work just cited, "preferred joining the 'Grand Lodge of Four Degrees,' to associating with the society which worked only three." And hence when, in 1813, the two rival bodies entered into a union which produced the present Grand Lodge of England, the Moderns were forced to abandon their ritual of three degrees, and to accept that of the Ancients. So in the second article of the Compact, it was declared "that pure Ancient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more; viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow-Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch."

This was evidently a compromise, and compromises always indicate some previous attempt at compulsion. The constitutional Grand Lodge sought to preserve its consistency by recognizing only three degrees, while it immediately afterward, and in the same sentence, sacrificed that consistency by admitting that there was a Fourth, called the Royal Arch.

The Ancients had clearly gained a victory, but without this victory the union could never have been accomplished. But this subject of the Royal Arch will be more fully discussed when we come to the consideration of the origin and history of that degree.

I have already said that it is impossible to determine the precise year in which the Grand Lodge of Ancients was established. Before its actual organization the brethren of the different lodges appear to have combined under the title of the "Grand Committee." This body, it would seem, subsequently became the Grand Lodge.

The earliest preserved record of the transactions of this Committee has the date of July 17, 1751.[1] On that day there was an Assembly of Ancient Masons at the "Turk's Head Tavern," in Greek Street, Soho, when the Masters of the seven lodges which recognized

[1] Cited by Bro. Robert Freke Gould in his work on "The Atholl Lodges" (p. 2), to which work I am also indebted for valuable information in the way of quotations from the "Atholl Records." This is the earliest date cited in the "Atholl Records."

the Grand Committee as their head,[1] namely, lodges Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, "were authorized to grant Dispensations and Warrants and to act as Grand Master."

The first result of this unusual and certainly very irregular authority conferred upon all the Masters of private lodges to act as Grand Master was the Constitution in the same year of a lodge at the "Temple and Sun," Shire Lane, Temple Bar, which took the number 8, and this appears to have been the first Warrant issued by the Ancients.

The Warrant, which is in favor of James Bradshaw, Master, and Thomas Blower and R. D. Guest, as Wardens, is signed by the Masters of lodges Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6. This would imply that the authority and prerogatives of a Grand Master were conferred not upon each Master, individually, but upon the whole of them, collectively, or at least upon a majority of them. These Masters constituted a body which in its exercise of the prerogatives of a Grand Master has since found its analogue in the "Council of the Order " into which the Grand Orient of France has for some years merged its Grand Mastership, though the mode of organization of the latter body materially differs from that of the former.

This "Grand Committee," whose presiding officer was called the "President," exercised the functions of a Grand Lodge without the name until the close of the year 1752. In 1751 it granted Warrants for two other lodges, numbered respectively 9 and 10; in 1752 it constituted five more, respectively numbered as 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

It will be seen that in its legislation the Grand Committee refers only to No. 2 as its oldest lodge. No. 1 must, however, have existed, though not named as such in the records. But in the list of Atholl Lodges given by Bro. Gould, No. 1 is stated to have been called the "Grand Master's Lodge," and its Warrant is dated August 13, 1759. In 1751 and 1752 it could not, however, have borne this title, because during those years there was no Grand Master recognized by the Ancients.

It was probably the senior lodge, the first which seceded from

[1] Bro. Gould thinks that this "Grand Committee," which subsequently was developed into a Grand Lodge, was no doubt originally the senior private lodge of the Ancients. Ibid., Preface, p. ix.

the legitimate Grand Lodge, and with which Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 subsequently united.

These were lodges which on account of their irregularities and schismatic proceedings had been stricken from the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, and having assumed the name of Ancient Masons, had enrolled themselves under the lead of the oldest of their companions in secession.

This older lodge appears to have been the body known at first as the Grand Committee and which, some time after the organization of a Grand Lodge, received the title of "The Grand Master's Lodge" and the precedence of lodges as No. 1.

It is only in this way that we can reasonably explain the apparent anomaly that of the seven lodges which must have been engaged in 1751 in the work of the Ancients, no mention is made of No. 1, but that upon No. 2, with the five other lodges of later numbers, was conferred the functions of a Grand Master and the power of warranting lodges, while no mention is made of No. 1, the oldest of the seven. The fact was that No. 1 constituted the really governing body, known until a Grand Lodge was established as the Grand Committee. Bro. Gould, who has very carefully investigated the history of the Atholl lodges, entertains the same opinion.

He says: "The 'Grand Committee' of the 'Ancients,' which subsequently developed into their 'Grand Lodge,' was, no doubt, originally their senior private lodge, whose growth, in this respect, is akin to that of the Grand Chapter of the 'Moderns,' which, commencing in 1765 as a private Chapter, within a few years assumed the general direction of the R. A. Masonry, and issued Warrants of constitution."[1]

Of this Grand Committee John Morgan was, in 1751, the Secretary. He appears to have been very remiss in the performance of his duties. His successor, Laurence Dermott, who was elected Secretary or Grand Secretary of the Committee February 5, 1752, reported that he had received "no copy or manuscript of the Transactions" from Morgan, and did not believe that that officer had ever kept a book of records. This neglect has thrown much obscurity on the early periods of the history of the Ancients.

The "Grand Lodge of England, according to the old Institu-

[1] "The Atholl Lodges," Preface, p. ix.

tions," appears to have been organized as a Grand Lodge on De« cember 5, 1753, for on that day Robert Turner, the Master of Lodge No. 15, was elected the first Grand Master. Laurence Dermott, who was at that time the Secretary of the Grand Committee, became the Grand Secretary of the new Grand Lodge, and continued in that office until the year 1770.

In writing a sketch of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," it would not be fitting to the prominent position he occupied in its history to give to Dermott only an incidental notice. First as its Grand Secretary, and afterward as Grand Master, he gave to the scheme of organizing a body rivaling that of the Constitutional Masons, a factitious luster which secured it an extraordinary share of popularity. It must be admitted that this was, in great part, accomplished by scandalous statements, devoid of truth; while such a course must detract from his moral character, we can not deny to him the reputation of being the best informed and the most energetic worker of all the disciples and adherents of the so-called "Ancient Masonry." In the early years of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" we look in vain for the name of any officer or member distinguished for social rank or literary reputation. We look in vain, among those who were prominent in its history, for such scholars as Anderson or Payne or Desaguliers. The name of Dermott shows the only star in its firmament, not indeed peculiarly effulgent in itself, but whose brilliance is owing to contrast with the obscurity of those which surround it.

In some well written "Studies of Masonic History," published in Mackey's *National Freemason,* Bro. J. F. Brennan has thus described the successful efforts of Dermott to establish the popularity of his Grand Lodge.

"The history of that period, so far as concerns Laurence Dermott's strenuous and persistent determination to establish upon a firm foundation his Grand Lodge, has, except in slight degree, never been published, if it has ever been written. Enough to say, that notwithstanding the most earnest antagonism manifested towards him by the 1717 organization, or its then succession, he triumphantly did succeed, and not only divided the profits of Grand Lodgeism with the earlier organization in London, but as well led the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland to believe that the 1717 organization was a spurious body and therefore unworthy of recog-

nition by those Grand Lodges while his Grand Lodge was really and properly the true Grand Lodge of English Freemasons. And not only did he thus succeed, but he also induced Freemasons in the then British American Colonies, which subsequently became the United States, particularly in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina to believe that in his Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons, alone was true Freemasonry extant; and so well did he succeed that while in several of those colonies he established under his Charter lodges assuming to be Grand Lodges, in Pennsylvania, notably, he induced all the lodges there already and for several years established to surrender their Charters and accept from him Charters preferably, and as authority for their practice of what he designated the real Ancient York and only true Masonry recognized or properly recognizable, and his *Ahiman Rezon,* a plagiaristic adaptation of the 1723[1] publication of Anderson, the only correct 'Book of Masonic Constitutions.' "[2]

Of a man so successful in intrigue we know but little, save what we derive from his connection with the body which he served so faithfully. Unlike Anderson and Desaguliers and Payne and Folkes and other lights of the legitimate Grand Lodge, he wrote nothing and did nothing, outside of Masonry, which could secure his memory from oblivion.

Laurence Dermott was born in Ireland in the year 1720. In 1740 he was initiated into Freemasonry in a Modern lodge at Dublin, and on June 24, 1746, was installed as Master of Lodge No. 26 in that city.

It is undeniable that Dermott was a man of some education. Brother Gould says[3] that "besides English and his native Irish, Dermott seems to have been conversant with the Jewish tongue. All the books kept by him as Grand Secretary are plastered over with Hebrew characters, and the proceedings of the Stewards' lodge record, under date of March 21, 1764, 'Heard the petition of G. J. Strange, an Arabian Mason, with whom the Grand Secretary conversed in the Hebrew language.' " The *Ahiman Rezon,* while the

[1] Brennan is here in error; the plagiarism, of which there is no doubt, is of the 1738 and not the 1723 edition of Anderson's "Constitutions."

[2] Mackey's "National Freemason," Washington, 1872, vol. i., p. 302.

[3] Cited in the "Keystone," November 6, 1880.

title indicates a smattering at least of Hebrew, gives several proofs that Dermott was a man of some reading. He was not a profound scholar, but he was far from being illiterate.

In what year he removed to England is not known, but he afterward joined a lodge under the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Grand Lodge. In 1751 he removed his membership to Lodge No. 1, on the registry of the "Ancients," and was a member of it when on February 5, 1752, he was elected Grand Secretary of the seceders' Grand Lodge. From that time he devoted all his energies and what abilities he possessed to the advancement of the cause of the "Ancients," with what success has already been seen.

He was appointed Deputy Grand Master on March 2, 1771, by the third Duke of Atholl, who had just been elected Grand Master. On December 27, 1777, he resigned that position, and at his request W. Dickey was appointed as his successor by the fourth Duke of Atholl. He was again appointed Deputy on December 27, 1783, and was, at his own request, succeeded, on December 27, 1787, by James Perry, who was appointed by the Earl of Antrim, Grand Master at that time. Dermott's last appearance in the Grand Lodge was on June 3, 1789, after which period he is lost sight of.

During this long period of thirty-seven years Laurence Dermott was untiring in his devotion to the interests of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," and to the propagation of what was called "Ancient York Masonry."

Six years after its organization the legitimate Grand Lodge, established in 1717, had prepared and published a *Book of Constitutions.* Dermott felt it necessary that his own Grand Lodge should also have a code of laws for its government.

Accordingly, in 1756 he published the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of which he was the Grand Secretary, under the following title:

Ahiman Rezon: or a Help to a Brother, showing the Excellency of Secrecy and the first cause or motive of the Institution of Freemasonry; the Principles of the Craft and the Benefits from a Strict Observance thereof etc., also the Old and New Regulations, etc. To which is added the greatest collection of Masons Songs, etc. By Laurence Dermott, Secretary.

Other editions, with the title much abbreviated, were published subsequently, the last, by Thomas Harper, in 1813, the year before the union of the two Grand Lodges.

The third edition, published in 1778, has a much briefer title. It is the *Ahiman Rezon: or a Help to all that are, or would be Free and Accepted Masons, with many Additions.* By Lau. Dermott, D. G. M.

In this work, partly in an address "To the Reader" (pages i-xxi), and in what he calls "A Phylacterlal[1] for such Gentlemen as may be inclined to become Free-Masons" (pages xxii to xxviii), he gives a confused history of the origin of the Grand Lodge of Moderns and of his own Grand Lodge, claiming, of course, for the latter a priority of date, and decrying the former as a spurious innovation on genuine Freemasonry.

His attempted history is, on account of its meager details and its assumptions, unsupported by any authority, utterly without value. As a specimen of its worthlessness as an historical document, the following narrative of the Grand Lodge at London in 1717 affords a fair sample:

"About the year 1717," he writes, "some joyous companions who had passed the degree of a craft (though very rusty) resolved to form a lodge for themselves in order (by conversation) to recollect what had been formerly dictated to them, or if that should be found impracticable, to substitute something new, which might for the future pass for masonry amongst themselves. At this meeting the question was asked whether any person in the assembly knew the Master's part, and being answered in the negative, it was resolved, *nem. con.*, that the deficiency should be made up, with a new composition, and what fragments of the old order found amongst them should be immediately reformed, and made more pliable to the humors of the people."[2]

In this absurd way he proceeds to account for the invention of a ritual by the "Moderns," which they adopted as a substitute for the genuine possessed by the "Ancients."

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[1] This is a Greek word, but improperly spelt by Dermott, and signifies a precaution or warning. Dermott appears to have been, like most smatterers, fond of using words borrowed from the dead languages, and incomprehensible or puzzling to plain readers. Witness his "Ahiman Rezon," the name which he gives to his Book of Constitutions, the prayer which he calls "Ahabath Olam," and this "Philacteria." "A little learning," says Pope, "is a dangerous thing," and that seems to have been Dermott's infirmity.

[2] Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon," third edition, p. 35.

Recent researches into the history of the ritual and the formation of the three degrees which, with the addition of the Royal Arch, constitute what is called "Ancient Craft Masonry," make it unnecessary to prove by an argument that all of Dermott's statements on this subject are utterly false and the mere figment of his own invention.

It is indeed extraordinary that this unscrupulous writer should have had the audacity to assert that he and his followers were in possession of a system of Speculative Freemasonry much older than that which was practiced by the Grand Lodge, organized in 1717, and that they derived their authority to open and hold their lodges from this more ancient system.

The fact is that Dermott himself, like every one of those who before his appearance on the stage had separated from the Constitutional Grand Lodge and established what they called "Lodges of Ancient Masons," was originally made in a lodge of Moderns. Whatever he knew of Speculative Freemasonry was derived from a lodge in Ireland which had derived its authority and learned its lessons from the 1717 Grand Lodge at London.

The first schism, which took place in 1738, was not pretended to be based on the fact that the seceders were desirous of practicing an older and purer Masonry than that professed by the Grand Lodge at London. It was because they were unwilling to submit to the constitutional regulations which had been established by the Grand Lodge and because their irregular proceedings, in violation of those regulations, had met with necessary censure and deserved punishment.

It is true that after the secession and consequent erasure from the roll of these contumacious lodges, the Constitutional Grand Lodge, to prevent the visits of irregular Masons, had most unwisely made a few alterations in the modes of recognition.

These alterations were not adopted by the seceders, but retaining the old methods which had been in use, certainly as far back as 1723, some of them still earlier, they claimed to be "Ancient Masons," because they adhered to the old forms, while they stigmatized the Masons who still maintained their allegiance to the Constitutional Grand Lodge as "Moderns," because they practiced the new methods.

And this is in fact all there really is about this dispute concern-

ing "Ancients" and "Moderns," which for so many years distracted the English Craft, and the remembrance of which is to this day preserved and perpetuated in America, where Dermott Masonry at one time prevailed to a very great extent, by the title assumed by several Grand Lodges of "Ancient York Masons."

The hypothesis that there was any Speculative Freemasonry distinct from Operative Freemasonry that can be traced to an earlier origin than that of the Grand Lodge established in 1717, was a fiction invented by its propagators under the influence of interested motives and ignorantly accepted by their successors as an historical fact.

We know from documents now extant that Laurence Dermott, who was entered, passed, and raised in a lodge of what he afterward called a lodge of "Moderns," who afterward presided over a lodge of the same character in Ireland, and on his removal to England renewed his connection with a Modern lodge, and so remained until he was elected the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients."

It is almost impossible to believe, that with the knowledge which he must have had of current events, he could have honestly been of the opinion that there was any Speculative Freemasonry, or any Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasonry, older than that established in 1717.

He must have known, too, while he was stigmatizing this body as illegal and sarcastically styling the system which it practiced "the memorable invention of modern masonry," that from it, and from it alone, every lodge of Speculative Masons, his own lodges included, either directly or indirectly had derived the authority for their existence.

Nothing more clearly shows the insincerity of Dermott's denunciation of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" than his conduct in reference to the Regulations. It is known that in 1721 the Grand Lodge approved the "General Regulations of the Free and Accepted Masons," which had been compiled the year before by Grand Master Payne. In 1723 these were published by authority of the Grand Lodge, together with the "Old Charges," which had been "collected from the old Records" and "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge" as practiced by Grand Master the Duke of Wharton.

In 1738, by authority of the same Grand Lodge, a second edition

of the *Book of Constitutions* was published under the editorship of Dr. Anderson. In this edition Anderson made some material changes in the language of the "Old Charges," and in "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge," so as to adapt them to the changes in the Ritual by which the Master Mason superseded the Fellow-Craft as the crowning degree of Speculative Freemasonry. He also published the "General Regulations" in two columns; in the first were the "Old Regulations," printed without change, and in the other column, opposite to them, were "the New Regulations, or the Alterations, Improvements or Explications of the Old, made by several Grand Lodges since the first edition."

Now this second edition, having after inspection of the manuscript been "approved and recommended" by the Grand Lodge, "as the only *Book of Constitutions* for the use of the lodges,"[1] became the law for the government of those whom Dermott had called the "Modern Masons," and the organization of which he had declared to be "defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."[2]

If such were his honest opinion, then he must have believed that the Grand Lodge of 1717, so constituted, was an illegal body, and consequently incapable of enacting any laws or regulations or instituting any ceremonies which could be of binding force upon the Fraternity which derived its existence from an older institution.

But we find that so far from repudiating the laws enacted by this illegal and defective organization, he adopted them in full for the government of his own Grand Lodge, which he had claimed to be the only perfect and legal one.

Therefore, when he compiled his *Ahiman Rezon* and bestowed it upon the "Ancients" as their Book of Constitutions, Dermott, instead of seeking laws for its government in that older system, whose parentage he claimed, deliberately appropriated from the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, without a change, except here and there a brief marginal comment, the whole of the "Old Charges," the "Old and

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," edition of 1738, p. 199. In the next edition the editor, Entick, restored the original phraseology of 1723, but the "Charges" and "Regulations" in the edition of 1738 continued to be the law of the Grand Lodge for eighteen years, and were so when Dermott adopted them for the government of his Grand Lodge.

[2] Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon," p. xiv.

New Regulations," and "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge."

The irresistible conclusion from this is that while pretending to believe that the organization of 1717 was invalid and an innovation on an older system from which he and his adherents denied their existence, Dermott actually knew and felt that the organization was valid and legitimate, that the Grand Lodge then formed was regular and constitutional, and that the laws and regulations adopted by it were the only constitutional authority for the government of the Craft.

There can be no doubt that Dermott was insincere in his professions and consciously untruthful in his statements, and that while the Masonic schism was made by him the instrument for advancing his own interests, he was well aware that all his pretensions as to the superior antiquity of his own Grand Lodge, and his denunciations of the Grand Lodge of 1717 as a modern and illegal organization, were false.

But che rapid progress made by the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" in the popular regard, which, in the beginning was mainly attributable to the untruthful statements and the specious arguments of Dermott, for many years threw a veil over the defects of his character.

"Throughout his eventful career," says Hughan, "he always managed to secure a good working majority in his favor, and the extraordinary success of the schism was an argument in confirmation of his views, which the most of his followers acknowledged."[1]

Success, says Seneca, makes some crimes honorable, and Dermott, the falsifier of history, had for a long time an honorable name in England and America among the adherents of the Grand Lodge of which he was, if not the founder, certainly the chief supporter.

It is here proper to say a few words in relation to Dermott's connection with the fabrication of the Royal Arch degree. This degree, which Dermott enthusiastically calls "the root, heart, and marrow of masonry,"[2] was, undoubtedly, one of the most efficient elements in giving popularity to the lodges of the "Ancients," because it presented as an additional and much extolled degree, an incentive to candidates which was wanting in the lodges of the "Moderns."

[1] Hughan, "Memorials of the Masonic Union," p. 8.
[2] Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," second edition, 1764, p. 46.

It is, however, incorrect to credit Dermott (as has been done by many writers) with its invention or even its introduction into the system of the "Ancients." It was known to and practiced by the schismatic lodges, who were censured for their "irregular makings" as early as 1738, by the Constitutional Grand Lodge. Dermott, as we have seen, was made in a "Modern" lodge in Ireland, became affiliated with a Modern lodge in London when he removed to England, and could have known nothing of the Royal Arch degree until he joined No. 9, an "Ancient," in 1751.

That he afterward cultivated and perhaps enlarged or improved the degree, and gave to it a prominence which it did not at first possess, is not improbable. But it is an error to attribute to him its invention.

But this subject will be more appropriately and more fully treated in the Chapter to be devoted to the History of the Origin of the Royal Arch degree.

The third and fourth Dukes of Atholl played so prominent a part in the history of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" as to give to that body, as has already been said, the distinctive title of the "Atholl Grand Lodge." It is indeed to the social influence of these noblemen, combined with the shrewdness and indomitable energy of Laurence Dermott, that the Grand Lodge was indebted for the remarkable success which it achieved.

The Grand Lodge at the date of its organization out of the "Grand Committee" had elected, on December 5, 1753, Robert Turner, who was the Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 15, as Grand Master. In 1754 Edward Vaughan was elected to that office. In 1756 the Earl of Blessington received the Grand Mastership, and was succeeded in 1760 by the Earl of Kelly, who, after five years of service, was followed in 1766 by the Hon. Thomas Mathew, who served until 1771.

In 1771 John, the third Duke of Atholl, was elected Grand Master. The Duke was a member of the Scottish Craft, and in the following year was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, so that, as he continued in his English office until his death, in 1774, he was at the same time Grand Master both of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England. The effect of this unusual concurrence of two offices, whereby the leadership of the Craft in two countries was vested in the same person,

was seen in a close union which about that time was cemented between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and that of the "Ancients" in England.

In 1782 the Earl of Antrim was elected Grand Master, and served until 1790. From 1773 to 1779 the Earl had been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

This shrewd policy of electing leading Masons in the two sister kingdoms to the highest position in the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England, very soon displayed the effect which Dermott had wisely expected to be produced.

On September 2, 1771, the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," meeting at the "Half Moon Tavern" in Cheapside,[1] Laurence Dermott being in the chair as Deputy Grand Master, adopted the following resolution, which the Grand Secretary was ordered to transmit to the Grand Lodge of Ireland:

"It is the opinion of this Grand Lodge that a brotherly connection and correspondence with the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ireland has been and will always be found productive of honor and advantage to the Craft in both kingdoms."

At the same time it was ordered that the Grand Secretary should annually transmit to the Grand Lodge of Ireland the names of officers elected and any other information that might be of interest to the Craft.

It was further ordered that no Mason made under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland should be admitted as a member nor partake of the General Charity of the Grand Lodge of England unless he produced a certificate from the Irish Grand Secretary.[2]

At the same meeting, on the proposition of Dermott, a correspondence was ordered to be opened with the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The response from both the Grand Lodges of Ireland and of Scotland was very satisfactory to the "Ancients."

On November 5, 1772, the Grand Lodge of Ireland, Viscount

[1] The Half Moon in Cheapside was, during the 17th and 18th centuries, a tavern of some notoriety. Ashmole records in his Diary, under date of March 11, 1682, that he was at "a noble dinner given at the Half Moon Tavern in 'Cheapside.' " The Grand Lodge of Ancients met there, but subsequently removed to the Crown and Anchor.

[2] Dermott had previously opened a correspondence with Thomas Corker, the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland, to prepare the way for this action. See "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, p. lvi.

Dunluce being Grand Master, adopted a resolution which declared that it entirely agreed with the Grand Lodge of England that a brotherly connection and correspondence between the two Grand Lodges had been and always would be found of honor and advantage to the Craft in both kingdoms.[1]

It was also ordered that the particular occurrences of the Grand Lodge of Ireland should from time to time be continued to be transmitted to the Grand Secretary of England, and that "hereafter no English Mason shall be considered worthy of their charity without producing a certificate from the Grand Lodge of England."

The letter suggested by Dermott was sent to the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It was of the same purport and almost in the same language as that transmitted to Ireland, except that the Grand Lodge of England expressed the opinion that a brotherly connection and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Scotland "will be found productive of honor and advantage to the fraternity in general."

There is no reference, as I have stated in the preceding note, to any former correspondence, but only the proposal for a future one.

On November 30, 1772, the Earl of Dumfries being Grand Master, and the Duke of Atholl being present as Grand Master elect, the letter and resolution of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions" being read (so says the record), "the Grand Lodge were of opinion that the brotherly love and intercourse which the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of England were desirous to establish would be serviceable to both Grand Lodges and productive of honor and advantage to the fraternity."[2]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland accordingly commenced the correspondence by transmitting the names of the officers that day elected, and ordered the same to be done yearly, together with any other information that might be of honor and advantage to the Craft.

It also ordered "that no Mason, made under the sanction of the

[1] The use of the word "continued" and the phraseology in the resolution of both bodies that a brotherly connection and correspondence "have been and always will be" would indicate that such a connection and correspondence had previously existed between the two Grand Lodges. This phraseology is not used by the Grand Lodge of England in the resolution sent to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor is it employed by that body in its responsive resolution. In both, the reference is only to a future correspondence.

[2] Laurie, "History of Freemasonry," p. 208. Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," p. lx.

'Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions,' shall be admitted a member of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor partake of the general charity without having first produced a certificate of his good behavior from the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England."[1]

The reader will notice a very important difference in the phraseology of the orders of the two Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, which if intentionally made would indicate the feelings of each to the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland, addressing the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," calls it "the Grand Lodge of England," and refuses recognition to any "English Mason" who does not produce a certificate from it.

The necessary effect of this order would be to repudiate the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" and to place all its members under the ban as illegal Masons. It is very evident that no member of a lodge of "Moderns" would seek or obtain a certificate from the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," and without this, if he visited Ireland, he would be debarred by the terms of the Order from all his Masonic rights and privileges. Such an order would, according to the views of the present day, be considered as a recognition of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" as the only regular Masonic authority in England.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland was more prudent in its choice of language. It specifically designated the body in England with which it was about to establish a brotherly correspondence as "the Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," and required only Masons made under its sanction to present its certificates. Thus we may justly infer that Masons made under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" were not excluded from Masonic visitation if they had the certificate of their own Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, however, subsequently reconsidered their action and eventually assumed the position of neutrality or indifference in the contest, but, says Hughan, "during the period that they especially countenanced the refractory brethren, the latter made considerable out of the fact, and proclaimed their alliance with these two Grand Lodges far and near."[2]

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[1] Laurie, "History of Freemasonry," p. 208. Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," p. lx.

[2] Hughan, "Masonic Memorials," p. 14.

Looking at the subject from the legal stand-point of the present day, one can not but be greatly surprised at the action taken by the Irish and Scottish Masons.

Here are two Grand Lodges, the former of which was indebted to the legitimate Grand Lodge of England for its organization and the latter for its ritual, deliberately ignoring that body and acknowledging as legitimate a schismatic association which their ancient ally had declared to be irregular.

Evidently Masonic jurisprudence had not then assumed those formal principles by which it is now distinguished and by which it governs the institution.

Scarcely less surprising is it that the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England appears to have taken no notice of these proceedings, nor entered any protest against their want of comity. Neither Preston nor Northouck, in their chronicle of the times, make any reference to this manifest invasion of legitimate authority. It is passed over by both in silence as something which they either deemed inexplicable or not worthy of mention.

The Grand Lodge itself, when four or five years after it repeated its denunciation of the "Ancients," treated the two Grand Lodges which had sustained its rival with a courtesy which under similar circumstances at this day it would hardly repeat.

On April 7, 1777, the Constitutional Grand Lodge held an "extraordinary" communication to take into consideration "the proper means of discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves ancient masons," when the following resolution was passed:

"It is the opinion of this Grand Lodge, that the persons calling themselves ancient masons, and now assembling in England or elsewhere, under the patronage of the Duke of Atholl are not to be considered as masons, nor are their meetings to be countenanced or acknowledged by any lodge or mason acting under our authority. But this censure shall not extend to any mason who shall produce a certificate or give other satisfactory proof of his having been made a mason in a regular lodge under the Constitution of Scotland, Ireland, or any foreign Grand Lodge in alliance with the Grand Lodge of England."[1]

[1] Northouck, "Constitutions," p. 323.

So the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland were recognized by the Constitutional Grand Lodge as in friendly alliance with it, notwithstanding that the one had repudiated all English Masons who were not "Ancients," and the other had acknowledged the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" as a regular and legally constituted organization.

The comparison which is thus afforded of the energy of the "Ancients" and the apathy of the "Moderns" would alone sufficiently account for the rapid success and growing popularity of the former body, were there no other causes existing to produce the same result.

It was very natural that the "Ancient" Grand Lodge, elated by this success and popularity, should in an official document issued in 1802 have declared that its members "can not and must not receive into the body of a just and perfect lodge, nor treat as a Brother any person who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the "Ancient" Constitutions as practiced by the United Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the regular branches that have sprung from their sanction."[1]

The schismatics had now claimed to be regular, and the regular Masons were relegated by them to the realms of schism. It is the nature of men, says the Italian historian Guicciardini, when they leave one extreme in which they have been forcibly held to rush speedily to the opposite. Just before the middle of the 18th century the "Ancient" Masons, who were embraced in only a few lodges, were accepting the censures of the Constitutional Grand Lodge for their irregularities, and were humbly but not sincerely making promises of reformation. At its close they were denouncing their old masters as irregular and proclaiming themselves to be the only true Masons in England.

Mention has been frequently made of the successful progress of the "Ancients" in the propagation of their system. The authentic records of the time afford the most satisfactory evidence of this fact.

Commencing its organized opposition to the regular Grand Lodge in 1751, under a superintending head styled the "Grand Committee," which was in fact the premier lodge, and six others, it constituted in 1751 and 1752 seven others. In 1753 these lodges

[1] See the edition of the "Ahiman Rezon," 1804, p. 130.

organized the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions." In the course of the next four years it constituted thirty additional lodges in London and ten more in various parts of the kingdom, namely, two at Bristol, three at Liverpool, and one each at Manchester, Warrington, Coventry, Worcester, and Deptford, so that at the end of the year 1757 there were or had been fifty-four lodges in England acknowledging allegiance to the "Ancient" Grand Lodge.

But its operations were not confined to the narrow limits of the kingdom. Lodges and a Provincial Grand Lodge were established in Nova Scotia as early as 1757, and in a few years there were lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges in Canada, in the American colonies, in the West, at Minorca in the Mediterranean, in the distant island of St. Helena, and in the East Indies.

In 1774 the third Duke of Atholl died, being at the time, as he had been since 1771, the Grand Master of the "Ancients."

His son and the successor to his title, John the fourth Duke, was not a Mason at the time of his father's death. On February 25, 1775, as we learn from the Minutes of the Grand Committee,[1] he received the first three degrees in the Grand Master's Lodge of Ancient Masons, and was immediately chosen as Master of that lodge. On March 1st, in the same year, only four days after his initiation, he was unanimously elected to succeed his father as Grand Master.

The object of Dermott and his companions in thus elevating a mere tyro to the magistral chair was simply to retain for their Grand Lodge the great influence and patronage of the Scottish House of Atholl. In 1782 the Duke was succeeded by the Earl, afterward the Marquis, of Antrim, an Irish nobleman, who held the office of Grand Master until 1791.

The Duke of Atholl was then re-elected, and continued to preside over the Grand Lodge until the year 1813, when he resigned and was succeeded by the Duke of Kent, who assumed the office as a preliminary step toward the union of the two Grand Lodges, which was consummated in that year.

The following is a correct list of the Grand Masters of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," or

[1] Cited by Bro. Gould in his "Atholl Lodges," p. i.

more familiarly speaking, the "Grand Lodge of Ancients," or the "Atholl Grand Lodge," from its birth to its death. It was first compiled by Bro. W. J. Hughan, and published in his *Masonic Memorials.* I have verified it (though verification was hardly necessary of so accurate an historian) by collation with other authorities.

1753,	Robert Turner,
1754-55,	Edward Vaughan,
1756-59,	Earl of Blessington,
1760-65,	Earl of Kellie,
1766-70,	Hon. Thomas Mathew,
1771-74,	John, third Duke of Atholl,
1775-81,	John, fourth Duke of Atholl,
1782-90,	Earl of Antrim,
1791-1813,	John, fourth Duke of Atholl,
1813,	Duke of Kent.

The following is a list of the Grand Secretaries who served during the same period:

1752,	John Morgan,
1752-70,	Laurence Dermott,
1771-76,	William Dickey,
1777-78,	James Jones,
1779-82,	Charles Bearblock,
1783-84,	Robert Leslie,
1785-89,	John McCormick,
1790-1813,	Robert Leslie,

It is inconceivable how Preston could have committed so grave an historical error as to say, "the fact is, that the 'Ancients' after their secession continued to hold their meetings without acknowledging a superior till 1772, when they chose for their grand master the Duke of Atholl."[1] He was apparently utterly ignorant of the fact, here shown, that their first Grand Master was elected in 1753, and that from that time until the dissolution of their Grand Lodge in 1813 the office was filled by an uninterrupted succession of Grand Masters. *Voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire*.[2]

In conclusion it is necessary to say something of the character

[1] "Illustrations of Masonry," p. 358.

[2] Voltaire, "Chariot," I. p. 7.

and pretensions of the Grand Lodge which created a Masonic schism that lasted in an organized form for sixty years, and which extended its influence into every part of the civilized world where the English language was spoken.

The Freemasons, who about 1738 seceded from the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England, and soon after began to call themselves "Ancient Masons," and who stigmatized the regular members of the Craft as "Moderns," were not incited to the secession in consequence of any innovations that had been made upon the ritual by the Grand Lodge from which they separated.

Those innovations were the consequence and not the cause of their secession. They were made by the Grand Lodge, so as to produce a change in the working that would exclude the visits of the seceders to the regular lodges. They were indeed not very important and did not at all affect the traditional history or the symbolic system of Speculative Freemasonry. The adoption of them was certainly, however, a very great error, and the seceders were not slow to avail themselves of the charge of innovation, so distasteful to the Masonic mind, to produce a feeling of sympathy in their behalf.

But the truth is that the first innovation, and this, too, a very important one, was made by the "Ancients" themselves, and the practice of it was the cause of the censures passed by the regular Grand Lodge, which was the first step that led to the final separation.

It is important to settle the nature of this innovation, because it is really the "chief corner-stone" on which the schism of the "Ancients" was founded, and because one of the almost contemporary historians of the Regular Grand Lodge has committed a grave error in respect to it.

Northouck, who in 1784 gave us the best edited edition of the *Book of Constitutions,* in speaking of the conduct of the Masons engaged in the "irregular makings" which in 1739 elicited the censures of the Grand Lodge, has the following passage:

"In contempt of the ancient and established laws of the Order, they set up a power independent, and taking advantage of the inexperience of their associates, insisted that they had an equal authority with the Grand Lodge to make, pass, and raise masons. At this time no private lodge had the power of passing or raising masons; nor could any brother be advanced to either of these degrees but in

the Grand Lodge, with the unanimous consent and approbation of all the brethren in communication assembled."[1]

It is unaccountable that Northouck should ignorantly or designedly have made an assertion so entirely untruthful as that which is contained in the last clause of the above-cited paragraph.

It is true that in 1723, at about the time of the fabrication of the Second and Third degrees a clause was inserted in the 13th of the Thirty-nine Regulations which declared that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Crafts only here (in the Grand Lodge) unless by dispensation." This was done, in all probability, to secure the proper conferring of the newly fabricated degrees in the hands of their inventors and of experienced Masons, instead of entrusting them to Masters of lodges who might be incompetent to preserve the purity of the ritual.

But this objection was soon obviated as the degrees became more common, and the inconvenience of the Regulation being recognized, it was repealed in 1725.

On November 22, 1725, they adopted a new regulation that "The Master of a lodge with its Wardens and a competent number of the lodge assembled in due form can make Masters and Fellows at discretion."[2]

Seeing that this new regulation was published both by Anderson in 1738 and by Entick in 1756 in their respective editions of the *Book of Constitutions,* with which Northouck must have been familiar, especially with the latter, and seeing also that there is no provision restraining the passing and raising of Candidates by private lodges contained in the code of Regulations published by Northouck in his edition, but on the contrary, one which expressly recognizes that right,[3] it is, as I have said, unaccountable that he should have ignorantly committed the error of which he has been guilty, nor is it to be believed that he would have done so designedly.

The truth is that the act which called down upon certain Masons the censures of the Grand Lodge, and which finally pro-

[1] Northouck's edition of "Book of Constitutions," note on p. 240.

[2] See Anderson, edition of 1738, p. 160, and Entick, edition of 1756, p. 280, where this new Regulation will be found.

[3] "Nor shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise a brother at the same meeting, without a dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy, on very particular occasions." Regulations published by Northouck in his editions of the "Constitutions," p. 392.

duced the separation, was not the conferring of the Second and Third degrees in their lodges, for this was a prerogative that had long before been conceded to them, but it was the conferring of the Master's degree in a form unknown to the existing ritual of the Grand Lodge, and the supplementing it with an entirely new and Fourth degree.

The "irregular making of Masons," which according to Entick[1] was complained of in 1739, was the mutilation of the Third degree and the transferring of its concluding part to another degree called the "Royal Arch."

The Chevalier Ramsey, a Freemason of much learning, was the inventor of a series of degrees supplementary to the system of Craft Masonry, which have furnished the substratum for most if not all of the Modern Rites. Among these was one now known to ritualists as the "Royal Arch of Solomon."

Ramsey went to England in the year 1728, where he received from the University of Oxford the degree of Doctor of the Laws. He sought, it is said, to induce the Grand Lodge to adopt his system of high degrees. But the leading members of that body were extremely conservative and refused to make any change in the ritual.

But there were some of the Fraternity with whom he was more successful. It is not by any means intended to affirm that the Royal Arch degree of Ramsey was accepted in the form or even with the legend which he had invented.

This would not be true. But the theory advanced by Ramsey doubtless awakened in their minds new views and suggested ideas which were novel, but which were believed to be essential to the perfection of Masonic symbolism.

From the earliest times of Speculative Masonry the "Word," or, as it was called by the Masons of Scotland, the "Mason Word," had always held a prominent place in the Masonic ritual, and was, we have every reason to believe, one of the few symbols retained by the Speculative out of the Operative system. The triangle, it will be remembered, always in Christian Iconography an emblem of the Godhead, was a favorite architectural ornament used by the Stonemasons of the Middle Ages.

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[1] Entick, "Constitutions," p. 228.

Adopted by the Speculative Freemasons, it was placed by them, when they fabricated their ritual, as a prominent symbol in the Master's degree, to which it had been transferred from the original degree or ritual common to all the Craft.[1]

But the Master's degree as it was constructed by Dr. Desaguliers and his collaborators was as to the history of this "Word" imperfect. The legend detailing the method by which it had been lost to the Craft was preserved, but no provision had been made to account for its recovery.

The legend was not carried out to its denouement. The story was left unfinished, and although the "Word" was there and was communicated to the Master, no one could tell, for he was not informed, how it got there.

Now Ramsey, who was a thinker and a man of much learning, had seen this defect in the Masonic scheme and had supplied the deficiency by the invention of his "Royal Arch of Solomon." He thus perfected what he had found unfinished, and gave completeness and connection to all the details of the allegory.

Some of the English Masons had doubtless seen the fault in the system of Desaguliers which had been adopted and sanctioned by the Grand Lodge. When Ramsey arrived in England and proposed his new arrangement by which that fault was to be amended, though the Grand Lodge, as the representative of the Fraternity, refused to accept his system, and preferred to "stand on the old ways," imperfect as they were, there were brethren not so strictly conservative in their views who were impressed with the advantage of accepting the suggestions of Ramsey. These brethren were the seceders who, about the year 1738, were concerned in "irregular makings," that is, who undertook to confer the Master's degree in a form different from that which was sanctioned by the Grand Lodge.

At this distance of time it is impossible to know, with anything like precision, what were the precise changes made by the "Ancients" in the old and accepted ritual of the "Moderns." It is, however, very satisfactorily evident, from the course of contempo-

[1] In primitive lodges of Scotland, and the practice prevailed in England and elsewhere, the Mason Word was communicated to Apprentices. Lyon says "this was the germ whence has sprung Symbolical Masonry." "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23

raneous history and from the succession of events, that that change, whatever it was, finally led to the development of the Royal Arch degree, such as it is now practiced, as a necessary completion of the Master's part, and therefore as a recognized section of Ancient Craft Masonry.

In so far, then, the secession of the "Ancients," however unjustifiable it was in its inception as a violation of Masonic law, was in its subsequent results of great advantage to the system of Speculative Freemasonry. It gave to Masonic symbolism a completeness and perfection that was altogether wanting under the old arrangement of only three degrees, and supplied a break in the history of the "Word" which it is strange that the ritualists of the earlier period of the 18th century had not perceived nor appreciated.

The introduction of this degree was for a long time vehemently opposed by the regular Grand Lodge as an innovation on the landmarks. They even treated it with contempt.

To a petitioner from Ireland applying for relief the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" replied: "Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Ancient, so that you have no right to partake of our charity."[1]

But the innovation was advocated with such ability and became so popular that the regular Grand Lodge was compelled to succumb to what was evidently the wish of the Fraternity, and at length to adopt what they had so persistently condemned.[2]

On June 12, 1765, a Royal Arch Chapter was formed in connection with the "Moderns," which was in the subsequent year converted into a Grand Chapter. Hughan says it "was virtually, though not actually, countenanced by the Grand Lodge. It was purely a defensive organization to meet the wants of the regular brethren, and prevent their joining the Ancients for exaltation."[3]

In 1813, at the union of the Grand Lodges, the "Holy Royal Arch" was legally recognized as a constituent part of Ancient Craft Masonry.

A doubt is, however, cast over the accuracy of Bro. Hughan's assertion that in 1766 the Grand Chapter was even virtually counte-

[1] I give this anecdote on the authority of Dermott ("Ahiman Rezon," p. xvi.), but there is no reason to doubt its truth.

[2] "Masonic Memorials," p. 8, note.

[3] Ibid.

nanced by the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" by two contemporaneous records.

The first is the declaration already given of the Grand Secretary of the "Modern" Grand Lodge, made about that time, that they were "neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Ancients;" and the other a letter written on June 7, 1766, by the same Grand Secretary to the Provincial Lodge of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in which he declares that the Royal Arch is "a Society which we do not acknowledge and which we regard as an invention designed for the purpose of introducing innovations amongst the Brotherhood and diverting them from the fundamental rules which our ancestors laid down for us."[1]

In this conflict of authority there appears to be but one reasonable explanation. It is probable that some of the "Modern" Masons, tempted by the success and popularity of the Arch degree among the "Ancients," had independently formed a chapter of their own, and soon converted it into a self-created Grand Chapter, just as the lodge at York, forty years before, had resolved itself into a Grand Lodge.

Although this was done without the sanction of the Grand Lodge, and though it was precisely the same innovation which in 1738 had met with the severe censure of that body, it is to be pre sumed that no notice was taken of the act, because experience had taught the Grand Lodge that the best policy would be not to endanger by opposition a second rebellion from its authority.

So Royal Arch Masonry was permitted to exist by sufferance. But the victory of the "Ancients" was fully accomplished in 1813, when the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was compelled to recognize that which they had at first styled an innovation and to acknowledge the Royal Arch to be a component part of Ancient Craft Masonry.

Thus the two Grand Lodges continued to move in parallel but not amicable lines, both indulging at times in mutual recriminations and each denouncing the other as irregular. The "Ancients," as well as the "Moderns," extended their jurisdiction beyond the limits of England into foreign countries. They exercised this power, however, in a different manner.

The Grand Lodge of "Moderns" usually appointed Deputations

[1] Findel cites this in his "History of Freemasonry," p. 184.

or Provincial Grand Masters in various countries, by whom lodges were organized, and afterward Provincial Grand Lodges.

The "Ancients" never practiced this method. It was their usage to grant Warrants, directly, for the establishment of lodges, and these, as soon as there were a sufficient number, proceeded to organize Grand Lodges, under the incorrect title of "Ancient York Masons."

Such was the universal practice on the American Continent, where the Grand Lodges established under the obedience of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" and those organized by the York or Ancient Lodges preserved the distinctive principles of their parents and inherited their angry passions.

But such a condition of things was too alien to the benign and fraternal sentiments of Freemasonry to be perpetuated. Movements toward a reconciliation were inaugurated toward the close of the 18th century, and finally, in 1813, the Atholl Grand Lodge was forever dissolved by a fusion of the two contending bodies in England into the now existing body under the title of the "United Grand Lodge of England." This excellent example was speedily followed by similar amalgamations in all the States where the rivalry had prevailed.

But the fusion in England, which closes the history of the Atholl Grand Lodge, is too important an event to be treated otherwise than in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XLII

THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND, SOUTH OF THE TRENT; OR THE SCHISM OF THE LODGE OF ANTIQUITY

OF the four old Lodges of London which united in the formation of a Grand Lodge in the year 1717, the one which at that time met at the "Goose and Gridiron Ale-house" in St. Paul's Churchyard, assumed the precedency as No. 1, and under all its changes of name and locality retained that precedency until the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813, when, in casting lots, it lost its primitive rank and became No. 2, a number which it has ever since retained. Anderson calls it "the Senor Lodge whose Constitution is immemorial."[1]

About the year 1729 it removed from the "Goose and Gridiron," to the "King's Arms Tavern," also in St. Paul's Churchyard. Here it remained, except for a brief interval in 1735 until 1768, having taken in 1760 the name of the "West India and American Lodge." In 1768 it removed to the "Mitre," in Fleet Street, and in 1770 adopted the title of the "Lodge of Antiquity," which it has ever since continued to use.[2]

These four Lodges had been established previous to the formation of the Grand Lodge, under the old system which permitted a sufficient number of Masons to meet together and form a lodge, the only authority required being the consent of the chief magistrate of the place.[3]

This privilege, which they called immemorial usage, they claimed and received from the new Grand Lodge, which required all other lodges which should be constituted to previously obtain a Warrant

[1] In the List of lodges in the 1738 "Book of Constitutions," p. 184.
[2] Gould's "Four Old Lodges," note 9, p. 6.
[3] Preston, "Illustrations," Oliver's edition, p. 182.

from the Grand Master, but permitted the four original Lodges to act as they always had done without such authority.

The history of these four Lodges may be thus briefly told:

Lodge No. 2, which originally met at the "Crown" in Parker's Lane, became extinct in 1730.

Lodge No. 3, which met at the "Apple Tree Tavern," memorable as the place where the preliminary meeting for the organization of a Grand Lodge was held, in 1723, on account of some difference among its members, renounced its immemorial privileges and accepted a Warrant of Constitution from the Grand Lodge as No. 10.

Lodge No. 4, afterward No. 2, first held at the "Rummer and Grapes," afterward removed to the "Horn Tavern." In 1747 it was, for non-attendance of its representative at the Quarterly Communications, erased from the roll of lodges,[1] but reinstated in 1751. In 1774 it united with the Somerset Lodge, which had been warranted in 1762 as No. 269.

Preston, in a passage of his 1781 edition, asserted that by this act "the members of the lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges, put themselves entirely under the authority of the Grand Lodge and claimed no distinct privilege by virtue of an immemorial Constitution."

This is not an accurate statement, and Preston did well to erase it from the subsequent editions of his book. The act of incorporation with the Somerset Lodge was really an absorption of that lodge into the Horn Lodge, whose number remained unchanged, and at the union of 1813 it was admitted on the Register without a Warrant of Constitution and as acting from "Time Immemorial."

There is not the least doubt cast upon the record of Lodge No. 1, which met at the "Goose and Gridiron," and which has for more than a century been known as the "Lodge of Antiquity." It never at any time abandoned its claim to all the privileges of a lodge dating from time immemorial and vigorously though perhaps erroneously asserted them when an attempt was made to violate them, and the "Lodge of Antiquity" has remained to the present day without a Warrant.

In Pine's List of lodges for 1729 it is stated that the lodge was

[1] Entick, "Book of Constitutions," p. 248.

established in 1691, but Hughan believes it to have been much older. It is said that the celebrated architect, Sir Christopher Wren, was made a Freemason in this lodge. Aubrey, the antiquary, in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, says that on May 19, 1691, there was "a great convention at St. Paul's Church of the fraternity of Adopted Masons where Sir Christopher Wren is to be adopted a brother, and Sir Henry Goodrie of the Tower and divers others." It is probable that this passage suggested to the maker of Pine's List the notion of giving to the lodge the date of 1691 as the time of its establishment.

Supposing that the lodge, which in 1717 met at the "Goose and Gridiron," was the one that in 1691 admitted Wren to the Fraternity, the roll of distinguished members will be confined to the architect of St. Paul's and to William Preston, the celebrated Masonic historian. The statement that Dr. Desaguliers was initiated in it has been proved to be incorrect.

The fourth lodge, the one that met at the "Rummer and Grapes," and afterward at the "Horn Tavern," can boast a much larger list of Masonic worthies. Among them at the earliest stage of its existence are the names of Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson, all of whom were probably made in it, either just before or immediately after the organization of the Grand Lodge. Desaguliers is said to have been made in 1712, and I am disposed to believe that both Payne and Anderson, as well as he, were Freemasons in 1717 and were personally engaged in the formation of the Grand Lodge. Between 1723 and 1738 a great many noblemen, both English and foreign, were admitted to its membership, while the roll of Nos. 1 and 2 contain no brethren of Masonic or social rank, and that of No. 3 claims only the name of Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master.[1]

Bro. Gould thinks that in the earliest years of the Grand Lodge, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 represented the Operative and No. 4 the Speculative elements of the Society.[2] This is probably true. We know that the first three lodges were not distinguished in their membership by the name of a single personage of rank or learning, and that in 1723 the Master of No. 1 was a stonecutter. On the other hand, Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson, the prime instigators of the change from purely Operative to purely Speculative Freemasonry, were all members of No. 4.

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[1] Gould, "Four Old Lodges," p. 9.

[2] Gould, ibid.

In after times, Lodges Nos. 2 and 3 became extinct, and No. 4 continued to exist in placid obscurity, while No. 1, having become the "Lodge of Antiquity," played a prominent part in the history of the Grand Lodge of England, and under the leadership of William Preston was the cause of a schism, which at one time threatened to be very disastrous to the cause of Freemasonry, though happily it proved to be temporary in its duration.

It is because of the part taken by the "Lodge of Antiquity" in this schismatic proceeding, in which it sought to defend itself on the ground that it, as one of the four old Lodges, was entitled to certain privileges and exemptions from the authority of the Grand Lodge, which did not appertain to the younger lodges, that I have deemed it necessary to take a glance at the condition of these four primary lodges, as preliminary to the history of the contest in which one of them was engaged.

In this contest No. 1, or the "Lodge of Antiquity," alone was prominent. Nos. 2 and 3 had become extinct, and No. 4 took no other part in the dispute than that of remaining loyal to the Grand Lodge.

The history of the dissensions between the "Lodge of Antiquity" and the Grand Lodge of England, which terminated in the establishment of a fourth Grand Lodge within the jurisdiction of England, may be briefly related as follows:

In the year 1777, during the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Manchester, the Master, Wardens, and a part of the members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," under a resolution of the lodge, celebrated the festival of St. John the Evangelist by attending divine service at St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, walking there and returning to the "Mitre Tavern" in the clothing of the Order, and this without having obtained a Dispensation for the procession from the Grand Master or his Deputy.

This was a flagrant violation of the law of the Grand Lodge which prescribed that no Mason should attend any public procession clothed with the badges and ensigns of the Order, unless a dispensation for that purpose was obtained from the Grand Master or his Deputy; and the penalty for a violation of this law was a forfeiture of all the rights and privileges of the Society and a deprivation of the benefits of the general fund of charity.

This law, which had been enacted in 1754, must have been well

known to the Master and the members of the lodge, and its open violation by them in the face of that knowledge would lead us to assent to the statement of Findel that they wished to come to an open rupture with the authority to whom they owed allegiance.[1]

This act was very properly condemned by the Grand Lodge. "Various opinions," says Preston, "were formed on the subject, and several brethren were highly disgusted."

It is surprising that there should be more than one opinion of the unlawfulness of an act which palpably violates a written statute; but it is very natural that the perpetrators of an offence, if they are not penitent, should be "disgusted" with the punishment which has followed.

Another circumstance soon followed which, according to Preston, tended still further to widen the breach.

For some alleged misconduct the lodge had expelled three of its members. The Grand Lodge, deeming, as we may fairly suppose, that some injustice had been done, ordered them to be reinstated.

Preston says that the Grand Lodge interfered without proper investigation. But it can not be presumed upon the authority of a partisan that the Grand Lodge would have exercised this high prerogative of reinstatement without a fair investigation of all the circumstances connected with the original expulsion. The good old principle must here prevail that in respect to all acts of an official nature, the presumption is that they have been fairly executed, and that all has been rightly and duly performed until the contrary is shown.[2]

Unfortunately, it is almost wholly upon Preston, in his edition of 1781, that we must depend for our authority in the recital of this history. But this statement must be taken with all the allowance due to an active partisan. Preston was a prominent actor and indeed a leader in this contest, and in telling his story might have repeated the words of Pater Æneas to the Queen of Carthage:

> " . . . . quoque ipse miserrima vide,
> Et quorum pars magna fui."

The lodge vainly resisted this act of the Grand Lodge and to re-admit the expelled members "Matters," says Preston, "were agitated to the extreme on both sides; resolutions were precipitately

[1] "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 181.
[2] "Omnia presumuntur legitime facta donec probetur in contrium."

entered into, and edicts inadvertently issued; memorials and remonstrances were presented."

Finally an open rupture ensued. The lodge withdrew the attendance of its Master and Wardens as representatives from the Quarterly communications, but continued to exercise its functions as a lodge, independently of the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. It issued a Manifesto in which it detailed its grievances and asserted its rights and appealed for sympathy and support to the Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, and York.

The Grand Lodge of England, on its part, was not less resolute. It expelled the rebellious members of the lodge, extended its protection to the three members whose expulsion had been ostensibly the original cause of all the difficulties, and recognizing them as the only legitimate representatives of the "Lodge of Antiquity," ordered, but of course in vain, a surrender to them of the property of the lodge.

The position which was now assumed by the "Lodge of Antiquity" was precisely that which it had occupied before its union in 1717 with the three other lodges in the establishment of a Grand Lodge, namely, that of a lodge, instituted without a Warrant, and by the mere consent of its founders, as all the Operative lodges had been instituted prior to the formation of a Grand Lodge.

As the Manifesto of the "Lodge of Antiquity" which was issued on December 16, 1778, is a full exposition of the grounds on which the lodge based its right to assume independency and eventually to accept from the Grand Lodge at York the rank and title of "The Grand Lodge of England south of the Trent," it is very necessary, to a correct understanding of these important transactions, that the reader should be placed in possession of a copy of the document. It is accordingly here printed, as follows:[1]

TO ALL REGULAR, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

WHEREAS, the Society of Free Masons is universally acknowledged to be of ancient standing and great repute in this kingdom, as by our Records and Printed Constitutions, it appears that the first Grand Lodge in England was held at York, in the year 926,

[1] The copy here printed is from Bro. Hughan's "History of Freemasonry in York" (American edition, p. 117), and is one of the most interesting documents in that valuable work.

by virtue of a Royal Charter granted by King Athelstan, and under the patronage and government of this Grand Lodge, the Society considerably increased; and the ancient charges and regulations of the Order so far obtained the sanction of Kings and Princes, and other eminent persons, that they always paid due allegiance to the said Grand Assembly.

AND WHEREAS, it appears, by our Records, that in the year 1567, the increase of lodges in the South of England, being so great as to require some Nominal Patron to superintend their government, it was resolved that a person under the title of Grand Master for the South should be appointed for that purpose, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge at York, to whom the whole Fraternity at large were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection. And after the appointment of such Patron, Masonry nourished under the guardianship of him and his successors in the South, until the Civil Wars and other intestine commotions interrupted the assemblies of the Brethren.

AND WHEREAS, it also appears that in the year 1693, the Meetings of the Fraternity in their regular lodges in the South became less frequent and chiefly occasional, except in or near places where great works were carried on. At which time the "Lodge of Antiquity" or (as it was then called) the Old Lodge of St. Paul, with a few others of small note, continued to meet under the patronage of Sir Christopher Wren, and assisting him in rearing that Superb Structure from which this respectable lodge derived its Title. But on completing this Edifice in 1710, and Sir Christopher Wren's retiring into the country, the few remaining lodges in London and its suburbs, continued without any nominal Patron, in a declining state for about the space of seven years.

AND WHEREAS, in the year 1717, the Fraternity in London agreed to cement under a new Grand Master, and with that view the Old Lodge of St. Paul, jointly with three other lodges, assembled in form, constituted themselves a nominal Grand Lodge *pro tempore* and elected a Grand Master to preside over their future general meetings, whom they afterwards invested with a power to constitute subordinate lodges, and to convene the Fraternity at stated periods in Grand Lodge, in order to make Laws, with their consent and approbation, for the good government of the Society at large.

BUT SUBJECT to certain conditions and restrictions then expressly stipulated, and which are more fully set forth in the 39th article of the General Regulations in the first *Book of Constitutions*, this article with thirty-eight others, was afterwards at a meeting of the Brethren in and about the cities of "London and Westminster, in the year 1721, solemnly approved of, ratified and confirmed by them, and signed in their presence by the Master and Wardens of the Four old Lodges on the one part, and Philip, Duke of Wharton, then Grand Master, Dr. Desaguliers, D.G.M., Joshua Timson and William Hawkins, Grand Wardens, and the Masters and Wardens of sixteen lodges which had been constituted by the Fraternity, betwixt 1717 and 1721, on the other part. And these articles the Grand Master engaged for himself and his successors, in all time coming, to observe and keep sacred and inviolable. By these prudent precautions the ancient Land-marks (as they are properly styled) of the four old Lodges were intended to be secured against any encroachments on their Masonic Rights and Privileges.

AND WHEREAS, of late years, notwithstanding the said solemn engagement in the year 1721, sundry innovations and encroachments have been made, and are still making on the original plan and government of Masonry, by the present nominal Grand Lodge in London, highly injurious to the institution itself, and tending to subvert and destroy the ancient rights and privileges of the Society, more particularly of those members of it under whose sanction, and by whose authority, the said Grand Lodge was first established and now exists.

AND WHEREAS, at the present time there only remains one of the said four original ancient Lodges—The Old Lodge of St. Paul, or as it is now emphatically styled, The "Lodge of Antiquity." Two of the said four ancient lodges having been extinct many years, and the Master of the other of them having on the part of his lodge, in open Grand Lodge, relinquished all such inherent rights and privileges which, as a private lodge, acting by an immemorial Constitution it enjoyed. But the "Lodge of Antiquity," conscious of its own dignity, which the Members thereof are resolutely determined to support, and justly incensed at the violent measures and proceedings which have been lately adopted and pursued by the said nominal Grand Lodge, wherein they have assumed an unlawful prerogative over the "Lodge of Antiquity," in manifest breach of

the aforesaid 39th article, by which means the peaceful government of that respectable lodge has been repeatedly interrupted, and even the original independent power thereof, in respect to its own Internal Government, disputed.

THEREFORE, and on account of the Arbitrary Edicts and Laws which the said nominal Grand Lodge has, from time to time, presumed to issue and attempted to enforce, repugnant to the ancient Laws and principles of Free Masonry, and highly injurious to the "Lodge of Antiquity,"

WE, the Master, Wardens and Members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," considering ourselves bound in duty, as well as honour, to preserve inviolable the ancient rights and privileges of the Order, and as far as in our power, to hand them down to posterity in their native purity and excellence, do hereby, for ourselves and our successors, solemnly disavow and discountenance such unlawful measures and proceedings of the said nominal Grand Lodge; and do hereby declare and announce to all our Masonic Brethren throughout the Globe. That the said Grand Lodge, has by such arbitrary conduct, evidently violated the conditions expressed in the aforesaid 39th article of the General Regulations, in the observance of which article the permanency of their authority solely depended.

And in consequence thereof, WE, do by these presents retract from and recall all such rights and powers as We or our predecessors, did conditionally give to the said nominal Grand Lodge in London; and do hereby disannul and make void all future Edicts and Laws, which the said Grand Lodge may presume to issue and enforce, by virtue of such sanction, as representatives of the ancient and honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

AND WHEREAS we have, on full enquiry and due examination, happily discovered, that the aforesaid truly ancient Grand Lodge at York does still exist, and have authentic Records to produce of their antiquity, long before the establishment of the nominal Grand Lodge in London in the year 1717; We do, therefore, hereby solemnly avow, acknowledge and admit the Authority of the said Most Worshipful Grand Lodge at York, as the truly ancient and only regular governing Grand Lodge of Masons in England, to whom the Fraternity all owe and are rightfully bound to pay allegiance.

AND WHEREAS, the present members of the said Grand Lodge

at York have acknowledged the ancient power and authority or the "Lodge of Antiquity" in London as a private lodge and have proposed to form an alliance with the said lodge, on the most generous and disinterested principles,—We do hereby acknowledge this generous mark of their friendship towards us, and gratefully accept their liberal, candid and ingenuous offers of alliance:—And do hereby, from a firm persuasion of the justice of our cause, announce a general union with all Regular Masons throughout the world, who shall join us in supporting the original principles of Free Masonry, in promoting and extending the authority of the said truely ancient Grand Lodge at York, and under such respectable auspices in propagating Masonry on its pure, genuine and original plan.

AND LASTLY, we do earnestly solicit the hearty concurrence of all regular lodges of the Fraternity in all places where Free Masonry is legally established to enable us to carry into execution the aforesaid plan, which is so apparently beneficial to our most excellent institution, and at the present critical juncture, so essentially necessary to curb the arbitrary power which has been already exerted, or which, hereafter, may be illegally assumed, by the nominal Grand Lodge in London, and so timely prevent such unmasonic proceedings from becoming a disgrace to the Society at large.

By Order of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity, in open Lodge assembled, this 16th day of December A.D., 1778, A. L. 5782.

J. SEALY, Secretary.

Before proceeding to the arguments adduced in this manifesto by the "Lodge of Antiquity," to defend its action in withdrawing from the Grand Lodge, it will be proper to say, that as an historical document it is utterly worthless.

The statement that the first Grand Lodge was held at York under a Charter granted by King Athelstan in the 10th century, is founded on the mere tradition contained in the *Legend of the Craft;* it was denied by the Masons of York, who attributed the origin of their society to a much earlier period; it has been doubted or disbelieved by some of the most eminent Masonic scholars of the present day; and finally there is not the slightest historical proof that there was ever a Grand Lodge or Grand Master in England prior to the second decade of the 18th century.

Again: The assertion that in 1567 the Grand Lodge at York appointed a Grand Master for the south of England, and that he and the Fraternity under him "were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection" to the Grand Lodge of York, is wholly unsupported by historical evidence. Anderson, who was ever ready to frame history out of legends, does indeed record the existence of a Grand Lodge, holding annual communications at York,[1] and tells us the apocryphal story of Queen Elizabeth and Grand Master Sackville. He also states that it was a tradition of the old Masons that in 1567, on the demission of Sir Thomas Sackville, two Grand Masters were chosen, one for the north and one for the south, but he makes no allusion to the position of the latter as subordinate to the former. He makes no further mention of the Grand Lodge at York in the subsequent pages of the *Book of Constitutions,* but always speaks of the Grand Master and the Grand Lodge at London as the sole Masonic authority in England. Thus, unhistorical and merely traditionary as is the authority of Anderson on this subject, it completely fails to give any support to the assertion of the writer of the Manifesto, that in the 16th century the Grand Lodge at York was the supreme Masonic power of all England, and that it delegated a subordinate rank and position to a "nominal Grand Master" for the south of the kingdom.

From this Manifesto it will be seen that the "Lodge of Antiquity" withdrew its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England, in consequence of the wrong it supposed that body had inflicted upon it, by the reinstatement of certain members whom it had expelled. It then asserted its independence and attempted to resume the position which it had occupied before the organization of the Grand Lodge, as a lodge working without a Warrant.

In defense of its action, the lodge refers in the Manifesto to the 39th General Regulation, which it says had been violated by the Grand Lodge in its treatment of the "Lodge of Antiquity."

But the most liberal construction of that Regulation will fail to support any such theory.

The 39th Regulation simply recognizes the inherent power of

[1] When Bro. Woodford in his Essay on the "Connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England," asserted that the statement in the Manifesto was "the only existing evidence that in 1567 there was a Grand Lodge at York," this passage in Anderson must have escaped his attention.

the Grand Lodge to make new regulations or to alter the old ones, provided that the landmarks be preserved, and that the new regulation be adopted at a stated communication by a majority of the brethren present.

Now there is no distinct charge of the violation of a landmark by the Grand Lodge, and if there was there is no provision in the Regulations for its redress by the secession of a lodge.

The whole tenor of the Thirty-nine Regulations adopted in 1721, is to make the Grand Lodge a supreme Masonic power. It is, moreover, provided in the 8th Regulation that no number of Brethren shall withdraw from the lodge in which they were made and form a new lodge without the consent of the Grand Master.

The facts are briefly these. The Grand Lodge having reinstated three members who we are bound to presume had been wrongly expelled, the lodge refused to recognize the act of reinstatement, and withdrew from its allegiance to the Grand Lodge, and assuming independence, proceeded to work out a Warrant, under its old Operative Constitution and without the consent or approval of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge refused to admit the legality of this act. It continued to recognize the three members and any others who adhered to them as the true "Lodge of Antiquity," and viewed the recusant members as Masons who had violated the 8th Regulation, by withdrawing from their lodge and joining a new lodge without the Grand Master's Warrant.

Bro. Robert Freke Gould, in his *History of the Four Old Lodges*,[1] has advanced the doctrine that the "Lodge of Antiquity" had a legal right to secede from the Grand Lodge, and he supports his opinion by the very extraordinary argument that if the Grand Lodge had a right to expel a lodge from the Union, that is, to erase it from the roll of lodges, this would imply a correlative right in a subordinate lodge to withdraw or secede from the Union of lodges or the Grand Lodge. The adoption of such a doctrine would make every Grand Lodge a merely temporary organization, subject at any moment to be impaired by the arbitrary withdrawal of as many lodges as thought proper to exercise this privilege of secession. This would inevitably be a termination to all power of discipline and of

[1] "Four Old Lodges," p. 28.

coercive government. He has unfortunately sought to illustrate his views by a reference to the American Constitution which he supposes to have conceded to any one or more of the States the right of se. cession. He does not seem to be aware that this doctrine, generally called a "political heresy," though at one time maintained by most Southern Statesmen, was always disavowed by the people of the North, and finally forever obliterated by the severe arbitrament of a four years' intestine war.

The fact is that the four old Lodges entered voluntarily into the compact which resulted in the establishment of a Grand Lodge in London in the year 1717. The Regulations adopted by the Grand Lodge four years afterward, for its government and that of its subordinates, was approved and accepted by all the lodges then existing, among which were the four Lodges, and the names of the Master and Wardens of the "Lodge of Antiquity" head the list of the signers of the Act of Approbation. The "Lodge of Antiquity" was, therefore, forever bound by the compact, and by regulations enacted under its authority.

By the compact made prior to the enactment of the Thirty-nine Regulations, and which was entered into by the four old Lodges, it was agreed that in future every lodge should owe its existence to the consent of the Grand Master expressed by his Warrant of Constitution, and such has been the invariable practice, not only in England but in every country into which Freemasonry had penetrated.

As an act of courtesy, the four Lodges were exempted from the duty of applying for Warrants, and were permitted to continue their labors under the old system of Operative Freemasonry by authority of a self-constitution through which they had been established under the old system of Operative Freemasonry which had existed prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge.

But this was the only distinct privilege which they possessed. In all other matters, every lodge was alike subjected to the control of the Grand Lodge, and to the constant supervision of the Grand Master. This system of government, so different from that of the Operative Freemasonry which had previously prevailed, had been accepted by the four original Lodges. They themselves had inaugurated it; they had accepted all the consequences of the great change, and it was no longer in the power of any one of them, at any future period, to annul the contract into which they had entered.

All the regulations adopted after their compact refer in general terms to the collective body of lodges without making any exception in favor of the four original Lodges. Especially was this the fact with respect to the Thirty-nine Regulations adopted in 1721. The laws therein enacted were just as applicable to Lodge No. 1 as to Lodge No. 20, for the former lodge had, as well as the latter, and all the intermediate ones, formerly accepted them and declared that they and the Charges, as published by Anderson, should be received in every lodge "as the only Constitutions of Free and Accepted Masons."[1]

Hence it follows, that in withdrawing from the Grand Lodge and establishing a lodge, independent of its authority, the contumacious members of the "Lodge of Antiquity" acted illegally, and violated the Constitutions which the Freemasons of England had accepted for half a century as the fundamental law of the Order.

On second sober thought, Preston himself, who had undoubtedly been the ringleader in this schism, when he was restored to the privileges of Masonry, in 1789, expressed his regret for what he had done in the past, and his wish to conform in future to the laws of the Grand Lodge.[2] As the Grand Lodge had made no concessions, Preston thus admitted the constitutionality of the law, against which as being unconstitutional, he and his colleagues had been contending for eleven years.

The recusant members of the "Lodge of Antiquity" having declared their independence of the Grand Lodge, and continued after their expulsion from the Society to hold their lodge and to perform the work of Masonry, the Grand Lodge permitted those members who had maintained their obedience to assemble as the real "Lodge of Antiquity," still without a Warrant, and to appear by their Master and Wardens at the Grand Communications as the representatives of the lodge.

There were thus two lodges of Antiquity in the field—the lodge recognized by the Grand Lodge, consisting of the members who had refused to take part in the schismatic proceedings; and the lodge

[1] See the act of Approbation in Anderson's 1723 edition of the "Constitutions," p. 74.

[2] The official record of the Grand Lodge for November 25, 1789, says that Preston and seven other members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," who had been expelled in 1779, had "signified their concern that through misrepresentation, as they conceived, they should have incurred the displeasure of that Assembly, and their wish to be restored to the privileges of the Society, to the laws of which they were ready to conform."

consisting of the members who had withdrawn from their allegiance, and had established themselves as an independent body, working under the old Operative system.

Of the former lodge, it is unnecessary and irrelevant to the present history to take any further notice. It probably pursued "the even tenor of its way" quietly and unobtrusively. In the lists of lodges made during the period of the schism, its name and number are retained without alteration as the "Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, formerly the 'Goose and Gridiron,' St. Paul's Church Yard." [1]

The latter lodge, the one whose existence I have sought to prove was illegal, very soon proceeded to adopt measures still more offensive in their character.

It has been commonly stated that it applied to the Grand Lodge at York for a sanction of its acts, and for authority to continue its existence as a lodge.

This is not correct. The true statement of the relative positions of the Grand Lodge at York and the independent Grand Lodge of Antiquity is fully set forth in a correspondence between certain members of the two bodies which is still extant.[2]

From this correspondence it appears that Bro. Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of York, while in London had an interview with some of the members of the "Lodge of Antiquity." Under a misapprehension of the views of these Brethren, on his return home he stated that it was their desire to obtain a Warrant of Constitution as a lodge from the York Grand Lodge. Having learned the fact of this misapprehension from a communication, made on August 29th, by Bussey, after his return to York, to Bro. Bradley, the Junior Warden of the "Lodge of Antiquity," the officers of that lodge addressed a letter on September 16, 1778, to the Grand Master and Brethren of the Grand Lodge at York. In this letter is the following explicit statement of their views:

"Though we should be happy to promote Masonry under the Banners of the Grand Lodge at York, an application by petition for a Warrant for a Constitution to act as a private lodge here was never our intention, as we considered ourselves sufficiently empow-

[1] List of Lodges, in 1781, taken from the Calendar for 1788. See Gould, p. 68.

[2] See this correspondence in Bro. Hughan's "History of Freemasonry in York, pp. 74-76.

ered by the Immemorial Constitution of our lodge, to execute every duty we can wish as a private lodge of Masons."

They were, however, ready, they go on to say, if satisfied by proofs of the existence of the Grand Lodge at York before the year 1717, to accept from it a Constitutional authority to act in London as a Grand Lodge for that part of England which is south of the river Trent.

The Grand Secretary, however, in his August letter, appears to have furnished the required proofs, and consequently Bradley, the Junior Warden of the "Lodge of Antiquity," wrote to him on September 22, 1778.[1] In this letter he again disclaimed any desire on the part of the "Lodge of Antiquity" to receive a Warrant as a private lodge, but expressed its willingness to accept "a Warrant or Deputation to a few members of the 'Lodge of Antiquity' to act as a Grand Lodge for that part of England, south of the Trent, with a power to constitute lodges in that division when properly applied for, and a regular correspondence to be kept up and some token of allegiance to be annually given on the part of the brethren thus authorized to act."

The same letter contained a list of the names of the brethren of the "Lodge of Antiquity" as the persons suggested to be placed in the Warrant or Deputation, should it be granted. These were as follows, and though at this distant time and place I am unable to verify the fact, it may be fairly presumed that the suggestion was accepted, and that when the Deputation was accepted, the following Brethren constituted the first officers of the new Grand Lodge:

JOHN WILSON, Esq., Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, as Grand Master.

WILLIAM PRESTON, Past Master of the same Lodge, as Deputy Grand Master.

BENJAMIN BRADLEY, Junior Warden of the same, as Senior Grand Warden.

GILBERT BUCHANAN, Secretary of the same, as Junior Grand Warden.

JOHN SEABY, Senior Steward of the same, as Grand Secretary.

Further correspondence, protracted for more than a year, followed, but finally the "Warrant of Confirmation" was sent, and on

[1] Benjamin Bradley's Letter of September 22d. See Hughan's "History," p. 76.

April 19th the "Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent was inaugurated, the Grand Master installed, and the other officers appointed.

There are two things which are here worthy of notice as historical facts.

In the first place, the body thus erected was in no proper sense a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge, as Grand Lodges are known to be at this day and as was at the time the Grand Lodge at London. It was rather, though not so called by name, a sort of Provincial Grand Lodge, erected by a Grand Lodge, to which it acknowledged that it owed allegiance and to which it paid an annual contribution in money and a fee of two guineas for every Warrant of Constitution that it granted.

In the second place, it was not to the "Lodge of Antiquity" that the Deputation was granted, as it never changed its condition or its title as a private lodge. The Deputation was given, it is true, to certain of its officers, and its Master was most probably the first Grand Master, as there was no other source whence the officers could be drawn.

As soon as the new Grand Lodge was inaugurated, the "Lodge of Antiquity" became subordinate to it, and a return made in March, 1789, the lodges then under the Grand Lodge South of the Trent, are said to be, exclusive of the "Lodge of Antiquity," No. 1, or the Lodge of Perfect Observance, and No. 2, or the Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph. These lodges were respectively Warranted on August 9th, and November 15, 1779.

The "Lodge of Antiquity," like the Grand Steward's Lodge in the Grand Lodge of England, seems to have assumed precedency without a number. It was a right which it claimed from its "immemorial Constitution."

Preston says, in his 1781[1] edition, that "a Grand Lodge, under the banner of the Grand Lodge in York, is established in London, and several lodges are already constituted under that banner, while the 'Lodge of Antiquity' acts independent by virtue of its own authority."

If the word "several" is here properly applied, other Warrants must have been issued between July 1, 1780, when the two lodges

[1] "Illustrations of Masonry," edition of 1781, p. 295. In the subsequent editions, published after the reconciliation, these statements are omitted.

mentioned above were said to be "the only lodges" which had been constituted, and the time when Preston made his statement. But of this we have no other evidence.

The "Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent" does not appear to have made any especial mark in Masonic history. It originated in a mistaken view, assumed by its founders, of their rights and privileges. These views were strenuously opposed by all the other lodges which composed the Mother Grand Lodge and were finally abandoned by themselves.

At the Grand Feast of the Grand Lodge of England held in 1790, a reconciliation was effected principally through the mediation of Bro. William Birch, a Past Master of the "Lodge of Antiquity." Unanimity was happily restored; the Manifesto of the "Lodge of Antiquity," in which it had asserted its claims and defended its conduct, was revoked; the Master and Wardens of the lodge resumed, as heretofore, their seats in the Grand Lodge whence they had seceded in 1778; the Brethren of the lodge who had retained their loyalty were reunited with the original members; and the "Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent," after an ephemeral career of little more than ten years, ceased to exist.[1]

But this episode in the history of English Freemasonry, bitter as were the feelings which the separation engendered, has not been without compensating advantages in its results.

It has permanently settled the important principle of Masonic jurisprudence, that the old Operative law or usage which recognized the right of a competent number of Freemasons to establish a lodge without the authority of a Warrant, has been forever abrogated by the transformation of the Operative Art into a Speculative Science, and that henceforth, in all time to come, the supreme authority to grant Warrants and to constitute lodges is vested solely in Grand Lodges.

This principle, so essential to the harmony and the perpetuity of Speculative Freemasonry, was almost worth a ten years' struggle to secure its permanent maintenance.

It has thus been seen that in the year 1780 there were in England four bodies claiming to be Grand Lodges.

1. The Grand Lodge of England, established in London in the year 1717.

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[1] See Preston, Oliver's edition, p. 249.

2. The Grand Lodge of all England, established at York in the year 1725.

3. The Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Institutions, established at London in the year 1753, and

4. The Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent, established also at London in the year 1780.

It has been heretofore shown that the second of these self-styled Grand Lodges was really a Mother Lodge, and that its pretended organization as a Grand Lodge was in violation of the law and precedent established eight years before by the Grand Lodge at London.

It has also been shown that the third and fourth of these pretended Grand Lodges were illegal secessions from the primitive Grand Lodge, and that their assumption of authority was in violation of the compact of 1721, and was unsupported by any principle of Masonic law which then prevailed and was recognized by the Craft.

It follows then, as has hitherto been said, that the first of these bodies, the one established at London in 1717, is the only really legal and regular Grand Lodge that ever existed in England, and that it is, as it has always claimed to be, the Premier and Mother Grand Lodge of the World.

Of the three irregular bodies, the Grand Lodge at York and the Grand Lodge South of the Trent were both, in the course of time, quietly absorbed into the Grand Lodge of England, and thus obscurely ceased to exist.

The Grand Lodge according to the Old Institutions, more commonly known as the Atholl Grand Lodge, or the Grand Lodge of Ancients, had a higher vitality, lived for a longer period, became prominent as a successful rival of the regular and older body, and with it was eventually merged in 1813 to the United Grand Lodge of England.

But a future chapter must be devoted to the history of this important and interesting event

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., *33°*

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, *33°*

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC.

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CHAPTER XLIII

THE UNION OF THE TWO GRAND LODGES OF ENGLAND

THE fusion of the two rival Grand Lodges—the "Ancients" and the "Moderns"—was the most important event that has occurred in the history of Speculative Freemasonry since the organization of 1717.

The mutual denunciations of two bodies, each practicing almost the same rites and ceremonies, each professing to be actuated by the same principles, and each tending to the accomplishment of the same objects, and each claiming to be the supreme Head of the Masonic Institution while it accused its antagonist of being irregular in its organization and a usurper of authority, could not have failed eventually to impair the purity and detract from the usefulness of the Institution.

The sentiment of active opposition on the part of the "Moderns" had grown with the increasing success of their rivals. In 1777 the constitutional Grand Lodge had declared "that the persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves Ancient Masons, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Atholl, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged by any regular lodge or Mason under the constitution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their conventions to give a sanction to their proceedings, under the penalty of forfeiting the privileges of the Society, nor shall any person initiated at any of their irregular meetings be admitted into any lodge without being re-made."[1]

This anathema was followed at different periods during the rest of the century by others of equal severity. The "Modern Masons," knowing the legality of their own organization and the false pretensions of the "Ancients," are to be excused and even justified for the

[1] Peston gives this degree in full; Northouck only summarizes it. See Preston, "Illustrations," Oliver's edition, p. 242, and Northouck, "Constitutions," p. 323.

intensity of their opposition and even for the harshness of their language. Feeling assured, from all the historical documents with which they were familiar, that the Grand Lodge organized in 1717 was the only legitimate authority in English Masonry, it was natural that they should denounce any pretension to the possession of that authority by others as an imposture.

The "Ancients," who, notwithstanding the positiveness with which they asserted their claim to a superior antiquity, must, unconsciously at times, have felt their weakness, never displayed so acrimonious a spirit. On the contrary, they were unwilling to enter into discussions which might elicit facts detrimental to the solidity of their pretensions.

Hence, we find Dermott saying: "I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen of the modern society; but, on the contrary, love and respect them;"[1] and though in a subsequent edition he complains that this amicable sentiment was not reciprocated, he admits the equal right of each society to choose a Grand Master, and expresses the hope to see in his life-time a unity between the two.[2]

In 1801 the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," in a circular addressed to the Craft, made the following declaration:

"We have too much respect for every Society that acts under the Masonic name, however imperfect the imitation, to enter into a war of reproaches; and, therefore, we will not retort on an Institution, established in London, for some years, under high auspices, the unfounded aspersions into which a part of their body have suffered themselves to be surprised."[3]

About the beginning of the 19th century many leading Masons among the "Moderns" began to recognize the necessity of a union of the two Societies. I am compelled to believe, or at least to suspect, that at first the success of the "Ancients" was a controlling motive in this desire for a fusion of the two Grand Lodges.

At this time there were Grand Lodges of "Ancients," or as they styled themselves, "Grand Lodges of Ancient York Masons," which had emanated from the London body, in Canada, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia. Gibraltar, and most of the provinces and islands of the East and

[1] "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1764, p. 24.

[2] Ibid., edition of 1778, pp. 43-44.

[3] Ibid., edition of 1807, p. 124.

West Indies, and a recognition by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland.[1]

Elated with this success and with the diffusion of their authority, the "Ancients" did not at first incline favorably to the idea of a union of the Craft. They were willing to accept such a union, but it must be without the slightest compromise or concession on their part.

Long before the close of the 18th century the "Ancients" had made an important change in the character of the claim for regularity which they had advanced in the beginning of the contest.

Some time after the Grand Lodge of England, according to the "Old Institutions," was organized by a secession of several lodges from the Constitutional Grand Lodge, Lawrence Dermott, writing in its defense, sought to attribute to it an origin older than that claimed by the Grand Lodge which had been instituted in 1717, and asserted that that organization "was defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."[2]

Again he declares that when this Grand Lodge was about to be established, "some joyous companions," who were only Fellow-Crafts, met together, and being entirely ignorant of the "Master's part" had invented a "new composition" which they called the third degree.[3]

At a later period the "Ancients" appear to have abandoned, or at least to have ceased to have pressed this claim to a priority of existence and to a greater regularity of organization. More mature reflection and the force of historical evidence led their leaders to the conviction that both of these claims were wholly untenable.

After the death of Laurence Dermott they began to confine their claim to legality, and their defense of the secession from the Constitutional Grand Lodge upon the single ground that the latter had made innovations upon the ancient landmarks, and by their change of words and ceremonies had ceased any longer to maintain the pure system of Speculative Freemasonry.

While these "variations in the established forms" were maintained by the Grand Lodge of "Moderns," the Grand Lodge of

[1] "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1807, p. 117.

[2] Ibid., edition of 1778, p. 14.

[3] Ibid., p. 35. It will be noted that Dermott did not make these grave accusations in his previous editions of the "Ahiman Rezon." They are first advanced in the edition published in 1778.

"Ancients" declared it to be impossible to hold Masonic intercourse with those who thus deviated from the legitimate work of the Order.

Hence, though, as has been seen, the Ancients were less agressive in their language toward their rivals and did not indulge in the harsh censures which characterized the Constitutional Grand Lodge, they were, until after the commencement of the 19th century, more averse than that body to a union of the two divisions of the Fraternity, and met all advances toward that object with something more than indifference.

The evidence of this fact is abundantly shown in the transactions of both bodies.

We learn, on the authority of Preston, that in November, 1801, a charge was presented to the Constitutional Grand Lodge against some of its members for patronizing and officially acting as principal officers in a lodge of "Ancients." The charge being proved, it was determined that the laws should be enforced against them unless they immediately seceded from such irregular meetings. They solicited the indulgence of the Grand Lodge for three months, hoping that they might be enabled in that time to effect a union between the two societies. This indulgence was granted, and that no impediment might prevent the accomplishment of so desirable an object, the charges against the offending brethren were for the time withdrawn. A committee of distinguished Masons, among whom was the Earl of Moira, who was very popular with the Craft of "Moderns," was appointed to pave the way for the intended union, and every means were ordered to be used to effect that object.

Lord Moira declared, on accepting the appointment as a member of the Committee, that he should consider the day on which such a coalition should be formed as one of the happiest days of his life, and that he was empowered by the Prince of Wales, then Grand Master of the "Moderns," to say that his arms would be ever open to all the Masons in the kingdom, indiscriminately.[1]

This was the first open and avowed proposition for a union of the two Grand Lodges. It emanated from the "Moderns," and up to. that date none had ever been offered by the "Ancients," who were silently and successfully pursuing their career—in ex-

[1] Preston, "Illustrations," old edition, p. 329.

tending their influence, making lodges at home and abroad, and securing the popular favor of the Craft.[1]

The effort, however, was not successful. After suspending all active opposition, the Constitutional Grand Lodge learned in February, 1803, that no measures had been taken to effect a union; it resumed its antagonistic position, punished the brethren who had been charged with holding a connection with the "Ancients," and unanimously resolved that "whenever it shall appear that any Masons under the English Constitution shall in future attend or countenance any lodge or meeting of persons calling themselves Ancient Masons under the sanction of any person claiming the title of Grand Master of England, who shall not have been duly elected in the Grand Lodge, the laws of the Society shall not only be strictly enforced against them, but their names shall be erased from the list and transmitted to all the regular Lodges under the Constitution of England."[2]

What were the means adopted by the Constitutional Grand Lodge to accomplish the much-desired object are not now exactly known. But that they were highly distasteful to the "Ancients " is very clear from the action of their Grand Lodge adopted on March 2, 1802.

This action was evidently intended as a reply to the proposition of the rival body of "Moderns," tendered in the preceding November. The declaration of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" is printed in Harper's edition of the *Ahiman Rezon*, published in 1807.[3] As this work is not generally accessible to the Fraternity, and as the document presents a very full and fair expression of the position assumed by the "Ancients" at that advanced period in the history of their career, I shall copy it without abbreviation.

"It was represented to this Grand Lodge, that notwithstanding the very temperate notice which was taken in the last Quarterly Communication, of certain unprovoked expressions used toward the Fraternity of Ancient Masons, by a Society generally known by the appellation of the Modern Masons of England, that body has been

[1] There is no doubt that at that day, in America certainly, the "Ancients" were more popular than the "Moderns." Hence there appears to have been a settlement of expedience exhibited in the desire of the latter to effect a coalition.

[2] Preston, "Illustrations," old edition, p. 330.

[3] Pages 125-131.

further prevailed on to make declarations and to proceed to acts at once illiberal and unfounded with respect to the character, pretensions, and antiquity of this institution. It was not a matter of surprise that from the transcendant influence of the pure and unchanged system of Ancient Masonry, practiced in our regular lodges, the solidity of our establishment, the progressive increase of our funded capital, the frequency and extent of our benevolence, and, above all, from the avowed and unalterable bond of union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us and the Ancient Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, America, and the East and West Indies, it should be a most desirable object to the body of Modern Masons to enrol the two societies under one banner by an act of incorporation; but we did not expect that they would have made use of the means which have been attempted to gain the end. Bearing, as they do, the Masonic name, and patronized by many most illustrious persons, we have ever shown a disposition to treat them with respect, and we cannot suppress our feelings of regret, that unmindful of the high auspices by which they are, for the time, distinguished, they should here condescend to the use or language which reflects discredit on their cause. Truth requires no acrimony, and brotherhood disclaims it. It is a species of warfare so inconsistent with the genuine principles of Masonry, that they may wage it without the fear of a retort. Actuated by the benignity which these principles inspire, we shall content ourselves with a tranquil appeal to written record. It is not for two equal, independent and contending institutions to expect that the world will acquiesce in the *ipse dixit* of either party. We shall not rest our pretensions, therefore, on extracts from our own books, or on documents in our own possession—but out of their own mouths shall we judge them."

In their *Book of Constitutions*, quarto edition, anno 1784, p. 240, they make this frank confession: "Some variations were made in the established forms." This is their own declaration, and they say that these were made "more effectually to debar them and their abettors (that is, us, the ancient masons) from their lodges. "Now what was the nature of these changes? Fortunately, the dispute did not rest between the two rival bodies; it was not for either to decide which had the claim of regular descent from the ancient stock of the "York Masons." There was a competent tribunal. The Masonic world alone could exercise the jurisdiction and pronounce a verdict

on the case. Accordingly, after frequent visitations made to our lodges by the brethren from Scotland and Ireland, who repaired to England, the two Grand Lodges of these parts of the united empire pronounced in our favor and declared that in the Ancient Grand Lodge of England the pure, unmixed principles of Masonry—the original and holy obligations—the discipline and the pure science, were preserved. It was not in the forms alone that variations had been made by the modern order. They had innovated on the essential principles, and consequently the Masonic world could not recognize them as brothers.

"In the strict and rigorous, but beautiful, scheme of Ancient Masonry, every part of which was founded on the immutable laws of truth, nothing was left for future ages to correct. There can be no reforms in the cardinal virtues; that which was pure, just, and true as received from the eternal ordinance of the divine Author of all good, must continue the same to all eternity. In this grand mystery, every part of which contributes to a sacred end, even the exteriors of the science were wisely contrived as the fit emblems of the white and spotless lamb, which is the type of Masonic benignity.

"The Grand Lodge can not be more explicit. They will not follow the blameable practice of entering into a public discussion of what ought to be confined to the sanctuary of a regular lodge. Suffice it to say, that after mature investigation by the only persons who were authorized to pronounce a judgment on the subject, resolutions of correspondence were passed by the Ancient Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland, which were entered in their respective archives, and which the Fraternity will find in our *Book of Constitutions.*

"These resolutions have been constantly acted upon from that time to the present day. We have since been further strengthened by the formal accession of the Grand Lodges of America and of the East and West Indies to the Union. And it may now be said, without any impeachment of the modernized order, that the phalanx of Ancient Masonry is now established to an extent of communication that bids defiance to all malice, however keen, and to all misrepresentation, however specious, to break asunder. May the Eternal Architect of the World preserve the Edifice entire to the latest posterity; for it is the asylum of feeble man against the shafts of adversity, against the perils of strife, and what is his own enemy,

against the conflict of his own passions. It draws more close the ties of consanguinity where they are, and creates them where they are not; it inculcates this great maxim as the means of social happiness, that, however separated by seas and distances, distinguished by national character or divided into sects, the whole community of man ought to act toward one another, in all the relations of life, like brothers of the same family, for they are children of the same Eternal Father, and Masonry teaches them to seek, by amendment of their lives, the same place of rest.

"The Ancient Grand Lodge of England has thought it due to its character to make this short and decisive declaration, on the unauthorized attempts that have recently been made to bring about a union with a body of persons who have not entered into the obligations by which we are bound, and who have descended to calumnies and acts of the most unjustifiable kind.

"They desire it therefore to be known to the Masonic world and they call upon their regular lodges, their Past and Present Grand Officers, and their Royal Arches and Masters, their Wardens and Brethren throughout the whole extent of the Masonic communion, to take notice, that they can not and must not receive into the body of a just and perfect lodge, nor treat as a Brother, any person who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the Ancient Constitutions, as practiced by the United Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the regular branches that have sprung from their sanction. And this our unalterable decree.

"By Order of the Grand Lodge."

A careful perusal of this document will show that the position which had been assumed by the "Ancients" at the middle of the 18th century, when they organized their Grand Lodge, was abandoned by them at its close. Dermott maintained that his Grand Lodge was regular in its organization on the ground that the organization of the other body was irregular and illegal, and illegitimate. One of the reasons he assigned for this illegality was that it had been formed by a less than lawful number of lodges. There were but four lodges engaged in the organization of the Grand Lodge at London in the year 1717. But, says Dermott, with the utmost effrontery, knowing, as he must have known, that there was no such

law or usage in existence nor ever had been, "to form a Grand Lodge there must have been the Masters and Wardens of five regular lodges;" and he adds that "this is so well known to every man conversant with the ancient laws, usages, customs, and ceremonies of Master Masons, that it is needless to say more."[1] Hence the Grand Lodge of 1717 "was defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."

Another charge made by Dermott against the "Moderns" was that they were ignorant of the true Third degree and had fabricated a mere imitation of it, a "new composition" as he contemptuously calls it.

But at the close of the century both these charges were abandoned and a new issue was joined. The ground on which the "Ancients" rested the defense of their secession in 1738 from the Constitutional Grand Lodge was that that body had made "variations in the established forms;" in other words, that it had introduced innovations into the ritual.

Now this would seem to be a singularly surprising instance of mental aberration, if we did not know the perversity of human nature. When charging the "Moderns" with the introduction of innovations, the "Ancients" appear to have completely forgotten that far more serious innovations had been previously introduced by themselves.

The "Moderns" had only made a transposition of a couple of words of recognition; the "Ancients" had mutilated the Third degree and fabricated out of it a Fourth, hitherto unknown to the Craft. It ill became these bold innovators to condemn others for the very fault they themselves had committed to a far greater extent.

We are ready to exclaim with the Roman satirist: "*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*"[2] "Who could endure the Gracchi when they complained of sedition?"

Having thus, by implication, at least, admitted the legality of the original organization of the Constitutional Grand Lodge and the correctness of its primitive work, and restricting their charge of irregularity to the single fact of the existence of innovations, the" Ancients," notwithstanding the emphatic language in their address of

[1] "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, p. 13.

[2] Juvenal, Satire II., 24

1802, in which they had declared the impossibility of recognizing their rivals, had certainly made the way more easy for future reconciliation and union.

Had they continued to maintain the theory of Dermott that the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was an illegal and un-Masonic body, which had never known or had the Master's part, I do not see how the "Moderns" could, with consistency and self-respect, have tendered, or the "Ancients" listened to, any offer of union and a consolidation.

But about the beginning of the 19th century there were many Masons, especially among the "Moderns," who felt the necessity of a reconciliation, since the protracted dissension was destructive of that harmony and fellowship which should properly characterize the institution. We have seen that the Prince of Wales had in 1801, when he was Grand Master of the "Moderns," expressed his willingness for a union of all English Masons. This sentiment was shared at a later period by his brothers, the Dukes of Kent and Sussex.

But of all the distinguished members of the Constitutional Grand Lodge, none was so zealous and indefatigable in the effort to accomplish a reconciliation as the Earl of Moira, who in 1795 had been Acting Grand Master under the Grand Mastership of the Prince of Wales.[1]

In 1801 he had been appointed one of a committee to attempt to effect a union of the two Grand Lodges—a mission which was unsuccessful in its results. But he was more felicitous two years afterward in his efforts to induce a good understanding between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England.

It has been heretofore seen that at an early period in the career of the Atholl Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland had been induced, through the influence and misrepresenta-

[1] To no person, says Preston, had Masonry for many years been more indebted than to the Earl of Moira (now Marquis of Hastings). Toward the end of the year 1812 his Lordship was appointed Governor-General of India; and it was considered by the Fraternity as only a just mark of respect to invite his Lordship to a farewell banquet previous to his departure from England, and to present him with a valuable Masonic Jewel, as a memorial of their gratitude for his eminent services. Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," old edition, p. 346.

tions of Dermott, to take the part of the "Ancients" and to recognize them as the only legal Masonic authority in England.

In 1782 the Constitutional Grand Lodge, supposing, it seems fallaciously, that there was some prospect of establishing a friendly correspondence with the sister kingdoms, concurred in a resolution recommending the Grand Master to use every means which in his wisdom he might think proper, for promoting a correspondence with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, so far as should be consistent with the laws of the Society.[1]

As this last provision necessarily required, on the part of the Irish and Scottish brethren, a denunciation of their friends the "Ancient Masons," we may infer this to have been the cause of the unsuccessful result of the negotiation. Notwithstanding this resolution, says Preston, the wished-for union was not then fully accomplished.[2]

But twenty years had to elapse before a spirit of conciliation was shown by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and eight more before the Grand Lodge of Ireland exhibited a similar spirit.

At the annual session of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in November, 1803, the Earl of Moira being present, addressed the Grand Lodge in what Laurie calls an impressive speech, equally remarkable for the eloquence of its sentiments and the energy of its enunciation.

As the account contained in *Laurie's History* is a contemporary one, it may be considered as reliable and is worth giving in the very words of the author of his work.[3]

"The Earl of Moira stated that the hearts and arms of the Grand Lodge of England had ever been open for the reception of their seceding brethren, who had obstinately refused to acknowledge their faults and return to the bosom of their Lodge; and that though the Grand Lodge of England differed in a few trifling observances from that of Scotland they had ever entertained for Scottish Masons that affection and regard which it is the object of Freemasonry to cherish and the duty of Freemasons to feel. His Lordship's speech was received by the brethren with loud and

[1] Northouck, "Constitutions," p. 340.

[2] "Illustrations," old edition, p. 257.

[3] Laurie's "History of Freemasonry" was published at Edinburgh in 1804—the last entry in the book is the account of this speech.

reiterated applause—the most unequivocal mark of their approbation of its sentiments.[1]

It was afterward stated by the Earl of Moira, that at that communication the Grand Lodge of Scotland had expressed its concern that any difference should subsist among the Masons of England and that the lodges meeting under the sanction of the Duke of Atholl should have withdrawn themselves from the protection of the Grand Lodge of England, but hoped that measures might be adopted to produce a reconciliation, and that the lodges now holding irregular meetings would return to their duty and again be received into the bosom of the Fraternity.[2]

This was certainly an unqualified admission by the Grand Lodge of Scotland that in its previous action in respect to the contending bodies in England it had been in error. It did not now hesitate to style the "Ancients" whom it had formerly recognized irregular Masons, and to acknowledge that their organization was illegal.

The inevitable result was soon apparent. The Grand Lodge of Scotland entered into fraternal correspondence with the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England and recognized it as the Supreme Authority of English Masonry. This good feeling was still further augmented by the election in 1805 of the Prince of Wales as Patron and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the appointment of the Earl of Moira as Acting Grand Master, both of which high offices were respectively held at the same time by the same persons in the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England.

Here then was a thorough reversal of the conditions which had previously existed. In the year 1772 the office of Grand Master, both in England and in Scotland, had been filled by the same person, the Duke of Atholl. But it was over the irregular and illegal English body that he presided. The result was a close and friendly alliance between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the schismatic Grand Lodge in England.

Again in the year 1805 we see the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Lodge of Scotland united under one and the same Grand Master, the Prince of Wales. But now it was the regular Grand Lodge of England that shared the honor of thus royal head-

[1] Laurie's "History," p. 295.

[2] Preston, "Illustrations," old edition, p. 338.

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ship with the Scottish Grand Lodge. The result in this latter case was of course exactly contrary to that which had ensued in the former.

From this time there was no question as to the relations existing between the two Grand Lodges.

Still further to strengthen the cement of this union, if such strengthening were necessary, was the occurrence soon after of an event in Scottish Masonry.

Schism, which had wrought so much evil in English Masonry, «it length made its appearance among the Scottish lodges.

In the year 1808 several lodges had seceded, from political motives, it is believed, from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. They had organized an independent body with the title of "The Associated lodges seceding from the present Grand Lodge of Scotland " and on July 4th had met in the Cannongate Kilwinning Lodge room, and elected a Grand Master.[1]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland announced this rebellious action to the Grand Lodge of England, which expressed its fullest sympathy with the Grand Lodge, approved of the methods it pursued to punish the seceders and to check the secession, and proclaimed the doctrine now universally accepted in Masonic law, that a Grand Lodge, as the representative of the whole Craft, is the sole depository of supreme power.

Thus was the union of the two Grand Lodges still more closely cemented, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland became an earnest advocate and collaborator in the effort to extinguish the English schism.

In the same year the Grand Lodge of Ireland addressed a communication to the Grand Lodge of England, in which it took occasion to applaud the principles of Masonic law enunciated by that Grand Lodge in its reply to its Scottish sister. The Grand Lodge of Ireland also expressed its desire to co-operate with that of England in maintaining the supremacy of Grand Lodges over individual lodges. It also pledged itself not to countenance or receive as a Brother any person standing under the interdict of the Grand Lodge

[1] It is unnecessary and irrelevant to enter here into the history of this secession. The details will be found at full length in Bro. Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," pp. 264-281. We are here interested only in its supposed influence upon the relations of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and England.

of England for Masonic transgression. It thus cut itself aloof from its former recognition of the Atholl Grand Lodge.[1]

It is scarcely necessary to say that this act was received by the Constitutional Grand Lodge with a reciprocal feeling of fraternity.

Thus from the year 1808 the three regular and legitimate Grand Lodges of Great Britain were united in an alliance, the prominent object of which was the extinction of the schism which had prevailed in England for three-quarters of a century and the consolidation of all the jarring elements of English Freemasonry under one head.

With such powerful influences at work, it is not surprising that the happy and "devoutly wished-for consummation" was soon effected.

The leading Freemasons of England, on both sides of the contest, readily lent their aid to the accomplishment of this result.

The Prince of Wales having been called, in consequence of the King's mental infirmity, to the Regency, the established etiquette required that he should resign the Grand Mastership, a position which he had occupied for twenty-one years.

On his retirement the Duke of Sussex was elected Grand Master of the Constitutional Grand Lodge. He was recognized as an ardent friend of the proposed union. Through his influence, as Preston supposes,[2] the Duke of Atholl, who was Grand Master of the "Ancients," had been led to see the desirableness of a union of the two societies under one head.

A similar desire for union began now to prevail among the Freemasons of both sides, especially among the "Ancients," who had hitherto rejected all proposals for a compromise of any kind that did not include the concession of everything on the part of the "Moderns."

In 1809 a motion looking to a union was submitted to the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," but ruled out by the presiding officer, who refused to put the question.[3]

Nevertheless, the right spirit prevailed, and in 1810 a "Union Committee" was appointed by the Grand Lodge of "Ancients." which held a joint meeting with a similar committee of the Grand

[1] Preston, "Illustrations," old edition, p. 340.

[2] Ibid, p. 358.

[3] Hughan's "Memorials," p. 14.

Lodge of "Moderns," on July 21, 1810, on which occasion the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master of the Constitutional Grand Lodge, presided.

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" on April 12, 1809, that body rescinded all its former resolutions which forbade the admission of the "Ancients" into their regular lodges,[1] and thus really took the first step toward a formal recognition of the seceders.

In 1810 the "Ancients" began to make concessions. They directed all resolutions relating to the union to be published and submitted to the Craft for their consideration. They also made alterations in their regulations to conform to those of the "Modern."[2]

But the time had now arrived when the necessities of concord and harmony imperatively demanded a cessation of the antagonism which had so long existed between the two rival Grand Lodges and their consolidation under a common head, so that Speculative Freemasonry in England should thereafter remain "one and indivisible."

The "Moderns" had long been desirous of a union, which, on the other hand, the "Ancients" had always strenuously opposed. "It is," says Bro. Hughan, "to the credit of the 'Moderns' that they were the firm supporters of the Union, even when the 'Ancients' refused the right hand of fellowship."[3]

It is not to be denied that the success of the "Ancients" in winning popularity among the Craft, especially in America, where they had largely extended they influence, was a principal reason for their rooted aversion to any sort of compromise, which would necessarily result in the extinction of their power and their independent position.

But many events had recently begun to create a change in their views and greatly to weaken their opposition to a union of the two Grand Lodges.

In the first place, the charge that the "Moderns" had made innovations on the landmarks was losing the importance which had been given to it in the days of Laurence Dermott. It was still maintained, but no longer urged with pertinacious vigor. History was

[1] Hughan's "Memorials," p. 15.

[2] Their regulations, says Hughan, were also altered so as to conform as much as possible to those of the regular Grand Lodge. "Memorials of the Masonic Union," p. 15.

[3] Ibid.

beginning to vindicate truth, and those "Ancients" who thought at all upon the subject, must have seen that their secession from the regular Grand Lodge had preceded the innovations of that body, and that they themselves had been guilty of far greater innovations by the disruption of the Third degree and the fabrication of a Fourth one.

In the second place, the theory maintained by Dermott and accepted by his followers, that the regular Grand Lodge of England, instituted at London in the year 1717, was an illegal body, defective in numbers at its organization and without the true degrees, had long been abandoned as wholly untenable. History was again exercising its functions of vindicating truth. It is very evident, and the "Ancients" knew it, that if the Grand Lodge organization of 1717 was illegal, their own of 1753 must have been equally so, for the latter had sprung out of the former. It was felt to be dangerous, when men began to investigate the records, to advance a doctrine which logically led to such a conclusion.

A third reason, and a very strong one, which must have controlled the "Ancients" in arriving at a change of views, must have been the defection of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland. These two bodies which had at first entered into an alliance with the Atholl Grand Lodge at the expense of the Constitutional Grand Lodge, had changed sides, and had now recognized the latter body as the only legal head of Freemasonry in England, had admitted that the "Ancients" were irregular, and had refused to give them recognition as Masons.

A fourth reason was that the Duke of Atholl, who had long been at the head of the Grand Lodge which bore his name and that of his father, and who for two generations had been identified with its existence, had been won by the arguments or influenced by the friendship of the Duke of Sussex, the Grand Master of the Constitutional Grand Lodge, and had resolved to resign his Grand Mastership in favor of the Duke of Kent, for the avowed purpose of preparing for a union of the Craft.

Yielding to these various influences and perhaps to some others of less note, the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" in the year 1813 abandoned its opposition to a union, and accepted the preliminary measures which had been adopted by the friends of that union.

At a special meeting of the "Grand Lodge of Free and Ac-

cepted Masons of England, according to the Old Institutions" held on November 8, 1813, at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern," in the Strand, a letter was read from the Duke of Atholl intimating his desire of resigning the office of Grand Master in favor of his Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent.[1]

At the same meeting the resignation of the Duke of Atholl was accepted and the Duke of Kent was unanimously elected to succeed him as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients."

Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathcarne, the fourth son of George the Third, was then forty-six years of age. He was initiated into Freemasonry in a lodge at Geneva, in Switzerland. At the time of this election he was and had long been the Grand Master of the "Ancient Masons" of Canada. He was, therefore, identified with the cause of the "Ancients," but like his brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Sussex, he was greatly desirous of a consolidation of the two Grand Lodges. At as early a period as January, 1794, he had expressed this sentiment in his reply to an address from the Masons of Canada, when he said: "You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that the much-wished for union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."[2]

On December 1, 1813, the Duke of Kent was installed as Grand Master of the "Ancients." On this occasion the Duke of Sussex, as Grand Master of the Constitutional Grand Lodge, was present with several of his Grand Officers. To qualify them for visitation they were previously "made Ancient Masons in the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, in a room adjoining."

The transactions on that day must be considered as a conclusive settlement of the vexed question of legality. The fact that the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was present, and by his presence sanctioned the installation of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of "Ancients," and that to qualify himself to do so had submitted to an initiation in the system of the "Ancients," forever precluded the "Moderns" from making a charge of irregularity against their rivals; these in turn were equally precluded from denying the Masonic legality of a body whose Grand Master had

[1] The minutes of this meeting will be found in Hughan's "Memorials of the Union," p. 16.

[2] *Freemason's Magazine*, vol. iii., July, 1794, p. 14.

been made participant in their mysteries, and had taken a part in the solemn ceremonies of installation of their presiding officer.

Indeed, the union had already been virtually accomplished, and all that was now needed was its formal ratification by the two Grand Lodges.

On September 1st the Duke of Kent, not then Grand Master, had been associated by the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" with Deputy Grand Master Harper and Past Deputy Grand Masters Perry and Agar as a Committee to take the preliminary steps for effecting a union of the two fraternities.

This Committee had held several conferences with the Duke of Sussex, who was assisted by three of his Grand Officers, Bro. Wright, Provincial Grand Master of the Ionian Isles, and Past Grand Wardens Tegart and Deans.

The joint committee had drawn up articles of union between the two Grand Lodges Which had been signed and sealed in duplicate at Kensington Palace, the residence of the Duke of Sussex.

Early in December, at the Quarterly Communications, these Articles had been submitted to both Grand Lodges and solemnly ratified, and the following Festival of St. John the Evangelist had been appointed for the Assembly of the Grand Lodges in joint communication to carry out the provisions which had been agreed upon.

Each Grand Master had appointed "nine worthy and expert Master Masons or Past Masters," to whom were assigned by the Articles of Union the following important duties.

Under the Warrant of their respective Grand Lodges they were to meet together in some convenient central place in London, when each party having opened a lodge according to the peculiar forms and regulations of each, they were reciprocally and mutually to give and receive the obligations of both Fraternities, deciding by lot which should take priority in the giving and receiving. They were then to hold a lodge under dispensation, to be styled the "Lodge of Reconciliation," or they were then to visit the different lodges and having obligated their officers and members to instruct them in the forms of both the systems.[1]

These and other preliminary arrangements having been complied with, the two Fraternities, with their Grand Lodges, met on Decem-

[1] See "Articles of Union," Article V.

ber 27, 1813, at Freemasons' Hall, which had been fitted up agreeably to a previously devised plan, and the whole house tiled from the outer porch.[1]

On each side of the room the Masters, Wardens, and Past Masters of the several lodges were arranged on benches, and so disposed that the two Fraternities were completely intermixed.

The two Grand Lodges were opened in two adjoining rooms, each according to its peculiar ceremonies, and a Grand Procession being formed, the two bodies entered side by side the Hall of Assembly, the Duke of Sussex closing one procession and the Duke of Kent the other.

On entering the Hall the procession advanced to the Throne, and opening inward the two Grand Masters proceeded up the center and took seats on each side of the Throne.

The Past Grand officers and illustrious visitors occupied the platform, and the two Senior Grand Wardens, the two Junior Grand Wardens, and the two Grand Secretaries and Grand Treasurers occupied the usual stations in the West, South, and North.

Silence having been proclaimed, the services began with prayer, offered up by Rev. Dr. Barry, the Grand Chaplain of the "Ancients."

After the act of union had been read by Sir George Naylor, Grand Director of Ceremonies, the following proclamation was made by the Rev. Dr. Coghlan, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns."

"Hear ye: This is the Act of Union engrossed in confirmation of Articles solemnly concluded between the two Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England, signed, sealed, and ratified by the two Grand Lodges respectively: by which they are hereafter and forever to be known and acknowledged by the style and title of THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREEMASONS OF ENGLAND. How say you, Brothers, Representatives of the two Fraternities? Do you accept of, ratify and confirm the same?"

To which the whole Assembly answered: "We do accept, ratify and confirm the same."

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[1] This account is condensed from Oliver's edition of Preston, pp. 368-373. The "Order of Proceedings" to be observed on the occasion are given by Bro. Hughan in his Memorials. They do not essentially differ from the details by Preston, and the latter has the advantage of being in the past tense.

The Grand Chaplain then said: "And may the Great Architect of the Universe make the Union perpetual." To which all the Brethren replied: "So mote it be."

The Articles of Union were then signed by the two Grand Masters and six Commissioners, and the seals of both Grand Lodges were affixed to the same.

Proclamation was then made by Rev. Dr. Barry in the following words:

"Be it known to all men that the Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England is solemnly signed, sealed, ratified and confirmed, and the two Fraternities are one, to be henceforth known and acknowledged by the style and title of "The United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of England: and may the Great Architect of the Universe make their Union perpetual."

The Brethren all responded "Amen," and a symphony was played by the Grand Organist, Bro. Samuel Wesley.

The Ark of the Masonic Covenant, which had been placed in front of the Throne, was then approached by the two Grand Masters, their Deputies and Wardens.

The Grand Masters standing in the East, the Deputies on their right and left, and the Grand Wardens in the West and South, the square, level, plumb, and mallet were successively delivered to the Deputy Grand Masters and by them presented to the two Grand Masters, who having applied the square, level, and plumb to the Ark and struck it thrice with the mallet, they made the following invocation:

"May the Great Architect of the Universe enable us to uphold the grand edifice of union, of which this Ark of the Covenant is the symbol, which shall contain within it the instruments of our brotherly love and bear upon it the Holy Bible, Square, and Compasses, as the light of our faith and the rule of our works. May He dispose our hearts to make it perpetual."

And the Brethren all responded, "So mote it be."

The Masonic elements of consecration, corn, wine, and oil, were then poured upon the Ark, according to the ancient Rite, by the two Grand Masters, accompanying the act with the usual invocation.

This constituted the impressive ceremony by which the union of the hitherto rival Fraternities was consecrated.

The Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland were not represented, in consequence of the shortness of the notice, but letters of congratulation were received from each, with copies of resolutions which had been passed by both.

As the two Fraternities differed in their forms and ceremonies, it was necessary that some compromise should be effected so that a universal system might be adopted by the united Grand Lodge. The determination of what that system of forms should be, had been entrusted to the "Lodge of Reconciliation" as its most important, and doubtless its most difficult duty.

This duty was accomplished in the following manner: After the ceremonies of ratification had been performed, the "Lodge of Reconciliation" retired to another apartment, accompanied by the Count Lagardje, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, Dr. Van Hess of the Grand Lodge of Hamburgh, and other distinguished Masons, when the forms and ceremonies which had been previously determined upon by the "Lodge of Reconciliation" were made known.

On their return to the Assembly-room, Grand Master the Count Lagardje announced that the forms which had been settled and agreed on by the "Lodge of Reconciliation" were "pure and correct."

They were then recognized as the only forms to be thereafter observed and practiced in the United Grand Lodge and by the lodges under its obedience.

The recognized obligation was then administered by the Rev. Dr. Hemming, standing before the Bible, Square and Compasses lying on the Ark, and repeated by all the Brethren, who solemnly vowed, with joined hands, to abide by the same.

The next step was the organization of the new Grand Lodge by the election of its officers.

For this purpose the Officers of the two Grand Lodges divested themselves of their insignia, and the chairs were taken by Past Grand Officers of the two Fraternities.

The Duke of Kent addressed the assembly. He stated that the great object for which he had taken upon himself the office of Grand Master of the Ancient Fraternity, as declared at the time, was to facilitate the accomplishment of the union. He then nominated the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master of the united Grand Lodge.

The Duke of Sussex was unanimously elected and placed upon the throne by the Duke of Kent and Count Lagardje.

The Grand Master nominated the Grand officers for the year ensuing. The Grand Lodge was then called to refreshment, and on returning, some necessary business having been transacted, the Grand Lodge was closed in ample form.

It is impossible to arrive at any absolutely accurate knowledge of the numerical strength of the two Fraternities at the time of the union. This arises from the fact that the lists made by both Grand Lodges at that date contained the names of many lodges which were either extinct or had passed over to other jurisdiction.

Thus in the list of the "Moderns" ending in 1812, as given by Bro. Gould in his *Four Old Lodges*, the number of lodges runs up to 640; but of these many, as the list commences with the year 1721, must have long ceased to exist, and several are recorded as being in Germany and France, where the English Grand Lodge had no longer any jurisdiction, and nineteen are credited to the United States of America, where independent Grand Lodges had long been established.

In the same inaccurate way we find that the list of the "Ancients," published in 1813 in their *Ahiman Rezon*, records 354 lodges as being under its jurisdiction.

Many of these, however, had passed from its jurisdiction or must have ceased to exist. Ten lodges, for instance, are credited to the United States, and some to other foreign countries where the Grand Lodge no longer possessed any authority.

We may, however, estimate the comparative strength of the two Fraternities at the union by the registry of lodges made at that time, when the members were assigned by lot.

In that list, which is given by Bro. Hughan in his *Memorials of the Union*, 636 lodges are enrolled. Of these, 385 were "Moderns," and 251 "Ancients." If, however, it be considered that the former had been in existence for ninety-six years and the latter only sixty,[1] it will be seen that the relative proportion of successful growth was greatly in favor of the "Ancients."

Notwithstanding that the Constitutional Grand Lodge had secured the adhesion of a much higher class in the social element,

[1] The Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was instituted in 1717, that of the "Ancients" in 1753. The former commenced with four Lodges, the latter with seven.

that from the fifth year of its existence it had been presided over by an uninterrupted succession of Peers of the realm, and that at the very period of the Union its Grand Master was a son of the reigning monarch, and that its acknowledged Patron was the heir-apparent of the Crown,[1] the Atholl Grand Lodge without these advantages enjoyed a much greater share of popularity among the masses of the Craft.

This popularity can properly be attributed only to that innovation on the accepted ritual of the Constitutional Grand Lodge which produced the secession. The dismemberment of the Master's degree and the fabrication of a Fourth degree called the Royal Arch, gave to the seceders a prestige not enjoyed by their rivals. Candidates eagerly repaired for initiation to the body, which promised them a participation in a larger amount of mystical knowledge.

The "Moderns" soon became aware of this fact, and it was not very long before, notwithstanding their outcry against innovation, they adopted the same degree or at least quietly suffered its intrusion into their own system. A Royal Arch Chapter and then a Grand Chapter was established by some "Moderns" about the year 1766, and though it was not actually countenanced, it was not denounced by the Constitutional Grand Lodge.

It has been supposed by some writers that the "Ancients" were sustained by and indeed represented the Operative element of the Craft in opposition to the purely Speculative, which was represented by the "Moderns."

But of this there is no satisfactory historical evidence. In 1723 the Operative Freemasons who, in 1717, had taken a part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, had been laid upon the shelf by that body, nor is it likely that at a long interval they would renew the contest in which they had been so signally defeated.

The excellent results which followed from the union of the two Fraternities, in the restoration of peace and concord, and the consequent strengthening of the Institution, have preserved the method in which this union was effected from adverse criticism.

The union was a compromise, and in all compromises there are

[1] Whatever influence these circumstances must have naturally exerted in a monarchy, its importance will hardly be appreciated at its full value by the citizens of a republic. Anderson says that at first the Freemasons were content "to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honor of a Noble Brother at their head."

necessarily mutual concessions. But it is a question whether these concessions by both parties did not involve the sacrifice of certain principles which both had hitherto deemed important.

The "Articles of Union" which constituted the groundwork on which the consolidation of the two Grand Lodges was framed, are twenty-one in number. Most of these relate to local regulations made necessary by the circumstances. Only three—the second, third, and fourth—have reference to the concessions made in the ritual and in the system of Speculative Freemasonry. These articles are in the following words:

"II. It is declared and pronounced that pure Ancient Masonry consists of three degrees, and no more, viz.: those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow-Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. But this article is not intended to prevent any lodge or Chapter from holding a meeting in any of the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry, according to the Constitutions of the said Orders.

"III. There shall be the most perfect unity of obligation, of discipline, of working the lodges, of making, passing and raising, instructing and clothing the Brothers; so that one pure, unsullied system, according to the genuine landmarks, laws and traditions of the Craft shall be maintained, upheld and practiced, throughout the Masonic World, from the day and date of the said union until time shall be no more.

"IV. To prevent all controversy or dispute as to the genuine and pure obligations, forms, rules and ancient traditions of Masonry and further to unite and bind the whole Fraternity of Masons in one indissoluble bond, it is agreed that the obligations and forms that have, from time immemorial, been established, used and practiced in the Craft, shall be recognized, accepted and taken, by the members of both Fraternities, as the pure and genuine obligations and forms by which the incorporated Grand Lodge of England, and its dependent lodges in every part of the World shall be bound: and for the purpose of receiving and communicating due light and settling this uniformity of regulation and instruction (and particularly in matters which can neither be expressed nor described in writing), it is further agreed that brotherly application be made to the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, to authorize, delegate and appoint, any two or more of their enlightened members, to be present at the Grand As-

sembly on the solemn occasion of uniting the said Fraternities; and that the respective Grand Masters, Grand Officers, Masters, Past Masters, Wardens and Brothers, then and there present, shall solemnly engage to abide by the true forms and obligations (particularly in matters which can neither be described nor written), in the presence of the said Members of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, that it may be declared, recognized and known, that they are all bound by the same solemn pledge, and work under the same law."

An examination of these three articles will clearly demonstrate that both Grand Lodges made concessions to each other, which involved the sacrifice in turn of the very points of ritualism on which each had, for nearly three-fourths of a century, maintained its right to supremacy.

In Article II. the Royal Arch is recognized as an inherent portion of "Ancient Craft Masonry." Yet when about 1738 the Freemasons began soon after to call themselves "Ancient Masons," their lodges were erased from the roll and their members expelled because they had practiced this same degree. Nothing then and long after so much incensed the "Moderns" as this innovation, as they called it, of a new degree. "Our society," said their Grand Secretary, Spencer, "is neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Ancient."

On this point the "Ancients" certainly achieved a victory. The attempted qualification in the declaration that Ancient Craft Masonry consisted of only three degrees, which was a concession to preserve the consistency of the "Moderns," was without meaning, since it was immediately followed by the admission that there was a Fourth degree.

In Article III. it is declared that the methods of initiation and instruction should be according to the genuine landmarks, laws, and traditions of the Craft. But the United Grand Lodge adopted the changes in the words of the degrees, which had been introduced by the Constitutional Grand Lodge, to prevent the intrusion of the seceders into the regular lodges. The preservation of these words and certain other changes was certainly not in accordance with the "landmarks," supposing these landmarks to be the usages of the Craft, adopted at or soon after the organization in the year 1717. The result has been to create in these respects a difference between

the Continental and the English-speaking Masons, the former adhering to the original forms.[1]

This would be a victory for the "Moderns," but not one of so much importance as that achieved by the "Ancients" in the recognition of the Royal Arch degree.

The assertion in Article IV. that the obligations and forms which were agreed upon at the Union were those which "from time immemorial have been established, used and practiced by the Craft," is thus found to be merely a "*façon de parler*" too much in vogue even at the present day, when referring to the antiquity of usages. The "time immemorial" thus vaunted, dwindles down, in fact, to the date of the organization of the "Lodge of Reconciliation," to which the regulation of these "obligations and forms" had been entrusted.

The confirmation of this new system by the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, which was provided for in the same article, was not carried into effect, for no representatives of these bodies were present.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland, it may be presumed, as the Irish Masons had long favored the high degrees, would give its implicit assent to the First Article in which even the degrees of Chivalry were recognized by sufferance.

But the Grand Lodge of Scotland had always contended that Ancient Craft Masonry, or as it was styled, "St. John's Masonry," consisted of only three degrees.[2] In 1800 it had prohibited its lodges from holding any meetings above the degree of Master Mason under penalty of the forfeiture of their charter.[3] And only four years after the United Grand Lodge of England had recognized the Royal Arch as a part of Ancient Craft Masonry, the Grand Lodge of Scotland resolved that no person holding official position in a Royal Arch Chapter should be admitted to membership in the Grand Lodge.[4]

But in fact we must look for a defense of these compromises by the two Grand Lodges of England to the peculiar and threatening condition in which they were placed. Without compromise

[1] The Gordian knot presented by the change in the Master's Word made by the "Moderns" was cut, by the adoption or sanction of both words, and they are still so used in English lodges. In the United States of America the word of the "Moderns " has long since passed out of the memory and the knowledge of the Craft, and the original word of Desaguliers and his collaborators alone is used.

[2] "The Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland."

[3] Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 293.

[4] Ibid., p. 295.

and mutual concession of many things the maintenance of which both had once deemed essential, no union could have been effected, and without a Union the success and permanency of one, if not of both bodies, would be seriously endangered.

It must therefore be acknowledged, notwithstanding any criticism on the methods pursued, which were demanded by the claims of historic truth that, here at least, the generally to be condemned maxim of the Jesuits, which justifies the means by the end accomplished, may find some excuse.

Looking back, at this distant period, upon the history of the Craft from the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, when the passions and prejudices which distracted the Fraternity have ceased to exist, we recognize the fact that the rivalry of the two factions was destined to be ultimately of advantage to the institution.

Oliver, speaking of this and other secessions which occurred in the 18th century, says: "I am persuaded that these schisms, by their general operation, rather accelerated than retarded the outward progress of Masonry; for at the precise time when they were most active, we find the science spreading over all the European nations and exciting the attention of all ranks and classes of mankind."[1]

Antagonism, in the long run, leads to development. The protracted struggle which finally terminated in the recognition of the Royal Arch, not only gave to the Master's degree a completeness which it had before wanted, but by the establishment of a new ritual, which more nearly approached perfection than the old one, tended to develop a more philosophic spirit in the system of Speculative Freemasonry. Of this fact ample evidence is given in the lectures of Dr. Hemming which were adopted by the United Grand Lodge, and which are much more intellectual than any that preceded them.[2]

The old and comparatively meager ritual of Desaguliers, and Anderson, with the slight additions of Martin Clare, of Dunckerley and Preston, presenting only an imperfect system, would, but for the Union, have been continued to the present day, if Speculative Freemasonry had not long before died of inanition.

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[1] "Historical Landmarks," ii., p. 313.

[2] It is to Hemming that we are indebted for that sentence which defines Freemasonry as "a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols." It must be confessed, however, that he made some omissions and alterations in the old lectures, which had better been spared. But "nihil est ab omni parte beatum."

The rivalry of the two bodies gave an active expansion of that spirit of charity which is incidental to every Brotherhood. Neither could afford to be less kindly disposed to the distressed of their fold than the other. And this spirit of charity, thus developed during the struggle, was vastly strengthened and made of more practical utility by the consolidation of the Fraternity.

But the most important advantage derived from the long antagonism was the development of the science of symbolism, which has given to the Institution a just claim to the title of Speculative Masonry, which it had long before assumed, and elevated it to the rank of a system of moral philosophy.

Now, for the first time since the disseverance, in the beginning of the 18th century, of the Speculative from the Operative element was it announced as the accepted definition of Freemasonry that it was "a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols."

It was Hemming who proclaimed this sublime definition in the Union lectures which he framed and which has awakened the thoughts and directed the Speculations of all Masonic scholars who have written since his day.

There are, it is true, some few defects in the lectures of Dr. Hemming, but they are on the whole superior to those of Preston —superior because more philosophic and more symbolical. Preston's system was the germ, Hemming's the fruit, and the fruit always is better than the germ.

In conclusion it may be said that the rivalry of the two factions was productive of this good, that it stimulated each to seek for a higher plane of action and of character; and the union which finally took place, no matter what was the actuating motive, was the most fortunate event that had ever occurred in the Masonic Society, since it developed a higher plane for its action, and secured it a long and prosperous continuance of life which one or both of the antagonizing parties must have long since forfeited had there been no Union effected.

Peace, harmony, and concord firmly established, a consolidation of interests—a more enlarged practice of charity and brotherly relief, and a more elevated character of Speculative Freemasonry—these were the results of the Union in 1813 in England, which was speedily imitated in all other countries where the rivalry had previously existed.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE GRAND LODGE OF FRANCE

IT has, I think, been conclusively shown in a preceding chapter that in the year 1732 there were but two lodges in the city of Paris, one of which had received a Warrant from the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England and the other had been formed, we may suppose, by a secession or, as we should now say, a demission of a portion of the members of the first lodge, grown, numerically, too large.

There is no authentic record that the Grand Master or the Grand Lodge of England ever granted a Deputation for the establishment of a Provincial Grand Master or a Provincial Grand Lodge in France. Indeed, it has been very plausibly urged that the granting of such a Deputation to the titular Earl of Derwentwater, a convicted traitor to the English Government, whose execution had only been averted in 1715 by his escape from prison, would have been a political impossibility.

Kloss, in his *History of Freemasonry in France*, says that "the unfortunate international political relations which existed between England, the mother-country, and France, the daughter, prevented that free intercourse and development which might have been looked for."[1]

And yet the French authorities claim that to him such a Deputation had been granted.

Thus, we are met, on the very incipience of our investigation of the history of the institution of a Grand Lodge in France, by contradictory statements from the English and French authorities.

There is no way of reconciling these contradictory statements. We must utterly reject the impossible or the improbable, and accept

[1] "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich aus achten urkenden dargestellt," von Georg Kloss, I., 336.

only that which has the support of reliable authority and as to which there is no conflict between the writers on both sides of the channel.

But the adoption of this rule will not always save us from the pressure of critical difficulties. The authority of the English writers is generally of a merely negative character. With the exception of the statement of Anderson, that Viscount Montagu granted two Warrants for lodges—one at Paris and one at Valenciennes, in the year 1732—there is, in the contemporary English records, an absolute silence in reference to all Masonic affairs in France.

The French writers are more communicative, but they have so often mistaken fable for fact, and tradition for history, that we seldom find satisfaction in receiving their statements. One of them admits that the absence of any historical monuments of the first lodge has cast some obscurity over the early operations of Freemasonry in Paris.[1]

In fact, the history of Speculative Freemasonry in France, until the year 1736, may be considered as almost hypothetical and traditionary. It is said that there was a Provincial Grand Lodge and a Provincial Grand Master, but the evidence on this subject is altogether wanting—at least such evidence as a faithful historian would require.

In the "Historical Instruction" sent in 1783 by the Grand Lodge of France to its constituent lodges, it is said that Lord Derwentwater was considered as the first Grand Master of the Order in France.[2]

Rebold is more circumstantial in his details than any other French writer. He says that "Lord Derwentwater, who in 1725 received from the Grand Lodge at London plenary powers to constitute lodges in France, was, in 1735, invested by the same Grand Lodge with the functions of Provincial Grand Master, and when he quitted France to return to England, where soon after he perished on the scaffold, a victim to his attachment to the Stuarts, he transferred the plenary powers which he possessed to his friend Lord Harnouester, whom he appointed as the representative, during his absence, of his office of Provincial Grand Master."[3]

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[1] Ragon, "Acta Latomorum," I., p. 22.

[2] Thory, "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 12. Findel.

[3] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 44. Ragon, who is less imaginative or inventive than Rebold, though he, also, too often omits or is unable to give his authorities,

Considering the political condition of England, which had only a few years before been the scene of a rebellion in which the family of Charles Radcliffe, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, played an important part—considering that he himself was nothing more nor less than an escaped convict, liable at any moment when apprehended to undergo the sentence of death which had been adjudged against him by the law, and considering the existence of a party of Jacobites who still secretly wished for the downfall of the House of Hanover, and the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne, it is really absurd to suppose that the Grand Lodge of England, which claimed at least to be loyal, could have selected such a person as its representative among the Freemasons of France.

We may, therefore, I think, unhesitatingly look upon this story of the premier Grand Mastership of the titular Earl of Derwentwater as a myth, with no other foundation than the mere fact, which will be admitted, that he was a chief instrument in establishing, without Warrant, the first lodge in Paris, and that by his family relations he possessed much influence among the English Freemasons in Paris, who were for the most part Jacobites or adherents of the House of Stuart.

Rebold, who has accepted every tradition of those days of myths as an historical fact, proceeds to tell us that the four lodges which were then in Paris determined to establish a Provincial Grand Lodge of England, to which, as the representative of the Grand Lodge at London, the lodges which might in future be constituted should directly address themselves. This resolution, he says, was put into execution after the departure of Lord Derwentwater, and this Grand Lodge was regularly and legally constituted in 1736 under the presidency of Lord Harnouester.[1]

The hypothesis, universally advanced by the French writers, that Charles Radcliffe, commonly called Lord Derwentwater, was Grand Master from 1725 to 1736, therefore is not tenable. There is no

merely says that Derwentwater was chosen as their Grand Master by the brethren at the time of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris.

"Acta Latomorum," p. 52. Lalande, in his article on Freemasonry in the "Encyclopedie," places the affair of Derwentwater's Grand Mastership in the true light, when he says that as the first Paris lodge had been opened by Lord Derwentwater, he was regarded as the Grand Master of the French Masons, and so continued until his return to England, without any formal recognition on the part of the brethren.

[1] Ibid.

testimony, such as is worth accepting in an historical inquiry, to support it. That he was not so appointed by the Grand Lodge of England can not be denied. The existing political condition of the country would make such an appointment most improbable if not impossible, and, besides, there is no reference in the records of the Grand Lodge to an act, which would have been too important to have been passed over in silence.

The condition of French Freemasonry was such as to render it extremely difficult, indeed almost impossible, to attain any accurate or reliable account of its history.

French historians do not deny this. Thory, who had the best opportunities as an historical investigator, and who was more familiar than any of his contemporaries with Masonic documents, does not hesitate, when referring to a period even a little later, to give this opinion of the chaotic condition of French Masonry in the earlier part of the 18th century.

"Masonry was then in such a disordered condition that we have no register or official report of its assemblies. There did not exist any bodies organized in the nature of Grand Lodges, such as were known in England and Scotland. Each lodge in Paris or in the kingdom was the property of an individual who was called the Master of the lodge. He governed the body over which he presided according to his own will and pleasure. These Masters of lodges were independent of each other, and recognized no other authority than their owner. They granted to all who applied the power to hold lodges, and thus added new Masters to the old ones. In fact, it may be said that up to 1743 Masonry presented in France under the Grand Masterships of Derwentwater, Lord Harnouester, and the Duke d'Antin the spectacle of the most revolting anarchy."[1]

Such a description, whose accuracy, considering the impartial authority whence it is derived, can not be doubted, must render it utterly useless to look for anything like a constitutional or legal authority, in the English meaning of the term, for the administra-

[1] "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 13. Clavel confirms this testimony. He says that "all the lodges which were afterwards established in Paris and the rest of France owed their constitution to the societies (the primitive lodges) of which we have just spoken. Most of them assumed the powers of Grand Lodges and granted Letters of Constitution to new lodges." — "Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie," p. 108.

tion of the Masonic government during the time in which Derwentwater played an important part in its affairs.

Until 1732 there was no lodge in France which derived its authority to act from the warrant of a Grand Lodge. The one formed in 1725, by Derwentwater, Harnouester, Maskelyne, and Heguetty, and those which had been previously founded in other parts of France—at Dunkirk and at Mons—must have been instituted under the old principle of the Operative Freemasons, which ceased to be recognized in England, in the year 1717, that a sufficient number of brethren might assemble for Masonic work, without the authority of any superintending power. Warrants were not known or recognized in England until that year. They had not yet been extended into France. The first Warrant known in France was that which was granted by the Grand Lodge at London to the lodge in the Rue de Bussy at Paris, and numbered in the English list as No. 90.

But for years afterward lodges continued to be organized, as we have just seen, in France under the old Operative system of lodge independence.

During all this period there was no Grand or Provincial Grand Master in France. But Charles Radcliffe, who had, it seems, been the introducer of Speculative Freemasonry into Paris, must have been very popular with his English companions, who, like himself, were adherents of the exiled House of Stuart. After the death of his nephew he assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, and as such was recognized by the French king and the Pretender. He was a leader of the Jacobite party, and it is very generally supposed that it was in the interests of that party that he organized his lodge at Paris, the first prominent members of which belonged to the same political party.

It is not, therefore, astonishing that his connection with Freemasonry, as the founder of the first Parisian lodge, has led to the traditional error of supposing him to have been the first Grand Master of the French Freemasons. In his day there was no Grand Lodge nor Grand Master in that kingdom.

The astronomer Lalande, who wrote a very sensible history of Freemasonry for the French Encyclopaedia, recognizes this fact, when he says that Lord Harnouester was the first regularly chosen Grand Master.

The tradition that when Derwentwater left France for England in 1733 (not as Thory erroneously states in 1735), he appointed Lord Harnouester as his Deputy and Representative during his absence, is therefore a mere fiction. He could not delegate a position and powers which he did not possess. But it is reasonable to suppose that on the departure of Derwentwater, Lord Harnouester as of high rank, influence, and popularity among the English exiles who were Masons, assumed the position of a leader, which Derwentwater had previously occupied.

After a temporary absence in England, where, notwithstanding the sentence of death which had been adjudged against him in 1715, he was not arrested, the government exercising a merciful forbearance, he returned to the Continent, but we find no evidence of his having taken any further active interest in Masonic affairs.

The French writers all agree in saying that in 1736 Lord Harnouester was elected Grand Master. But we have no record of the circumstances attending his election. Rebold's statement that he was elected by the lodges then existing in Paris, may or may not be truth. There is not sufficient historical testimony of the fact to remove it out of the realm of tradition.

Thory simply says, "Lord Harnouester was elected Grand Master, after Lord Derwentwater, in 1736."[1] Of Harnouester we know so little that we have not been able to identify him with any of the public personages of the period, or to find any record of him in the contemporary lists of the English peerage.

If, however, we accept, on the mere dictum of the French historians, the truth of the statement that Harnouester was the first Grand Master of Masons in France, we must also accept the statement, equally authentic or unauthentic, that his Grand Mastership was a brief one and unattended with any events that it has been deemed worthy to record.

Thory merely says that the Duke d'Antin succeeded Harnouester in 1738.[2]

Rebold indulges in more details, which, however, we must take on his sole authority. He says that "in 1737 Lord Harnouester, the second Provincial Grand Master of France, wishing to return to England, requested that his successor should be appointed, and

[1] "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 14.

[2] Ibid.

having expressed the desire that he should be a Frenchman, the Duke d'Antin, a zealous Mason, was chosen to succeed him in the month of June, 1738."[1]

The account given by French writers of the character of the Duke is a very favorable one. It is said that he was selected by the Freemasons for their presiding officer from among those of the nobility who had shown the most zeal for the Order.

Of his own attachment to it, he had shown a striking proof by disobeying the express command of the King, Louis XV., who had forbidden his courtiers to unite with the society, and especially in daring to accept the Grand Mastership, notwithstanding that the monarch had declared, when he was informed that the Masons were about to elect such an officer, that if the choice fell on a Frenchman who should consent to serve he would immediately send him, by a *lettre de cachet,* to the Bastille. But the threat was not carried into execution.[2]

We are now about to pass out of the realm of what, borrowing a term of science from the anthropologists, may be called the pre-historic age of French Freemasonry. Henceforth we shall have something authentic from contemporary authorities on which to lean. The myths and mere traditions which mark the story of the second decade of the 18th century will be succeeded by historical facts, though we must still be guarded in accepting all the speculations which the writers of France have been prone to blend with them so as in many instances to give us a mingled web of romance and history.

Before continuing the history of the Grand Lodge from the accession of the Duke d'Antin, it will not be uninteresting nor unprofitable to suspend the narrative and to take a view of the condition of Freemasonry in France, and especially in Paris, at the period of time embracing a few years before and a few years after his accession to the Masonic throne.

At so early a period as 1737, the institution, though apparently very popular among the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie*—the lords and the citizens—had become distasteful to the King, Louis XV., whom we have already seen threatening to imprison its Grand Master if he was a Frenchman.

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[1] "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 45.

[2] Ibid., p. 49, note.

This fact is confirmed by a statement made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1737. The statement is in a letter from Paris and is in the following words:

"The sudden increase of the Society of Free Masons in France had given such offense that the King forbid their meetings at any of their lodges."

This was the cause of an apologetic letter which was published in Paris and a part of it copied into the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the following month.[1]

Portions of this letter are worth copying, because of the principles which the French Masons, at least, professed at the time.

"The views the Free Masons propose to themselves," says this apology, "are the most pure and inoffensive and tend to promote such qualities in them as may form good citizens and zealous subjects; faithful to their prince, to their country and to their friends. . . . The duty it prescribes to those who bear it is to endeavor to erect temples for virtue and dungeons for vice. . . . Their principal design is to restore to the earth the reign of Astrea and to revive the time of Rhea."

From Kloss and from all the French writers we have the record of other instances of the persecution to which the Freemasons in Paris were subjected at this period by the municipal authorities, whose actions were undoubtedly in accord with the sentiments of the king. One of these is worth a relation.

On the 10th of September, 1787, the police surprised a lodge of Freemasons which was being held in the house of one Chapelot. He had for safety bricked up the door of his public and secretly opened another to the room of meeting. Notwithstanding these precautions, the police obtained an entrance and dispersed the assembly. Chapelot was condemned to pay a fine of a thousand livres and was deprived of his license as a tavern-keeper for six months.

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[1] This expression is found in some of the early French rituals as a definition of the object of Freemasonry. The English Masonic borrowed and made use of it. In a Prologue spoken at Exeter, in 1771, are the following lines:

" The Lodge, the social virtues fondly love:
There Wisdom's rules we trace and so improve:
There we (in moral architecture skill'd)
Dungeons for Vice—for Virtue temples build,"

See Jones's Masonic Miscellanies, p. 164.

On April 27, 1738, Pope Clement XII. fulminated his celebrated bull in *eminenti*, in which all the faithful were forbidden to attend the meetings of the Masonic lodges, or in any way to consort with the Freemasons under the penalty of *ipso facto* excommunication, absolution from which, except at the point of death, was reserved to the Supreme Pontiff.

This condemnation by the Church gave an increased vigor and vigilance to the attacks of the police. On St. John the Evangelist's day, 1738, the Freemasons having assembled at the room of the lodge in the Rue des Deux-Ecus to celebrate the feast of the Order, were arrested and several of them imprisoned.

But notwithstanding these efforts to suppress the Order in France, it grew apace, and was not without an acknowledged standing outside of the Order, and of a recognition of its independence and regularity by the Grand Lodge at London.

This we learn from Anderson, who, in his second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published by authority of the Grand Lodge of England, in 1738, says:

"But the old lodge at York City and the lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Italy, affecting independence, are under their own Grand Masters, though they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., in substance, with their brethren of England and are equally zealous for the Augustan style, and the secrets of the ancient and honorable fraternity."[1]

Anderson was right in his statement that the usages of the Craft in the two countries were similar. The ritual of the French Freemasons, at that early period, has not been altogether lost. An interesting description of it was published in a contemporary journal of London, and as the volume which contains it is not generally accessible except in large public libraries, it is here copied in full. The reader will be pleased to compare the ceremonies of admission to the Society, as practiced in the year 1737, in Paris, with those of the London Masons at about the same period, which appear in a preceding part of this work.

In the *Gentleman s Magazine*, published at London, in March, 1737, is the following letter, which bears the date of "Paris, January 13:"

[1] Anderson's "Constitutions," second edition, 1738, p. 196.

"THE SECRET OF THE ORDER OF FREE MASONS AND THE CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT THE RECEPTION OF MEMBERS INTO IT.

"First of all, persons must be proposed in one of the Lodges by a Brother of the Society as a good Subject; and when the latter obtains his request, the Recipiendary is conducted by the Proposer, who becomes his Godfather, into one of the Chambers of the lodge where there is no light, and there they ask him whether he has a calling to be received: He answers, Yes. After which they ask him his Name, Sirname, and Quality, take from him all Metals or Jewels which he may have about him, as Buckles, Buttons, Rings, Boxes, etc., his Right knee is uncovered, he wears his left shoe as a slipper, then they blindfold him and keep him in that condition about an hour delivered up to his reflections; after this the Godfather goes and knocks three times at the Door of the Reception room, in which the venerable Grand Master of the Lodge[1] is, who answers by three knocks from within and orders the door to be opened; then the Godfather says that a Gentleman by name . . .
presents himself in order to be received. (Note, That both on the outside and within this chamber several Brothers stand with their swords drawn in order to keep off profane people.) The Grand Master who has about his neck a blue ribband cut in a triangle says, Ask him whether he has the calling? The Godfather puts him the question and the Recipiendary, having answered in the affirmative, the Grand Master orders him to be brought in: Then they introduce him and make him take three turns in the room round a sort of ring on the floor in which they draw with a pencil upon two Columns a sort of representation of the ruins of Solomon's Temple, on each side of that space, they also make with the pencil a great I and a great B, which they don't explain till after the Reception. In the middle there are three lighted wax candles laid in a Triangle upon which they throw gunpowder and rosin at the Novice's arrival, in order to frighten him by the effect of these matters. The three turns being made, the Recipiendary is brought

[1] Kloss, in his Geschichte, infers from a contemporary document which he quotes that at this time the title of Grand Master was equivalent in France to that of Worshipful Master of a lodge. The use of the title in this account of the ritual leaves no doubt of the truth of that fact. To this undiscriminating use of the two titles are we to attribute much of the confusion and uncertainty that exists in reference to the leadership in French Freemasonry, at this early period of its history.

into the middle of the writing above mentioned in three pauses over against the Grand Master, who is at the upper end behind an arm-chair on which is the Book of St. John's Gospel and asks him: Do you feel a Calling? Upon his answering, Yes, the Grand Master says. Shew him the Light, he has been long enough deprived of it. In that instant they take off the cloth from before his eyes and all the Brothers standing in a circle, draw their swords; they cause the Recipiendary to advance on three pauses up to a stool which is at the foot of the arm-chair; The Brother Orator addresses him in these terms: You are going to embrace a respectable Order which is more serious than you imagine; there is nothing in it against the Law, against Religion, against the State, against the King, nor against Manners:

"The venerable Grand Master will tell you the rest. At the same time they make him kneel on the stool with his Right knee which is bare and hold his Left Foot in the air: Then the Grand Master says to him, 'You promise never to trace, write, or reveal the secrets of Free Masons or Free Masonry but to a Brother in the lodge or in the Grand Master's presence.' Then they uncover his Breast to see if he is not a Woman and put a pair of Compasses on his left pap, which he holds himself; he puts his Right Hand on the Gospel and pronounces his Oath in these terms: 'I consent that my Tongue may be pulled out, my heart torn to pieces, my Body burnt, and my Ashes scattered, that there may be no more mention made of me amongst mankind if, etc.,' after which he kisses the Book. Then the Grand Master makes him stand by him; they give the Free Mason's Apron which is a white skin, a pair of men's gloves for himself and a pair of women's gloves for the person of that sex, for whom he has the most esteem. They also explain to him the I and B traced on the floor which are the type of the Sign by which Brothers know one another. The I signifies Jahkin and the B, Boiaes. In the Signs which the Free Masons make amongst one another they represent these two words by putting the Right Hand to the Left side of the Chin, from whence they draw it back upon the same line to the Right Side; then they strike the skirt of their coat on the Right Side and also stretch out their hands to each other, laying the Right Thumb upon the great joint of his com-rade's first finger which is accompanied with the word Jahkin, they strike their breasts with the Right Hand and take each other by the

hand again by reciprocally touching with the Right Thumb the first and great joint of the middle finger which is accompanied with the word Boiaes. This ceremony being performed and explained, the Recipiendary is called Brother, after which they sit down and, with the Grand Master's leave, drink the new Brother's health. Every body has his bottle. When they have a mind to drink they say, Give some powder, viz: Fill your glass. The Grand Master says, Lay your hands to your firelocks; then they drink the Brother's health and the glass is carried in three different motions to the mouth; before they set it down on the table they lay it to their Left pap, then to the Right and then forwards and in three other pauses they lay the glass perpendicular upon the table, clap their hands three times and cry three times Vivat. They observe to have three wax candles disposed in a triangle on the table. If they perceive or suspect that some suspicious person has introduced himself amongst them, they declare it by saying it rains, which signifies that they must say nothing. As some people might have discovered the Signs which denote the terms Jahkin and Boiaes, a Free Mason may be known by taking him by the hand as above mentioned and pronouncing I, to which the other answers A, the first says K, the second replies H, the first ends with I, and the other with N, which makes Jahkin: It is the same in regard to Boiaes."

The administration of the Duke d'Antin was not, so far as respects the institution and the successful carrying out of reforms, a success. The anarchy and independence of the lodges which had hitherto prevailed did not altogether cease. The claim of a personal possession and an immovable tenure of office made by many Masters, especially tavern-keepers, who had organized lodges at their places of public entertainment, was not altogether abandoned. Warrants of Constitution were frequently issued by private lodges, which should have emanated from the Grand Lodge, had there really been such a body in existence, of which fact there is much doubt. Thory admits that there was in 1742, the year before d'Antin's death, no Grand Lodge organized like that of England, and an English writer having stated that in the year mentioned there were twenty-two lodges in Paris and more than two hundred in all France, he confesses his inability to verify the statement because French Freemasonry was at that time in such a disordered

condition that there were no registers or official reports of lodge meetings.[1]

The persecutions of the Church, of the Court, and the police were unabated, and if the Masonic reign of the Duke d'Antin was eventful in nothing else, it certainly was in the continual contests of the enemies and the friends of Masonry, the one seeking to crush and the other to sustain it. That the latter often were placed in danger, and sometimes endured a sort of martyrdom when their meetings were detected, is well known. And for their zeal and their perseverance under all these difficulties and dangers in preserving the existence, however feeble, of the institution and in delivering to their successors for better growth and greater strength, the Freemasons owe them a debt of gratitude.

The ritual, too, of the order in France was, as we have seen, derived from that of the English system, though changes and innovations were already beginning to appear. The extract given above shows that the ceremony of the table lodge and the peculiar language accompanying it were the pure invention of French ingenuity, wholly unknown then and since to English-speaking Masons.

In 1743 the Duke dAntin died and he was succeeded in the Grand Mastership by the Count of Clermont. There were other candidates, and the Prince of Conti and Marshal Saxe received some votes during the election. This shows that French Masonry, whatever were its faults of irregularity, had not fallen in the social scale.

The Count of Clermont was higher in rank than the Duke d'Antin. He belonged to the royal family of Orleans and was the uncle of the infamous Duke of Chartres, afterward Duke of Orleans (who succeeded him in the Grand Mastership), and was the father of Louis Philippe, subsequently the popular King of France.

But the French Masons were disappointed in the advantageous results which they anticipated would follow the choice of one so illustrious in rank as their leader. This will be seen hereafter.

His election, if we may believe the French authorities on the subject, was accomplished by forms that made it regular and legal, the Masters of the Parisian lodges having for that purpose united in a General Assembly on December 11, 1743.

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[1] "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 13.

Hence Thory[1] says that it is from this epoch that we are to regard the existence of the Grand Lodge of France as legal and authentic, because it was founded at Paris with the consent of the Masters of the lodges in the Provinces.

He says that it assumed the title of the "English Grand Lodge of France." Whether it did so at the time of its organization or at a subsequent period is uncertain, but it is proved that it bore that title in 1754, for Thory says that he had seen a print engraved in that year by Jean de la Cruz on which were the words—"*Grande Loge Anglaise de France*."

But the assertion made by some writers that the use of the title was authorized by the Grand Lodge at London, with whom the Freemasons of Paris had, about that time, been in successful negotiation for recognition and patronage, is undoubtedly a fiction. There is not a particle of evidence in the contemporary records of the Grand Lodge of England that any such negotiations had taken place. It has, however, been seen heretofore that Anderson, in 1738, acknowledged that the independent authority of the Grand Master of the French Masons was recognized in England, and that the brethren in Scotland, Ireland, and France were placed upon the same footing of autonomy.

Very soon after his election as Grand Master the Count of Clermont ceased to pay much attention to the administration of the affairs of the Fraternity, whose interests were thus materially affected by his indifference.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the Grand Lodge had to contend in its efforts to secure harmony and to preserve discipline arose from the practice which it pursued of granting Charters to lodges, the Masters of which held their offices for life. They were called "*Maitres inamovibles*"—unremovable or perpetual Masters. A great many of these were already in existence, having been created under the irregular system of the preceding times, and the new Grand Lodge unfortunately increased the number.

Then "unremovable Masters" organized local administrations under the denomination of "Provincial Grand Lodges," which were governed by the presiding officers of the lodges which had created them.

[1] "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 14.

Thory speaks of these early days of the English Grand Lodge of France as the period of illegal constitutions, of false titles, of antedated charters delivered by pretended Masters of lodges or fabricated by the lodges themselves, some of which claimed a fictitious origin which went back to the year 1500.[1]

Another evil to which French Freemasonry was subjected at the beginning of its legal and constitutional career was the inundation of high degrees and the establishment of Chapters and Councils which became the rivals of the Grand Lodge.

It is to the Chevalier Ramsay that the Order is indebted for the doubtful gift of these high degrees which began to overshadow primitive, symbolic Freemasonry, and for the invention of new theories as to the origin of the Institution, which wholly rejecting the Operative element, on which the true symbolism of Freemasonry so much depends, sought to trace its existence as a Speculative Organization to the era of the Crusades and to the work of the Christian Knights.

The Grand Lodge of France, like that of England, recognized and practiced only the three symbolic degrees. Its charters to the lodges which it instituted authorized them to confer only these three degrees. It claimed that the complete cycle of Speculative Freemasonry was embraced within these prescribed limits. They denied that there was or could be any mystical knowledge above and beyond that which was taught in the Master's initiation. And it emphatically refused to concede that there existed any higher authority than itself from which the power to impart this knowledge could be derived.

Now when Ramsay's Rite of six or seven degrees was rapidly developed into other Rites professing a still greater number—when both at Paris and in the Provinces, other bodies began to be established by the illegal acts of some of the lodges, which, with the lofty titles of Colleges, Chapters, Councils and Tribunals, assumed an authority equal to that of the Grand Lodge in respect to the primitive degrees and one superior to it in respect to the new systems—when these self-constituted or illegally constituted bodies, looked with contempt on the meager initiations and the scanty instructions of the simple system of the lodges, and claimed a more elevated,

[1] "Acta Latomorum," Tome i., p. 56.

more philosophic, more splendid system of their own—it is not surprising that hundreds should have been attracted by their false theories, their grandiloquent pretensions, and the glamour which they created by their high titles, their glittering jewels, and their splendid decorations, so that pure and simple Masonry was beginning to lose its attractions and the Grand Lodge its prestige.

Nor is it less surprising that, as Thory has said, the result of all these disorders was such a complication, that at that epoch and for a long time afterward a stranger and even a Frenchman could not positively determine which was the true constitutional authority of Freemasonry in the kingdom, in what body it was vested or by what it was justly exercised.

Harassed by these conflicts for authority, these incessant assumptions of jurisdiction, which were debasing its position, the Grand Lodge resolved to take a higher stand, which it was supposed, or hoped, would secure for it a stronger hold upon the obedience of the Fraternity.

In 1743 it had adopted, as has been shown, the title of "The English Grand Lodge of France." This title had been assumed, not with the authority of the Grand Lodge at London, nor because there was any official connection with the two organizations, for there is not the slightest evidence of any historical value to that effect, but rather as an indication, as we may suppose, that the Freemasonry of France had originally come from England.

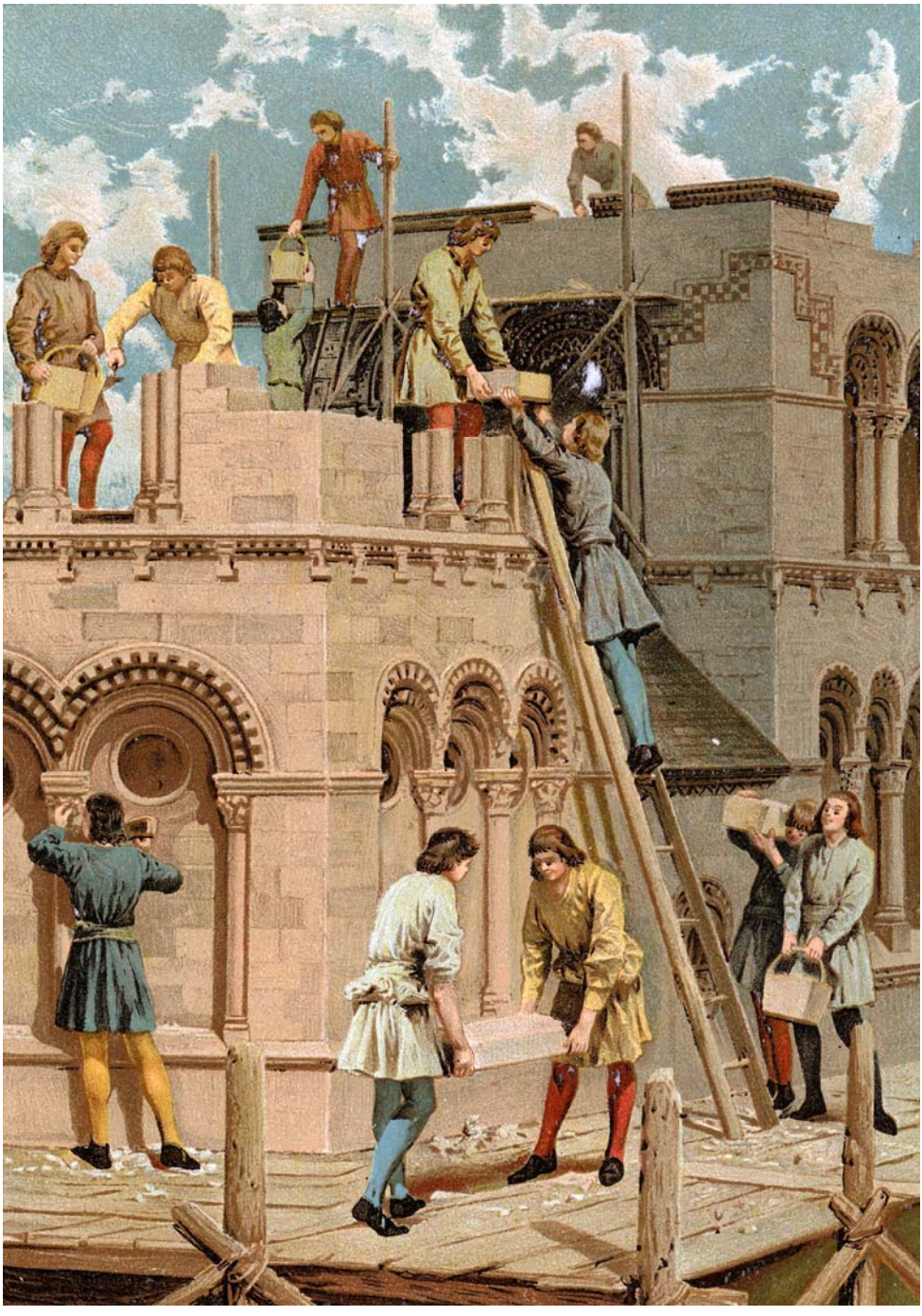
But there must have prevailed an idea that the English Grand Lodge of France was in some way a dependence on the London body, which would of course impair its claim to absolute sovereignty.

Accordingly, the French Grand Lodge asserted its thorough independence in the year 1756 by omitting the word English from its title and assuming the name of "The National Grand Lodge of France."

Thory, and all the other French writers who followed him, has said that "it shook off the yoke of the Grand Lodge at London," a phrase that is altogether inaccurate, as no such "yoke" had ever existed.

The effect, however, of this apparent declaration of independence was not such as had been expected. Chapters of High Degrees persisted in their rivalry of jurisdiction, and irregular and illegal

OPERATIVE MASONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES



chapters were still issued by the perpetual or irremovable Masters of many of the lodges. French Freemasonry was yet in a sort of chaotic condition.

To add to these annoyances and to still further embarrass the efforts for the establishment of a constitutional authority, the Count of Clermont withdrew from all participation in the administration of affairs as Grand Master, and confided the discharge of his functions to a substitute or Deputy, in the selection of whom he was by no means judicious.

The first appointment of a Substitute was one Baure, a banker. This selection was a most unfortunate one for the Craft. Baure, instead of devoting himself to the affairs of the Order, neglected to assemble the Grand Lodge. This inactivity was very disastrous, inasmuch as it encouraged the continuance of old irregularities and the introduction of many new ones.

A contemporary writer mentions among these that certain tavern-keepers who had on former occasions prepared their houses for the meetings of lodges to which they had been admitted as serving brothers, wishing to revive the banquets from which they had derived so much profit, now assumed the functions of Masters and conferred the degrees on candidates regardless of their proper qualifications. Warrants became, like the initiations, objects of traffic, and lodges whose constitutions were purchased, opened their doors to the lowest classes, and celebrated their indecent orgies in disreputable eating houses.[1] Freemasonry under this Baure was falling into a deplorable condition.

At last, but by no means too soon, he was dismissed by the Grand Master, whose next selection was one Lacorne, a dancing-master. His social position was inferior to that of his predecessor, and his character not as good. In vain the old and respectable members of the Fraternity protested against the appointment of Lacorne, who had by some services to the Grand Master secured his favor, and in reward he received the title of Particular Substitute, with a power to execute all the functions of his superior.

If the fault of Baure had been a supine inactivity, that of Lacorne was too much activity employed in a wrong direction. The

[1] La Chaussie, in a Memoire Justicatif, quoted by Thory, "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 20.

Craft had exchanged King Log for King Stork. The history of the Grand Lodge for many succeeding years is a history of agitations, dissensions, and schisms fomented by Lacorne to suit his own private ends.

Lacorne hastened to hold a meeting of the Grand Lodge, which was followed by several others, in the course of which he succeeded in effecting a reorganization of the body, which had almost ceased to exist under the indifference of his predecessor. He admitted a great many Masons of all conditions and professions, and consulted his own caprice in the selection of officers.[1]

The first signs of a coming schism began now to make their appearance. The old members of the Fraternity, who had refused to recognize the new Substitute, refrained from any participation in these acts, more especially as, in the appointment of his officers, he had selected illiterate men.

The Grand Lodge was soon divided into two factions, the one the adherents, the other the opponents, of Lacorne. Both claimed to represent the constitutional authority, and each arrogated the titles and the functions of a Grand Lodge, so that two pretended Grand Lodges were in active existence at the same time.

These dissensions lasted for several years. Finally some zealous brethren, who foresaw the threatened destruction of the Order, or at least its reduction to a state of anarchy, offered their services to effect a reconciliation. The offer was accepted. Representations were made to the Count of Clermont, who was prevailed upon to divest Lacorne of the powers which he had so much abused, and to appoint as his successor M. Chaillon de Joinville.

Peace and harmony seemed to be about to be restored. The two contending parties came together. All the Masters in Paris hastened to assist in the reconciliation. The Grand Lodge was re-established and a circular was issued on June 24, 1762, which announced the auspicious event to the Freemasons of France.[2]

But the promise of peace proved too soon to be fallacious. The two rival Grand Lodges, which had existed under the administration of Lacorne, were apparently dissolved and a United Grand Lodge was organized; but the elements which composed it were so different in character that it is not surprising that new and still more

[1] Thory, "Fondation de la Grand Orient," p. 21.

[2] Ibid.

bitter factions arose in a short time to disturb its harmony and to seriously affect its usefulness.

The cause which led to the birth of these new factions was a very natural one, and is to be found in the uncongeniality of the two parties who had united in the re-establishment of the Grand Lodge, arising from the great difference in the character, habits of life, and social condition of the individuals.

The old Masters and Past Masters who had contributed to the support of the institution in the earlier years of the Grand Mastership of the Count de Clermont, were members of the nobility, the bar, and the better class of citizens. They mingled with reluctance with the new-comers and the partisans of Lacorne, who for the most part were workmen without education or men of bad reputations, wholly incapable, from their want of culture and refinement, to conduct the labors of the Grand Lodge.[1]

The old Masters would willingly have expelled them, and in so doing they would undoubtedly have improved the moral and intellectual tone of the Grand Lodge; but the objectionable members had legal and Masonic rights, which made them in one sense the equals of their adversaries, and it was well considered by the latter that any violent coercive measures would expose the Order to the danger of new and perhaps fatal convulsions.

Accordingly, the old brethren resolved to temporize. The regulations of the Grand Lodge prescribed a triennial election of officers. The time having arrived, very few of the new members and the partisans of Lacorne were elected to any of the offices. These, feeling assured that this act had been preconcerted, declared the election to be illegal and protested against it.

They caused defamatory libels to be printed, and scattered them with profusion among the Fraternity. In these the Grand Lodge and its officers were bitterly abused.

Under these circumstances, the older brethren who formed the most numerous as well as the most respectable part of the Grand Lodge, could do no less than vindicate its authority by expelling the malcontents from it and from all their Masonic rights and privileges.

The expelled members encountered the decree of expulsion with

[1] Thory, "Fondation de la Grand Orient," p. 22.

renewed libels, insults, and personalities, to which the other side responded by publications of a similar character. The war of words became so vigorous and offensive even to public decency that the government thought it necessary to interfere and to issue, in 1767, an order prohibiting any further assemblies of the Grand Lodge.

It must have been previous to this suspension of its meetings by the government and when the Grand Lodge had hoped that its union of the discordant elements would effect a permanent and a happy reconciliation, that it announced its existence to the Grand Lodge of England and sought to establish a fraternal interchange of courtesies between the two bodies.

Northouck tells us that on January 27, 1768, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England informed the brethren that he had received from the Grand Lodge of France letters expressing a desire of opening a regular correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England. These letters having been read, it was resolved "that a mutual correspondence be kept up, and that a *Book of Constitutions*, a list of lodges, and a form of a deputation, bound in an elegant manner, be presented to the Grand Lodge of France."[1]

This, it must be remarked, is the first official recognition, by the Grand Lodge of England, of the existence and legality of such a body in France. But the ready willingness of the English Masons to cement a union with their brethren of the neighboring Grand Lodge appears to have led to no active results.

At the very time that this friendly act of the English Grand Lodge was recorded the Grand Lodge of France had suspended its labors. The body was temporarily dissolved and its members dispersed.

The expelled members availed themselves of this favorable opportunity to renew their efforts to obtain a supremacy of the Order. They held clandestine meetings in the faubourg St. Antoine, and notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates, they resumed the ordinary labors of Freemasonry, and even went so far as to grant several charters to new lodges. They sent to the lodges in the country circulars in which they stated that the Grand Lodge having, in obedience to superior authority, ceased its labors, had delegated to

[1] Northouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 291.

three Brethren, Peny, Duret, and L'Eveille, the exercise, during the continuance of the persecution, of all its rights and powers.

But they did not succeed in this bold effort at deception. The provincial lodges on examining the lists of expelled Masons which had long before been sent to them by the Grand Lodge, saw that among them were the names of those persons who had signed the circular as well as of those who were said to have been appointed as commissioners to exercise the functions of the Grand Lodge during its enforced abeyance. They therefore wrote to the Substitute of the Grand Master, M. Chaillon de Joinville, for an explanation, which was readily given. He denounced the encyclical letter as a false document and declared its signers to be rebels. In consequence the provincial lodges declined the correspondence which had been offered to them and refused to take a part in the conspiracy against the Grand Lodge.

This illegal faction was led by Lacorne, who had been deposed from his office as Substitute of the Grand Master. The legal faction, for the Grand Lodge was thus divided, was headed by Chaillon de Joinville, the successor of Lacorne in the office of Substitute General.

This body also held its secret meetings and also issued Charters, which, however, to avoid the appearance of violating the suspensory decree of the Magistrates, were all dated anterior to the issuing of that decree.

The object of the Lacorne faction was to abolish the Grand Lodge and to replace it by a new power from which all the respectable members should be removed and all authority be vested in the hands of the conspirators. As a preliminary step, they sought, but without success, to obtain from the lieutenant of police a revocation of the edict of suspension.

At length the death of the Grand Master, the Count of Clermont, which event occurred in 1771, gave a renewal of their hopes of seizing the supreme power. France presented, at this time, the spectacle of two Grand Lodges, or rather of two discordant and rival factions, each pretending to represent a Grand Lodge and each exercising the functions of a Supreme authority.

One of these was the National Grand Lodge, which had existed under the Count of Clermont and which, though interdicted by the government in 1767, still continued, though it held no meetings

openly, to exercise its prerogatives through its acknowledged officers.

The other body was a fragment, consisting of the adherents of Lacorne, all of whom had been expelled by the legal Grand Lodge, but who in violation both of the law of Masonry and the Municipal decree of interdiction, persisted in holding clandestine meetings, granting constitutions to new lodges, and in short exercising, without the least semblance of legal authority, all the functions of a Grand Lodge.

It is very clear that on the death of the Count of Clermont the National Grand Lodge, the only body in which the supreme authority of Freemasonry was at the time vested, had but one course to adopt. It should have assembled in open session, and duly elected a successor.

Unfortunately for its own interests and for those of the institution over which it held so loose a control, it did no such thing.

Discouraged by the useless efforts it had made to obtain, from' the government, a revocation of the decree of suspension, it supposed that the time was not propitious for an attempt to revive its dormant existence. Its hesitancy and its timidity were eventually the causes of its destruction.

On the contrary, the Lacorne faction, consisting, as has been said, wholly of expelled Masons, who had previously formed the disreputable part of the Grand Lodge, were more politic and more bold.

Proclaiming themselves as the nucleus of the old Grand Lodge, the labors of which had been suspended in 1767, they approached the Duke of Luxembourg, with the design of securing his influence in getting the Duke of Chartres to accept the Grand Mastership as the successor of the Count of Clermont.

Their application was successful. The Duke of Chartres consented to accept the position.

The expelled faction, elated with the success of their plan, convoked a general assembly of all the Masters in Paris, including even the members of the Grand Lodge which had formerly expelled them.

The acceptance of the Grand Mastership by one who was closely related to the sovereign, but whose infamous character had not yet been developed, had produced much enthusiasm among the Craft

The Grand Lodge was willing to be indulgent. The expelled members were restored to all their Masonic rights. On June 24, 1771, the nomination of the Duke of Chartres as Grand Master was confirmed and announced to all the lodges of Paris and the provinces.

The submission of the Grand Lodge to what it supposed to be the inevitable force of events, did not have the effect it had hoped of securing harmony in the Craft. The expelled members, though now restored, do not appear to have forgotten or forgiven the wrongs which they thought had been inflicted on them. The old members were still in their view their enemies. They resolved to maintain a factious rivalry, with the ulterior purpose of abolishing the old Grand Lodge and establishing a new body on its ruin—"Carthage must be destroyed."

A new element of discord was now introduced, the tendency of which was favorable to the execution of these views—an element not new in French Masonry, but which had not before been introduced into the internal government of the Order. This element was found in the cultivation of the *Hautes grades,* or High Degrees.

It is well known that we are to attribute this innovation, wholly unknown to the ancient Operative or to the modern Speculative system, to the inventive genius of the Chevalier Ramsay. He was the first to devise these supplements to Craft Masonry and to endeavor to develop the instructions of the Third degree by the establishment of higher initiations, to which the initiation of the Master Mason was to be deemed subordinate. Ramsay's system of seven degrees was, however, simple in comparison with those subsequently introduced into France by his followers and disciples.

France was soon inundated by these "high degrees," combined in various series forming what were called "Rites," and thrusting themselves into rivalry and competition with the legal authorities which professed to know nothing about them.

The Grand Lodge of France, like its sister of England, had always remained true to the simplicity of the Speculative system, founded as it was on the traditions of the old Operative Craft, who had recognized only three classes of workmen. It had more than once authoritatively declared that Ancient Craft or Speculative Freemasonry consisted only of three degrees. This was a fundamental point in its organic law, and it had never as a body violated it.

Not so, however, was it with its leaders, many of whom had

been attracted by the glimmer of imposing titles and brilliant decorations. Chaillon de Joinville, who was then the Substitute Grand Master under the Count of Clermont, had, as far back as 1761, proclaimed himself the "chief of the high degrees and a Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret." As such he had issued a commission authorizing Stephen Morin to disseminate these high degrees in America.

That fact is, itself, enough to show how far the influence of this advanced Masonry had already extended when it had been enabled to secure as its chief the actual head of the legitimate Grand Lodge. But we also find that, from an early date, there existed at Paris and in other places in France, Colleges, Councils, and Chapters which were engaged in the cultivation and in the conferring of these high degrees, but which were always without the official recognition of the Grand Lodge.

But this recognition they greatly desired, and when the dissidents began to conspire for the abolition of the Grand Lodge and the establishment of a new body, they readily lent their assistance, because they anticipated, as was really the case, that these high degrees would receive some sort of recognition from it.

And in this hope they were encouraged by the fact that on June 24, 1771, when the Duke of Chartres was elected and proclaimed as "Grand Master of the Grand Lodge," he was also proclaimed by the additional title of "Sovereign Grand Master of all Scottish Councils, Chapters, and Lodges of France."[1]

Thus, for the first time the symbolic Freemasonry of the primitive Speculative lodges and the Scottish Masonry of the High Degrees were reunited under one Grand Master by those who had formerly opposed the fusion of the two systems, and now accepted it without opposition but not without regret. The presence of the Duke of Luxembourg, who presided over the meeting in which the Grand Master was proclaimed, was an influence which closed the mouths of the discontented, who might under more auspicious circumstances have been less reticent, and less complaisant.

We can not doubt that the object of the dissidents or schismatics (which are the titles bestowed by Thory on the Lacorne or less reputable faction of the Grand Lodge) was to entirely change the

[1] See Thory, "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 27.

features of the system of Freemasonry which had existed in France since the establishment of the first lodge and to substitute for it another less primitive and more complicated one. This they could only expect to do by the total dissolution of the old Grand Lodge and the organization of some other Masonic authority on its ruins.

Hence, Thory is led to say that at this meeting when the Duke of Chartres was elected, there was the first appearance of the symptoms which threatened the destruction of the Grand Lodge. The assembly was entirely influenced by the dissident brethren. The old controversy as to amendments of the statutes was revived, the necessity of correcting existing abuses was vehemently insisted on and the old members saw too late to successfully oppose them the aims of their rivals. Eight commissioners were appointed to report to the Grand Master some method for effecting the proposed reforms.

The history of the proceedings of these eight commissioners, in carrying out the reforms contemplated by the dissidents, has been given by a contemporary writer,[1] and it proves that they arrogated powers which the Grand Lodge had never intended to entrust to them, and exercised them with an energy that crushed by its own force all opposition.

Encouraged by the protection of the Duke of Luxembourg, who had been appointed by the Duke of Chartres as his Substitute, they held meetings at the Hotel de Chaulnes, where they exercised the functions of a General Assembly or Grand Lodge. They were joined by several Masters of the Parisian lodges and deputies from some of the lodges in the Provinces, their professed design being to abolish the old Grand Lodge. Some of the changes which were calculated to produce that effect were opposed by a few of the Masters and delegates. But their opposition was overruled and they were compelled to withdraw from the future meetings of the commissioners.

After much noisy discussion a plan was at length presented of a new constitution. This was adopted by the eight commissioners,

[1] Le Frère de la Chaussee, a man of letters, who took an active part in the Masonic discussions of the day, was a member of the old Grand Lodge and wrote a "Memoire justificatif," whence Thory has derived many of the facts on which he has based his "History of the Grand Orient."

without having submitted it to the Grand Lodge for its approval or even for its consideration.

On December 24, 1772, the old Grand Lodge of France was declared to have ceased to exist, and for it was substituted a National Grand Lodge, which was to constitute an integral part of a new power which should administer the affairs of the Order under the title of the GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE.

The progress of this body, its controversies with the old Grand Lodge, whose members would not consent that it should be thus summarily abolished, and its final triumph and recognition as the head of Freemasonry in France, a position which it holds at the present day, must be the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER XLV

0RIGIN OF THE GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE

HE truth of history compels us to acknowledge the fact that the Grand Orient, now and for a century past the supreme Masonic authority in France, was, in its inception, a schismatic body. Those principles of law, then recognized, as they still are, as directing the organization of Grand Lodges, appear to have been violated in almost every point by the dissidents who broke off from the old Grand Lodge and conspired to establish its rival.

The Grand Lodge was still in existence; it is true it was not energetic in action, but it was not asleep; its consent had neither been asked nor obtained for this radical change in its constitution; the lodges had not been invited to meet in general assembly nor to give their sanction to the dissolution of the old body and to the creation of the new one; everything had been done by the irresponsible authority of the eight commissioners, who were merely a committee appointed to make a report on the condition of the Order and to suggest reforms to the Grand Lodge. But they exceeded their powers; made no report, and proceeded in secret sessions, to which none but their friends and co-conspirators were admitted, to the inauguration of a new system, the adoption of which was to result in the abolition of the body which had appointed them and the creation of a new one, of which not the remotest idea was entertained by the authority from which they derived their powers.

But if ever a violation of law could be defended by the necessity of a reform of abuses, which could not be effected in a more legal manner, such defense might surely be found in the corrupt condition to which Freemasonry had been reduced by the mal-administration of affairs through the neglect of the Grand Lodge, the indifference of the Grand Masters, and the usurpations of their Substitutes.

Under the constitution of the old Grand Lodge it will be shown that there were many abuses and corruptions of the pure and primitive principles on which Speculative Freemasonry had been founded at the beginning of the century. A reformation of these abuses was undoubtedly necessary, if the existence of the Order was to be preserved. There ought not to have been any objection to the reform, it is only the method in which it was effected that is to be condemned.

A comparison of the old constitution of the Grand Lodge with that of the Grand Orient presents us with the abuses of the one and the reforms proposed by the other.

The Grand Lodge of France was composed only of the Masters of the lodges of Paris. Hence the Masons and the lodges of the Provinces had no voice in the government of the Order, though they were required to contribute to the revenues of the Grand Lodge and pay implicit obedience to its decree. It was simply the old tyrannic principle of taxation without representation, and was in direct violation of the organic law on which the Mother Grand Lodge at London had been instituted.

The Quarterly Communications, on which the supreme authority rested, was composed of thirty officers who were elected triennially.

There was also a Council consisting of nine officers and nine Masters of Paris lodges, whose decisions were, however, only provisionary and required to be confirmed by the Quarterly Communication to which they were reported.

The power of punishing offending members was vested in the Masters of lodges, but there lay an appeal to the Grand Lodge.

The Masters of lodges were in general chosen for life, and were not removable by the lodges over which they presided, and which in fact were merely, in many instances, instruments provided for the pecuniary interests of their Masters.

Thory, very strangely, calls the constitution of which these are the principal points "simple, uncomplicated, and conformable to the regulations of foreign Grand Lodges." The reader will be able to give to these two favorable views their proper value.

He admits that there were abuses, but he attributes them to the factions which agitated the Grand Lodge after the death of the Duke d'Antin, and to the state of anarchy which supervened on the sus-

pension of the labors of the Grand Lodge by the order of government.

Doubtless, these circumstances exerted an unfavorable influence on the purity of the administration of the law, but whatever were the/causes, the abuses existed, and, of course, their reformation was urgently demanded.

In all these points the new constitution of the Grand Orient provided a remedy and presented the desired reform, as may be seen from the following brief view of its principal features.

"The Statutes of the Royal Order of Freemasonry in France," for such was the imposing title of the new constitution, provided in the initial article that the "Masonic Body of France," that is, the Grand Orient, should be composed, as its only members, of regular Masons, meaning thereby the members of lodges which had received Warrants from or had them renewed by the Grand Orient.

In this way, while all regular Masons were recognized as constituting a part of the great Masonic family of France, those who still retained their allegiance to the old and rival Grand Lodge were excluded from recognition.

This was a defensive act, the necessity of which excused its severity.

Again: It was declared that the Grand Orient should be composed of all the actual Masters or the deputies of lodges not only of Paris but also of the Provinces.

The Grand Lodge had never recognized the Provincial lodges as forming any part of its constituency. Their recognition by the Grand Orient as entitled to participate in its labors was the removal of a very flagrant abuse of the Masonic law of equality.

Again: All the Warrants of constitution which had been granted by the old Grand Lodge to irremovable Masters, that is, to Masters elected for life, were suppressed by the Grand Orient, which recognized as Masters only those who were elected from time to time by the lodges.

These were the most important points of difference between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient; but they were so important as to make the old Masonic form of government, as Thory expresses it, an oligarchical government by an irresponsible few, while that of the new one was representative, the only form that was recognized by the founders of the Speculative system of Freemasonry.

In a Society based on the principle of equality it is very evident that the administration of affairs should not be confided to a privileged class, to the exclusion of many of its members.

Hence, though the Grand Orient of France originated in a schismatic usurpation of power, and was therefore irregular and illegal in its methods of organization, the end would seem to have justified the means. It can not be doubted that at that important epoch, the Masonic Order in France was indebted for its salvation from impending dissolution to the establishment of the Grand Orient.

The "Grand Orient" was, as it were, the generic title assumed for the whole Masonic Order; within its bosom was the body called "The National Grand Lodge." The distinctive titles were, however, more shadowy than real. The "Grand Orient" is the name by which the Supreme authority of Freemasonry is always described by French as well as other writers.

The title was a novel one, first invented in France at that time. It had never before been heard of in Masonic language, though it has long since become quite common on the Continent of Europe and in South America. It has, however, never been adopted by the Freemasons of any of the English-speaking nations, who adhere to the primitive and better phrase, "Grand Lodge," as the title of the Supreme Masonic authority.

The first meeting of the Grand Orient as a National Grand Lodge was held on March 5, 1773. Other meetings succeeded, until June 24th, when the new Constitution was adopted, and the nomination of the Duke of Chartres as Grand Master, which had been made by the old Grand Lodge, was confirmed. The amovability of the Masters of lodges, and the right of the Provincial lodges to be represented in the Grand Orient were again proclaimed, and the choice of fifteen officers of honor as well as the nomination of the ordinary officers was referred to the Duke of Luxembourg.

But though the Duke of Chartres had been nominated as Grand Master, he had not yet formally accepted the nomination, an act which the members of the new Grand Orient felt to be imperatively necessary to the success of their designs. Having been previously elected to the same office by the old Grand Lodge, the founders of the Grand Orient recognized the policy of withdrawing him from all connection with the rival organization and of securing the adhesion to their cause of a prince of the royal blood.

Morally considered, no man in France was more unfit to be called to the head of the Masonic institution than the Duke of Chartres. From his early youth he had exhibited a depraved disposition, and passed amid companions, almost as wicked as himself, a life of vice and in the indulgence of the most licentious practices. When on the death of his father he became the Duke of Orleans, he developed a hatred for the king, who had refused to elevate him to posts to which his high birth entitled him to aspire, but from which he was excluded by his blackened reputation. Inspired with his hatred for the king, and the court, and moved by his personal ambition, he fomented the discontents which were already springing up among the people. On the breaking out of the revolution he became a seeker for popular favor; rivalled the bitterness of the most fanatical Jacobins, renounced his rank and title and assumed as a French citizen the name of Philip Égalité, repudiated Freemasonry as opposed to republican ideas, such as were then the fashion, threw up his office as Grand Master, was elected to the National Assembly, voted for the death of his cousin Louis the Sixteenth, and finally, as a fitting close to his life of infamy, expired on the guillotine, one of the many victims of the reign of terror.

At the period of his election as Grand Master, the Duke of Chartres had, though very young,[1] already exhibited a foreshadowing of his future career of infamy. Enough certainly was known of his vicious character to have made him an unfit leader of a virtuous society. But motives of policy overcame all other considerations.

The Duke himself was reluctant to accept the position which was tendered to him. Some jests made by the wits of the court, who perhaps saw the unfitness of the appointment, are said to have been the cause of the coldness with which he viewed the dignity tendered to him.[2]

A deputation consisting of four members of the Grand Orient, all men of rank, waited on the Duke to obtain his consent to the adoption of the new constitution, which would of course have been the recognition of the new body which had enacted it. But he refused to see the deputation.

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[1] He was born in 1747, and was therefore only twenty-six when elected Grand Master.

[2] This was the cause assigned by contemporary writers for the reluctance with which he gave his consent. See Thory, "Fondation de la Grand Orient," p. 39.

The joyful event of the birth of a son[1] and heir presented it was supposed a more favorable opportunity for obtaining his consent to their proceedings. The expectation was gratified. The Duke of Luxembourg, who took an earnest interest in the success of the Grand Orient and who exercised much influence over the mind of the prince, repaired to his residence long before the appearance of the deputation and succeeded in obtaining his consent to grant an interview.

Having been admitted to his presence, his approval of the proceedings by which the Grand Orient was organized was obtained, and he consented that his installation as Grand Master should take place soon after his return from a visit to Fontainebleau which he was obliged to make.

Accordingly, he was installed in his own house, called *la Folie Titon*, in the Rue de Montreuil, on October 28, 1773. The Grand Orient was thus legalized, so far as his patronage could make it so, as the supreme legislative authority of the Masonic Order in France. Hence, this installation by its rival of the same Grand Master whom it had itself elected in 1771, and who still retained that position, was a cause of great annoyance to the old Grand Lodge. The old Grand Lodge did not, however, cease at once to exist, but continued its labors, exercising a warfare with the Grand Orient for several years.

It held a session on June 17, 1773, at which were present those Masters of the Paris lodges who were still faithful to it and some deserters from the Grand Orient, who had abandoned that body when it suppressed the law of immovability.

At this session the Grand Lodge fulminated its decrees against the Grand Orient, which it declared to be a schismatic body, surreptitiously formed—a mere faction.

On September 10th it declared the eight commissioners deprived of all Masonic rights, and forbade their admission to any of the lodges.

Though fully recognizing the embarrassment which resulted from the installation of the Duke of Chartres, it determined to maintain its independence and to continue its labors with the assistance of the few lodges which still adhered to it. For this purpose it continued

[1] This was the Duke of Valois, afterward Duke of Chartres, then Duke of Orleans, and finally King Louis Philippe of France.

its denunciations of the Grand Orient and revoked all its decrees as fast as they were passed. It had among its adherents some able men, who employed their talents in the composition and publication of circulars and even books in which the Grand Orient and all its proceedings were denounced.

Responses were not wanting on the part of the Grand Orient, among whose most able and energetic defenders was the Duke of Luxembourg, while M. Gouilliard, a Doctor of Laws and the Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge, was the most conspicuous writer on behalf of that body.

It would be tedious to follow in all its details this internecine war of "paper pellets," which lasted with equal acrimony on either side for many years. It will be sufficient to pursue, with rapid sketch, the progress of each of the rival bodies until the close of the century, when a union was finally accomplished.

In 1774 the Grand Lodge assumed the title of the "Sole and only Grand Orient of France,"[1] and proceeded to the election of its Grand Officers under the auspices of the Duke of Chartres, whom it recognized as "Grand Master of all the lodges of France." It again decreed that the so-called Grand Orient of France was irregular, and its members and partisans were clandestine Masons; it forbade its lodges to admit them as visitors unless they abjured their errors and promised submission to the Grand Lodge; it also interdicted the members of its own lodges from visiting the Grand Orient.

In 1775 the Grand Lodge granted Warrants to eight lodges in Paris and to still more in the Provinces, and continued to increase the number of lodges under its obedience for many successive years, so that its existence was not merely a formal one. On the contrary, it appears to have been a troublesome though not eventually a successful rival of the Grand Orient.

In 1780 it must at last have felt the inconvenience of having a Grand Master only in name, for there is no record that the Duke of Chartres, or his Substitute, the Duke of Luxembourg, ever attended its communications. To remedy this evil, the Grand Lodge in 1780 appointed three Honorary Presidents, who were to supply the place of the Grand Master in his absence from the meetings.

[1] Seul et Unique Grand Orient de France.

That the old Grand Lodge was not yet moribund notwithstanding the greater activity of its rival, the Grand Orient, is evident from the fact that in its Tableau issued in 1783, it reports the number of lodges under its jurisdiction in Paris as well as the Provinces as amounting to the respectable number of 352. In the same year the English printed lists enumerate 453 lodges, but many of these were extinct and 123 were situated in foreign countries, so that there were actually at that time more lodges in France under obedience to the old Grand Lodge than there were in England under the jurisdiction of the constitutional Grand Lodge.[1]

But in 1789 the political troubles which then began to agitate the kingdom, and which soon after resulted in the French Revolution, had a very serious effect on the condition of Freemasonry. The attendance on the lodges was very infrequent, and finally, in 1792, the Grand Lodge suspended its labors and the members were dispersed.

From the time of its organization in 1773, the Grand Orient had maintained a successful existence; it was patronized by a better class of Masons than that of which the Grand Lodge was composed, and had the support of the Grand Master of both bodies, his substitute, the Duke of Luxembourg, showing a very evident partiality for the Grand Orient, and not only never attending the meetings but actually denouncing the authority of the Grand Lodge.

The record of its transactions for these sixteen years supply us with more interesting incidents than those which marked the quiet progress of the Grand Lodge during the same period.

Its contests with the Grand Lodge for supremacy were unremittingly maintained. The mutual recriminations of both bodies did not tend to cultivate a spirit of fraternity. Finding itself embarrassed for the want of the registers and other archives which were retained by the Grand Lodge, the Grand Orient went so far as to apply to the Lieutenant of Police and cause the arrest and imprisonment of the keeper of the Seals and some other members of the Grand Lodge. But the effort to obtain possession of the documents, even by this harsh means, was unsuccessful.

It was found impossible for want of the registers to discover the number and names of the country lodges, most of which, having

[1] See List No. 16 in Gould's "Four Old Lodges," p. 68.

been established under the old, corrupt system of immovable Masters or Masters for life, retained their allegiance to the Grand Lodge, which still preserved the usage.

The Grand Orient, therefore, that the knowledge of its existence and its authority might be brought nearer these country lodges, established Provincial Grand Lodges, as another of the important changes which it was making in the usages of French Freemasonry.

These Provincial Grand Lodges were not, however, established on the same plan as those of England. Their design was, as has been said, to relieve the Grand Orient of the embarrassment of governing lodges at a distance. A provincial Grand Lodge was to be established not in a Province only, but in any town or place where there were not less than three lodges; it was to have a superintendence over them; its decrees were to be subject only to appeal to the Grand Orient, it was to collect and transmit all dues; and was to be the medium of all correspondence between the lodges and the Grand Orient.

The Grand Orient became rather aristocratic in its ideas and refused to recognize as members of the Order persons who were attached to the public theatres and to all artisans who were not Master workmen in their trades. Subsequently it forbade the lodges to meet in public taverns, a reformation which their English brethren had not yet reached.

In 1774 the title of "Royal Order," by which Freemasonry had hitherto been designated in France, was exchanged for that of the "Masonic Order," certainly a more appropriate name.

In 1775 the Grand Orient was occupied in determining the form of the Masonic government in the kingdom, and several decrees were made for the regulation of the deputies and representatives of lodges. It expressed its intention to purify the Order and the lodges which were profaned by the presence of corrupt men, and a commission was appointed to carry these views into effect.

The Duke of Chartres presided at a meeting of the Grand Orient in July, 1776, being the first time that he had been present since his installation in 1773.

The prevalence of "high degrees" and of Councils and Chapters which conferred them independently of the Grand Orient, had led the members of that body to take into consideration the expediency of following what had now become the fashion on the Continent

and more especially in France, and of developing within its own bosom a rite which should be founded on the three symbolic degrees which had hitherto been practiced by it and by the Grand Lodge. A chamber of degrees or committee to regulate this matter was accordingly appointed in 1782. Two years after this chamber reported four degrees, which, with the three symbolic as a foundation, were to constitute the "*Rite Française*."

These degrees were entitled *Elu, Ecossais, Chevalier d'Orient,* and *Chevalier Rose Croix,* or, as they may be translated, Elect Mason, Scottish Mason, Knight of the East and Knight Rose Croix. Though there were some modifications of the rituals, the degrees were not an original conception of the Committee, but were borrowed substantially from those systems which had been practiced in France since the time of the Chevalier Ramsay.

The degrees having been adopted by the Grand Orient, it decreed that they should henceforth be the only ones recognized and practiced in the several chapters which were attached to the lodges under its jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly the adoption of these new degrees was a manifest innovation on the pure system of primitive Speculative Freemasonry, an innovation which the more conservative spirits of the English-speaking Grand Lodges had always resisted.

But under the peculiar character which Continental Masonry had long assumed, it was far better that the Grand Orient should adopt a system of development comparatively simple and consisting of only four additional degrees, and confine its lodges within those limits, than to permit them to become the victims of the numerous and extravagant systems by which they were surrounded and which were practiced by irresponsible Chapters and Councils.

The French lodges of the Grand Orient were thus provided with a uniform system of their own, far better than the many diverse ones, which bid defiance to all homogeneity of Speculative Freemasonry.

In 1791 the lodges under the Grand Orient, like those under the Grand Lodge, suspended their labors and closed their doors in consequence of the existing political agitations. Still the Grand Orient, even in that year, constituted two or three lodges, but Freemasonry had really assumed a dormant condition throughout the kingdom.

But notwithstanding the dissolution of the lodges, several of the officers of the Grand Orient boldly sustained its activity so far as circumstances would permit. In France, in this day of trial, there were, as there were in America in a long subsequent period of persecution, some Masons who were willing to become Martyrs to their convictions of the purity of the Institution, and to the love which they bore for it.

But no such sentiments animated the bosom of the recreant Grand Master, the Duke of Chartres, who by the death of his father had become Duke of Orleans, and who, having abandoned his family and his class, had repudiated his hereditary title and assumed, according to the fashion of the *sans culottes,* the name of Citizen Equality—*le citoyen Égalité.*

The Secretary of the Grand Orient having in December, 1792, addressed him an official note relative to the labors of the Grand Orient, the Duke made a reply in the following words, on May 15,

1793.

"As I do not know how the Grand Orient is constituted, and as I moreover, do not think that there should be any mystery or secret society in a republic, especially at the beginning of its establishment, I no longer wish to have anything to do with the Grand Orient or with the meetings of Masons."

This peremptory, and in its terms insulting, withdrawal was received, as it may be supposed, by the members of the Grand Orient with expressions of the utmost indignation. It is said that the sword of the Order, one of the insignia of the Grand Master, was broken by the presiding officer and cast into the midst of the Assembly, and the Grand Mastership was declared vacant.

In 1795 a few of the lodges resumed their labors, and M. Rotiers de Montaleau was elected Grand Master. He, however, refused to take the title, and assumed that of "Grand Venerable," with, however, all the prerogatives and functions of a Grand Master.

The progress of Masonic restoration to activity was, however, very slow. In 1796 there were but eighteen lodges in active operation in the whole of France, namely, three at Paris, and the remaining fifteen in the Provinces.

In May, 1799, commissioners who had been appointed by the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient concluded a treaty of union be-

tween the two rival bodies. The Grand Lodge in this treaty agreed to the abolition of the usage it had always hitherto maintained of the irremovability of Masters, and accepted the doctrine of the Grand Orient, that they should hereafter be elected by the members of the lodges.

On June 22, 1799, the two hitherto rivals met in a United Assembly, and the union of all the Freemasons of France was consummated, the title of Grand Orient being continued, to designate the supreme Masonic authority, and the Grand Lodge ceased to exist.

Thus the rivalry which had existed in France for twenty-six years between two bodies, each claiming to be the head of the Order, was terminated by an amicable union.

In England the same sort of rivalry had existed between the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" and that of the "Ancients" for a much longer time, and was terminated at a later period by a similar union.

But in the circumstances connected with this internecine war there were some singular coincidences which are worthy of remark.

In the first place, the original disruption was based in each kingdom on a single fundamental point of difference.

In England it was on the recognition of a Fourth degree in the ritual. The "Moderns" contended that there were in Speculative Freemasonry no more than the three primitive degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master. The "Ancients" affirmed that for the completion of the ritual a Fourth degree, which they called the "Royal Arch," was essentially necessary, and that without it as a development of the Third degree, the system of Speculative Masonry was imperfect and worthless.

In France the single point of difference between the two bodies was that of the irremovability of the Masters, of lodges. The Grand Lodge had from the very beginning of its authentic history granted constitutions to certain Masters for the establishment of lodges over which they were to preside by a perpetual tenure of office, that is, they were Masters for life. Now as these "irremovable Masters "were often, nay almost always, appointed through corrupt motives, and as the lodges thus became, in a way, their personal property, the attempt was made to abolish them and to make the presidency of the lodges elective.

This reform, for it was evidently a reform, was opposed by the

Grand Lodge, and hence those who were in favor of it established the Grand Orient, for the purpose of carrying out their views, and hence one of its first acts was to pass a decree abolishing the usage and suppressing the irremovable Masters.

There were, of course, supplementary motives for the schism, but this was undoubtedly the leading one.

So in England and in France there was a schism founded on a single difference of opinion, but this difference as it existed in each country never extended into the other. The English lodges never entertained the question of Masters for life, because from the organization of the Grand Lodge at London, those officers had always been annually elected, and this doctrine was held by both Grand Lodges.

The French lodges were never embarrassed by the question of a Fourth degree, which was the bone of contention in England. Though there were Chapters and Councils in which a Royal Arch degree under various modifications had existed from the time of the Chevalier Ramsay, these bodies had no legal connection with or recognition by either the Grand Lodge or the Grand Orient, both of which maintained the doctrine that pure Freemasonry consisted of only three degrees.

Another point of very interesting coincidence in the contention in the two countries was the following.

As both in England and France there were, during the contest, two bodies, each claiming Masonic sovereignty, it is evident that in each, one of the bodies must have been irregular, illegal, and schismatic, for it is the law of Freemasonry that the sovereignty can not be divided.

In England the schismatic and illegal body was the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients," the legal and constitutional one was the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns."

In France the schismatic and illegal body was the Grand Orient, which had been surreptitiously and irregularly formed; the legal and constitutional body was the Grand Lodge. Now it is very remarkable that when in each country the dissensions which had so long existed were brought to an amicable end and a union effected in the settlement of the principal question upon which the schism had been founded, the irregular and schismatic gained the victory, and the regular body was compelled to accept the doctrine which it had so long and so pertinaciously resisted.

Thus in England the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" recognized the Royal Arch, which it had always repudiated as an innovation, as one of the regular degrees of ancient Craft Masonry.

In France the Grand Lodge abandoned the doctrine of the irremovability of Masters, for which it had always strenuously contended, and accepted the theory and usage of the Grand Orient that the office of Master should be elective.

But though the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient had been merged into one governing body of the French Masons, there were still difficulties presenting themselves in the effort to establish a unification of the Masonic system in the kingdom.

The abundance of high degrees, which from a very early period had been introduced into France, had been conferred in Councils and Chapters, which had never been recognized by either the Grand Lodge or the Grand Orient, but which had always acted independently of either authority.

Such were the Council of Emperors of the East and West, the General Grand Chapter, and finally the Supreme Council which had been organized by Count de Grasse Tily in 1804, under the authority of the Supreme Council at Charleston in the State of South Carolina.

In 1802 the Grand Orient had forbidden its lodges to confer any degrees which were not recognized by it. This caused the Scottish lodges, or those conferring these degrees, to establish a separate locality in the boulevard Poissonnière. Here they continued in defiance of the decree of the Grand Orient to practice the Scottish Rite. Finally, they established the "General Scottish Grand Lodge of France." The existence of this body was but an ephemeral one, for in two years it united with the Grand Orient.

Seeing the infatuation of the French Masons for the decorations and the mysteries of these high degrees, the Grand Orient, through the prudent counsels of Rotiers de Montaleau, the Grand Master, that it might put an end to all divisions in reference to Masonic Rites, declared that it would unite in its own bosom and recognize all Rites and Degrees whose dogmas and principles were in harmony with the general system of the Order.

Hence, at the present day the Grand Orient assumes jurisdiction over all the degrees of Freemasonry from the First to the Thirty third.

After an abortive attempt to effect a union between the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, the latter body assumed and still maintains jurisdiction over the Rite on which it is founded, and grants constitutions to lodges of the Symbolic degrees.

Hence, at the present day there are in France two independent authorities in Freemasonry—the Grand Orient, which claims jurisdiction over all Rites, and the Supreme Council, which confines its jurisdiction to the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

Very recently out of this body has sprung an independent Scottish Grand Lodge, whose existence as permanent or ephemeral is yet to be determined.

But these matters belong to the contemporary history of the present day, and as our investigations are properly restricted to the Origin of the Grand Orient, which subject has been fully discussed, an end may now properly be given to the present chapter.

CHAPTER XLVI

INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY INTO THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES

THE intercourse of the English colonies with the mother country was continuous, and, considering the condition of navigation, conducted entirely by sailing-vessels, was frequent. The colonists brought with them, in their immigration to the new country, the language, the laws, and the customs of their ancestors. The personal and political relations existing between the people on either side of the Atlantic were very intimate, and the wide ocean formed no sufficient barrier to the introduction among the Americans of new discoveries and inventions, of new styles of living or of new trains of thought, which, springing up in England, were in a brief course of time brought over by visitors or by new settlers to the growing colonies. It is not, therefore, to be doubted that very soon after the establishment of Speculative Freemasonry in London, by the organization of a Grand Lodge, in 1717, persons who had been initiated in the London lodges came over to America and brought with them the principles of the new system as it was just beginning to be taught at home.

At whatever precise date we may place the legal establishment of the first lodge in America, it is very certain, from the testimony of authentic public documents, that there was no lack of Freemasons in America not very long after the establishment of the system in England and anterior to the known legal organization of any lodge in the country.

Of course, it is understood that many of these Freemasons had been initiated in England, either while on a temporary visit to that country, if they were residents of the colonies, or, if they were recent immigrants, then before they left their old home for their new one.

This is very plain; nothing could be more natural than that a

colonist going "home," as England was affectionately styled, should have availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his visit, to unite with a society enticing by its mystic character and its great popularity, and that among the emigrants who were daily crossing the ocean, to make their homes in the new country, there should have been many who were members of that society.

But the question has never yet been mooted whether some persons had not been initiated in America before any deputation had been issued by a Grand Master of England for the organization of a regular lodge, under the constitutions adopted at London in 1723.

Yet this is a very interesting question, and the fact that it is a novel one never having before been entertained, makes it still more interesting.

I may premise the investigation into which I am about to enter, by saying that whether the fact be proved or not, its occurrence is by no means impossible.

We have seen that lodges were established in France as early as 1721, eleven years before the constitution of a regular lodge by the Grand Lodge at London. I have already said that these lodges were organized without a Warrant, by certain Freemasons from England, who had exercised the ancient privilege of the Operatives to open lodges and make Masons without a Warrant, whenever a competent number were present. This privilege had been surrendered in 1717 by the four London Lodges to the newly erected Grand Lodge, but it was for some time after asserted occasionally. It was in France, may it not also have been in America?

The first Deputation granted from England for the colonies was granted by the Duke of Norfolk to Daniel Coxe, Esq., of New Jersey. The date of this Deputation is June 5, 1730. It appoints him Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and it empowers him to constitute lodges.

While there is the indisputable evidence of the original Deputation still preserved in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of England, as well as the printed List of Deputations published by Anderson in the Second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and many other irrefragable proofs that the Deputation was granted to Coxe in June, 1730, there is not the slightest testimony of any kind, even traditional, that any similar Deputation can have been previously granted to any person residing in the American Colonies.

In other words, the proof is very satisfactory that previous to the latter half of the year 1730[1] there was no legal authority in the colonies to constitute lodges according to the English regulation adopted in 1717.

If, then, there were any lodges which met in the colonies previous to that date, they must have been lodges which derived their authority for meeting from the old Operative usage, which was that a sufficient number of Masons met together were empowered to make Masons and to practice the rites of Masonry without a Warrant of Constitution.

It has now been conceded that the first constitutional lodge of Freemasons acting under the authority of a Warrant was established in Philadelphia in the latter part of the year 1730. The evidence of this will be hereafter given in its proper place.

But there are also proofs that one or more lodges were in existence in Philadelphia before the time of the reception by Coxe of the Deputation which had been granted to him by the Duke of Norfolk.

The first of these proofs is furnished by the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was in 1730 the Printer and also the Editor of a paper published in Philadelphia with the title of the *Pennsylvania Gazette.*

In No. 108 of that paper, published on December 8, 1730, is the following article: "As there are several lodges of FREE MASONS erected in this Province, and people have lately been much amused with conjectures concerning them, we think the following account of Free Masonry, from London, will not be unacceptable to our readers."

Now Coxe's Deputation was only issued in June of that year. It could hardly have taken less than two or three months for it to pass from the Grand Secretary's office in London into the hands of Bro. Coxe in New Jersey. Between the time of his receiving it and the publication of the article just cited from Franklin's *Gazette,* the interval would be hardly long enough to enable Coxe to organize and constitute *several lodges.*

[1] The Deputation having been issued at London, June 5, 1730, allowing for necessary delays and the length of the passage across the ocean at that time, it could hardly have reached Philadelphia before the end of August or more probably September in the same year.

We know from the records that there was one lodge constituted in 1730, but we have no evidence of the constitution in that year of any others, either by Coxe as Provincial Grand Master or by any brother appointed by him as his Deputy.

And yet Franklin says (and he was neither a truthless nor a careless writer) that there were *several lodges* at that time in the Province of Pennsylvania.

But as *several* includes more than one, where did the additional lodges come from? They were not constituted by Coxe nor by his authority, at least we have no knowledge of any such constitution.

It is therefore not unlikely that these lodges were like the first lodges in France, formed by what the Freemasons had been taught was their prescriptive right, and who, without a Warrant, had before the coming of the Deputation assembled together in competent number and practiced the rites of Masonry.

But there is something more than probable conjecture to support this theory. A letter was written in 1754 by Henry Bell, at that time residing in the town of Lancaster (Pennsylvania), to Dr. Thomas Cadwallader of Philadelphia, in which he makes the positive statement from his own knowledge and participation in the circumstance that there actually was in 1730, perhaps before, at least one lodge formed by prescriptive right without a Warrant.

Bro. Bell's letter, containing this important historical statement, was exhibited in the office of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in the year 1772. A copy of it made at that time was published in the *Early History and Constitutions* of the Grand Lodge and is as follows:

"As you well know, I was one of the originators of the first Masonic lodge in Philadelphia. A party of us used to meet at the Tun Tavern, in Water street, and sometimes *opened a lodge* there. Once in the fall of 1730 we formed a design of obtaining a charter for a regular lodge, and made application to the Grand Lodge of England for one, but before receiving it, we heard that Daniel Coxe of New Jersey had been appointed by that Grand Lodge as Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We therefore made application to him, and our request was granted."

It thus appears from the testimony of one engaged in the transaction, that for some time previous to any authority existing in

America for granting Warrants, a lodge had been opened in Philadelphia, without the sanction of such Warrant and of course by the old prescriptive right, which had always prevailed as the law of Freemasonry, until the right was surrendered in 1717 by the four Lodges which united in forming the Grand Lodge at London.

Bro. Clifford P. MacCalla, who has been a most indefatigable and successful explorer of old documents connected with the early history of Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, published in his valuable paper, the *Key Stone* (December 22, 1877), an important and interesting letter which furnishes the evidence that there were Freemasons in Philadelphia one year at least before the severance of the Speculative from the Operative element, and the organization of the Grand Lodge at London.

This letter is dated "March 10, 1715,"[1] and was written by John Moore, the King's collector at the port of Philadelphia, and addressed to James Sandilands, Esq., of Chester, Penn.

The letter is an official one, communicating the fact that he had received from England a bell and some altar furniture, intended for a church at Chester, and requesting to know how they were to be delivered. But this business matter having been dismissed, the letter concludes with the following remarkable passage:

"Ye winter has been very long and dull, and we have had no mirth or pleasure except a few evenings spent in festivity with my Masonic Brethren."

Since the authenticity of this letter is indisputable,[2] it is of great historical importance. It shows without a doubt that in America, as in England and in Scotland, there were Freemasons, who lived under the old partly Operative and partly Speculative régime anterior to what has been called the "Revival," which took place in

[1] Although the double reference, as 1715-16, was generally affixed to dates in the first three months of the year, to indicate the old and the new styles, it is very probable that by "March 10, 1715," the writer meant what we should now write as "March 10, 1716."

[2] Bro. MacCalla states that at the time of publication the letter was in the possession of Bro. Horace W. Smith, the great-grandson of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; the grandson of Bro. William Moore Smith, Grand Master of Pennsylvania, and the son of Richard Penn Smith of Lodge No. 72 in Philadelphia, and that the granddaughter of John Moore, the writer of the latter, intermarried with the Rev. Dr. Smith, the great-grandfather of its present custodian. The letter is thus traced through a reputable descent, which gives it all needful color of authenticity.

London in 1717, when the Speculative began to be wholly dissevered from the Operative system.

In England and Scotland we know that these Freemasons were united in lodges, which worked without the sanction of a Warrant of Constitution, which was a new regulation adopted for the first time at the time of the so-called Revival. They were organized, as has been already said, by a prescriptive right by which a competent number of Freemasons were always authorized to assemble and perform the rites of Masonry.

There is, it is true, no direct evidence that the Freemasons referred to in the letter of Bro. Moore pursued the same plan in 1715, and "spent their evenings in festivity" in an organized lodge. But it is very probable that such was the fact. There is no reason why, if there were a sufficient number of Freemasons then living in Philadelphia, and who were in the habit, as the letter indicates, of meeting for festive purposes, they should not have followed the custom which prevailed "at home," and for better regularity and discipline in their meetings have formed themselves into a lodge.

At all events, we have the positive proof that fifteen years later there was a lodge which met in Philadelphia in 1730 and for some time before, which acted without a Warrant, until the latter part of that year, when it asked for and received one from Coxe, the Provincial Grand Master.

We have no such direct proof of the existence in other parts of the continent of lodges held by "prescriptive right," but there are some circumstances that lead us to believe that such was sometimes the case.

In 1736 the brethren of Portsmouth in New Hampshire applied to Henry Price for a charter. The petition is at least singular in its phraseology. It is subscribed by "persons of the holy and exquisite Lodge of St. John," as if there were already a lodge existing under that title, and in asking for a "Deputation and power to hold a lodge according to order as is and has been granted to faithful Brothers in all parts of the World;" and in asking for the Deputation, they say, "we have our constitutions, both in print and manuscript, as good and as ancient as any that England can afford."[1]

[1] See the petition in Bro. Gardiner's able report in the "Transactions of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts," anno 1871, p. 307.

Now, this may mean either that the Portsmouth brethren were in possession of rituals and other necessary books to use in forming a lodge; or it may mean that they were already working and had been working as a lodge by prescriptive right and now wanted to be duly regularized under the new system which Price had just received from England. It is an open question.

The colonies into which Freemasonry under the new system of the Revival was first introduced were Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Georgia.

There is no positive evidence that any lodges existed under the old Operative System, in either Massachusetts or South Carolina. In the former Price opened his Provincial Grand Lodge in 1733, and in such of the records as have come to light there is no reference to any previous meeting of the Masons.

In South Carolina Hammerton opened a lodge at Charleston in October, 1736, under a Warrant granted by the Grand Master, Lord Weymouth. There is no traditional or other evidence that any lodge of Masons had ever met in the Province before that date.

In Georgia regular Freemasonry under the Grand Lodge of 1717 was introduced in 1736 when Solomon's Lodge at Savannah was opened under sanction of a Warrant from Lord Weymouth. But the late Bro. W. S. Rockwell, in his *Ahiman Rezon of Georgia*, published in 1859, says that "many still living in Savannah have heard from older Brethren who have passed to that 'undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns,' that a Lodge was at work in that city before Solomon's Lodge No. 1 had an existence."[1]

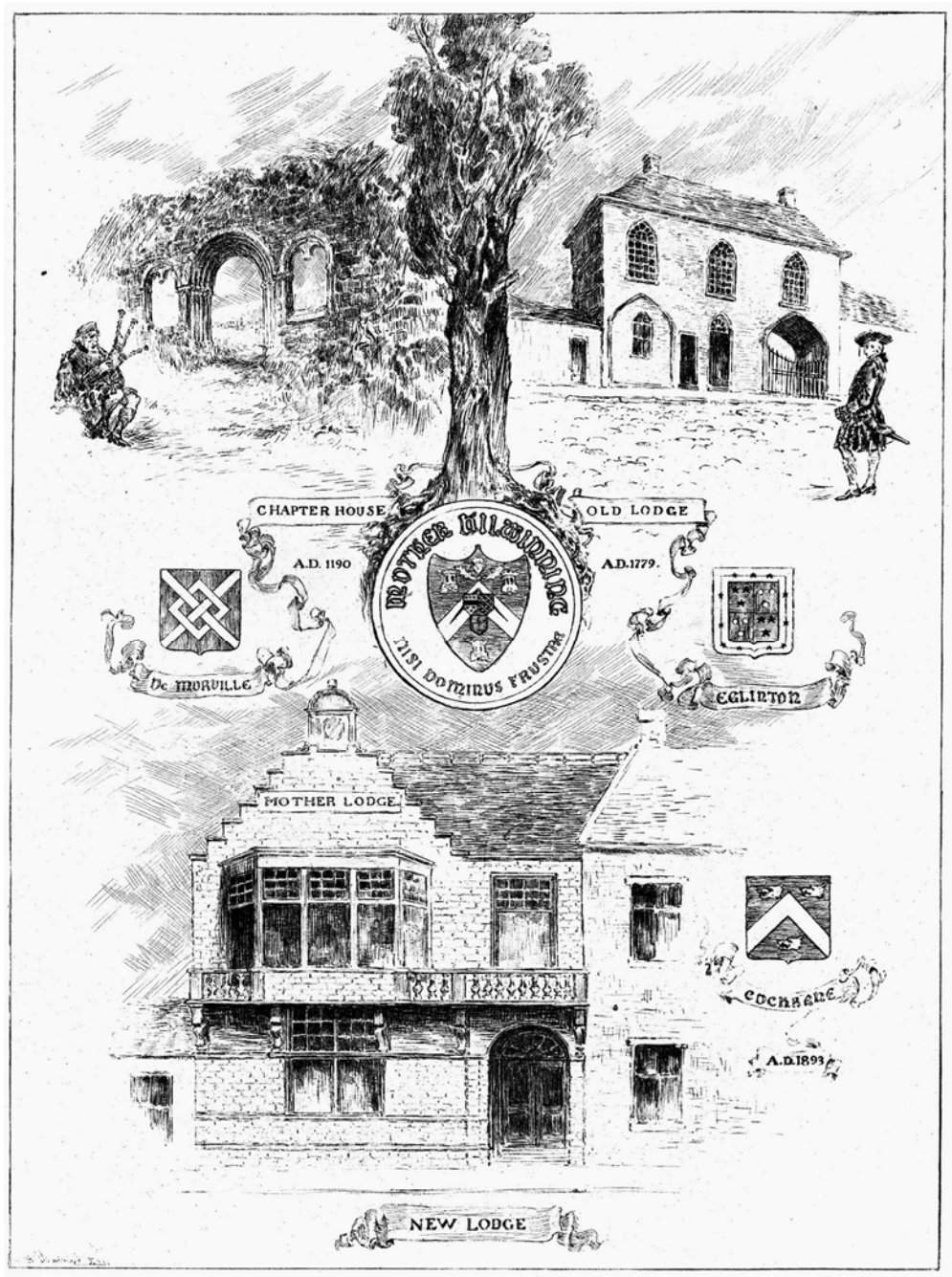
If there were any such lodge, it must have been one which worked under the "prescriptive right" or "immemorial usage" of the olden time.

In Pennsylvania we have already seen that at least one such lodge was in existence in 1730 before Coxe had received his authority as Provincial Grand Master. And there is also evidence that Freemasons were in the habit of meeting in Philadelphia for convivial purposes at least two years before the organization of the Grand Lodge at London.

Now it is true that we have no evidence of the existence of these

[1] Rockwell, "Ahiman Rezon of Georgia," 1859, 4th edition, p. 323.

THE MOTHER LODGE OF KILWINNING


CHAPTER HOUSE
OLD LODGE
A.D. 1190
A.D. 1779.
MOTHER WILLIAMSONE
NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA
De MORVILLE
EGLINTON
MOTHER LODGE
COCHRANE
A.D. 1893
NEW LODGE

independent lodges anywhere in the colonies outside of Pennsylvania, nor any intimation of their existence, except the traditional report, mentioned by Rockwell, that a lodge had been in operation in Savannah before the Constitution of Solomon's Lodge and the suspicious phraseology of the petition for a lodge at Portsmouth, N. H., which might have emanated from a number of Masons who either were desirous of forming a new lodge, or who already working as a lodge by the old prescriptive right, wished to be regularized under the new system.

But notwithstanding this deficiency of positive evidence, does not all this show that there were lodges of this character in various parts of the colonies long before the issuing of Warrants by the London Grand Lodge? That is to say, we have a right to suppose that Freemasonry was first established in this country by the voluntary association of a certain number of Masons together without the sanction of a Warrant. This was the rule in England previous to the year 1717, when this right of meeting by what was termed "immemorial usage" was surrendered to the Grand Lodge by the four Lodges in London.

But the right and the practice was not at once abandoned everywhere. Some lodges in the rural districts of England continued to act without Warrants for a few years, and lodges under the old privileges were established in France, apparently by the Jacobites or adherents of the House of Stuart.

There is no reason therefore to doubt that the same custom prevailed to some extent in the American Colonies. During the constant intercourse which was maintained between the Mother-country and its colonies, many Freemasons would be constantly repairing to them, either as visitors, as emigrants, or as officers of the parent government.

The Freemasonry that they brought with them they would naturally desire to practice in the new country into which they had come. Hence it is probable that they voluntarily associated in lodges and practiced the rites of the Institution in other parts of the colonies, as we now know that they did in Philadelphia in 1715.

The negative evidence that there are no minutes or records extant of the meetings of such lodges is not of the least value. It is not certain that they kept any records, or if they did, it is natural that in the lapse of time and with the intervention of so many stir-

ring events, these records may have been lost. There are very few lodges of any antiquity, now existing in this country, whose earliest records have been preserved.

So the absence of records is no proof that such unwarranted lodges did not exist at an early period in this country, and the indisputable fact attested by documentary proof that one or more did exist at that early period in Pennsylvania, gives strong presumption to the hypothesis that similar lodges existed in some of the other colonies.

I advance therefore the following theory in reference to the introduction of Freemasonry into the American Colonies. I do not deny that it is, with the exception of the colony of Pennsylvania, a mere hypothesis, but an hypothesis is not necessarily false nor untenable because the proofs of it are not as strong as the enquirer might desire.

It can not be doubted or denied that the Masonic spirit which was prevailing in England in the early part of the 18th century, and which led in 1717 to the establishment of a Speculative Grand Lodge in London was carried into the remotest part of the British empire by emigrants and settlers in the colonies who preserved in their new home the manners and customs, the habits and associations, which had distinguished them in their old one.

Now as lodges existed in London and other parts of England and had long existed, organized under the old law of the Craft which authorized the congregation of Masons for Masonic purposes, without the sanction of a Warrant, we may reasonably suppose that Freemasons coming from England into the colonies, some of whom had probably been members of such lodges at home, would continue the custom in the new country into which they had come and there institute similar lodges.

At first the brethren may have met together for the purpose of preserving their Masonic recollections and of renewing the pleasures of their Masonic re-unions at home. Such appears to have been the case with the brethren referred to by Bro. Moore, who met in Philadelphia in 1715. As the Speculative Grand Lodge was not organized in London until two years afterward, these Masons must have come out of the old Operative lodges.

At first, these Masons may have been content to meet together without proceeding to make initiations. But there was no law to

prevent their doing so, and I see no reason why they should not have proceeded to secure the prosperity of the Institution by an increase of its numbers.

Hence, I think that lodges must have been in existence in the colonies long before the granting of a Deputation to Coxe. There are no records now extant of the meetings of any such lodges, but as I have already said, this was not to be expected, and the fact that no such records can now be found, is not the slightest evidence that they never existed.

Certainly we know from authentic testimony, which has already been cited, that such a lodge was in existence and in operation in Philadelphia in 1730, and we know not how many years before, which applied to Daniel Coxe, when his Deputation as Provincial Grand Master arrived, and received from him authority to continue their labors as a regular lodge.

If this occurred in Pennsylvania, why should not the like have occurred in other colonies? Why should not there have been lodges thus voluntarily formed, in Massachusetts before the Deputation of Price, in South Carolina before that of Hammerton, or in Georgia before that of Lacy?

To say that there are no records of any such lodges is no answer to the question. The early records of Freemasonry, everywhere, have been too poorly kept and too illy preserved to authorize us to found any argument on their absence. Horace wisely tells us that many heroes perished before Agamemnon, unwept and unsung, because there was no poet to record their deeds.

The conclusion to which I arrive by this course of reasoning is, then, that Freemasonry was introduced into the colonies of North America at a very early period in the 18th century, by means of officers of the parent government, or emigrants intending to be future permanent residents.

These Freemasons soon established lodges in various places, which they worked without the sanction of Warrants, and under the regulation which existed in England at the time when they left it At this period Warrants were unknown and lodges met whenever and wherever a competent number of brethren thought proper to establish one.

It was in this way that the love of Freemasonry was preserved in these distant regions, and when at length the new system of

warranting lodges which had been inaugurated in 1717 by the four old Lodges in London began to be understood and Deputations for Provincial Grand Lodges and Provincial Grand Masterships began to be sent over from the parent country, these primitive, unwarranted lodges ceased to exist and their members took out Warrants which regularized them.

They had performed their mission. They had introduced Freemasonry into America. They had fostered it, with the best of their feeble means. They had planted the seed, and the nursing of the plant and the gathering of the crop they were willing should be left to those who came after them.

The new system brought by the various Deputations from England resulted in the introduction of the regulations which had been adopted by the English Grand Lodge. Provincial Grand Lodges were organized and no lodge was instituted except under the sanction of a Warrant.

From this time Freemasonry in the colonies begins to be purely historical, and in that light its early history is now to be considered.

CHAPTER XLVIÎ

THE EARLY GRAND LODGE WARRANTS

FROM what has been said in the immediately preceding chapter it appears that we may divide the narrative of the introduction of Freemasonry into the Colonies of North America into two distinct eras, which, in imitation of the archaeologists, we might almost call the pre-historic and the post-historic eras of American Speculative Freemasonry. The pre-historic era embraces that period of time which is included between the first immigration of settlers from Britain into the colonies and the granting of the first Deputation for a Provincial Grand Lodge. More strictly, it would be confined to the first thirty years of the 18th century.

Freemasonry was not, I think, in a condition, before the opening of the 18th century, to inspire its disciples with an enthusiasm which would lead to the propagation of the Order and the establishment of lodges in a new country.

Under the slow but persevering efforts of Speculative members of the Operative lodges, Freemasonry was gradually assuming a new character. The old Operative element was beginning to die off. It finally "gave up the ghost" about the year 1723, when the purely Speculative became not only the predominating but actually the sole element of the Institution.

It was while this transition was going on that many Freemasons, who were initiated under the old system before 1717, and under the new one after that date, emigrated into the American Colonies and carried with them their attachment for the Institution which they had acquired at home.

If any lodges were established before 1717, the act must have been a spontaneous one under the usage, which is described by Preston, by which a competent number of Masons were permitted to assemble for Masonic work without the sanction of a Warrant of

Constitution, a thing which was unknown to the Craft until after the adoption of a special regulation in 1717.

After that year it is true that every regular lodge was required to be sanctioned and authorized by a Warrant from the Grand Lodge, and this regulation, which ought rather to be called a compromise between the four old Lodges, and the new Grand Lodge was generally obeyed in London, where we have no evidence that any lodges were formed after 1717 without the sanction of a Warrant of Constitution.

But such was not the case at that early period in other countries where the principles of English Speculative Freemasonry were carried by immigrants. We know that English lodges were formed in France before 1712 in the old, which had now become an irregular, manner.

The same thing occurred in the American Colonies before 1730. Mention has been already made, in the preceding chapter, of an assembly of Masons in Philadelphia in 1716, and it has also been stated in that chapter, that a lodge without a Warrant was held in the same city in 1730 and probably for some years previously.

There is an excuse for this, if an excuse be needed, in the difficulty there was of obtaining a Warrant from England. Again the old regulation or custom was abrogated, only for those lodges within the "bills of mortality," that is to say, in the city of London and its purlieus.

"It admits of little doubt," says Bro. Gould, "that in its inception the Grand Lodge of England was intended merely as a governing body for the Masons of the Metropolis."[1]

Hence we find in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge under the date of November 25, 1723, the declaration or agreement, "That no new lodge *in or near London*, without it be regularly constituted, be countenanced by the Grand Lodge, or the Master or Wardens admitted to the Grand Lodge."

The earlier records of the Grand Lodge, contained in Anderson's second edition, show in other places very plain indications that the regulation which required a Warrant of Constitution was not intended to apply to lodges outside of London.

But the fact is, that even in England, the regulations were not

[1] "Four Old Lodges," p. 19.

at that period strictly enforced. "The general laws of Masonry, however," says Dr. Oliver, "were but loosely administered." It is not to be supposed that a more implicit obedience to them was paid in distant parts of the empire.

The Grand Lodge was too young and too weak to extend the influence of its newly created authority beyond the narrow limits of its domestic territory.

CHAPTER XLVIII

ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL ARCH

O event in the history of Speculative Freemasonry has had so important an influence upon its development, as a system of symbolism, as the invention of the Royal Arch degree and its introduction into the Masonic ritual.

It is evident that the limitation of the system to three degrees, terminating in the "Master's part," left the cycle of symbolism in as incomplete a condition as would be a novel with the last chapter unwritten.

The ritual, as it was devised and presented to the Craft in the beginning of the 18th century, when the Speculative element was wholly dissevered from the Operative, was an immature conception of its inventors, and was marked by the imperfections and deficiencies which are always attendant on immaturity.

Accepting the meagre ritual, principally intended to embody merely methods of recognition, Desaguliers and his collaborators had gradually extended it, first by the development of the one simple degree, which had been common to the whole body of the Craft, into two and finally into three degrees.

Here, unfortunately, they desisted from further labors in the construction of a ritual. The experiment had so far been successful. It had given renewed vitality to an institution which had long languished; it had excited the curiosity and gained the support of many who had hitherto felt no interest in the ruder system of the Operative lodges; and it had placed the society upon a much higher plane than that which it formerly occupied before the absolute disseverance of the two elements of which it was composed.

It is much to be regretted that the experiment of fabricating a ritual so prudently begun, and which was so successful in its results, had not been continued, and the Third degree been supplemented by a Fourth that should have given perfection to the symbolic scheme.

What was precisely the ritual of the Master's degree as fabricated by Desaguliers, Payne, Anderson, and their contemporaries, it is impossible for us to know. The knowledge of facts which has been only orally transmitted are often lost in the lapse of time; tradition is scarcely ever unchanged; and when there is no written record to guide our inquiries, we necessarily grope in the dark.

The Masonic system of symbolism as now constituted presents us with a triple series of antagonisms—that of ignorance and knowledge; that of darkness and light; and that of loss and recovery.

With the first and second of these antagonisms we have nothing here to do. It is the last only that interests us in the present connection.

The antagonism of loss and recovery, when it is symbolized by death and resurrection—by the ending of the present and the beginning of the future life, is perfectly represented in the Master's degree. But when it refers to the doctrine of Divine Truth symbolized by the *Word*, which being lost for a time is ultimately recovered, the Third degree, as now constructed, and as it probably always was, fails completely to carry out the symbolism.

Everyone who has devoted full attention to the study of the ritual of Speculative Freemasonry must admit that the *Word* constitutes the central point around which the whole system of Masonic symbolism revolves. Its possession is the consummation of all Masonic knowledge when lost, its recovery is the sole object of all symbolic, Masonic labor.

These are not mere truisms, having only a general bearing upon the subject of symbolism; they are important axioms, indispensably connected with the history of the origin of the Royal Arch degree, and with the primary cause of its invention.

Even in the time of pure, unadulterated Operative Freemasonry, the *Word* was an important secret of the institution. The German Stonemasons had, at a very early period, a word, sign, and grip, and in the 17th century, if not before, the Operative Masons of Scotland attached much importance to the secrets of the *Mason Word.* Analogically we may infer that the English Operative Masons were also in possession of it, though no reference is made to it in the *Old Constitutions* or in the *Legend of the Craft.*

Whether this was or was not the same Word as that which after-

ward became the nucleus of the Royal Arch degree, it is impossible to determine. Most probably it was not. The Word given in the Catechism of the German Steinmetzen, which is to be found in Findel and that contained in the catechism of the Sloane MS., are different from each other and neither of them is the *Word* now used. There may, however, have been another Word, communicated only to a select few, which for obvious reasons has not been referred to, in either of these records. But this is merely conjectural, and I confess is hardly probable.

The *Word* as we now have it is ind':ative of a more elevated character of religious symbolism, to which the purely Operative Freemasons never apparently attained.

On the other hand, it can not be denied that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages indulged to a great extent in a species of religious symbolism. Christian iconography abounds in their architectural decorations, among which we find the triangle in its various modifications.

The question is therefore by no means settled by the reticence of the old catechisms on the subject. Happily, its settlement is not a matter of vital importance in the discussion of the Origin of the Royal Arch degree. Its decision would only determine whether the fabricators of the high degrees of which the Royal Arch was the earliest were original inventors of the *Word,* or only the followers of the older Freemasons and the resuscitators of their ideas.

Leaving the settlement of this question in abeyance, let us pursue our historical investigations of the origin and growth of the Royal Arch degree.

It is the opinion of many eminent Masonic scholars that the original Third or Master's degree of Desagulier's, which, with some modifications made from time to time by successive ritualists, continued to be recognized by the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England until the Union in 1813, contained the true Master's or Royal Arch *Word.*

Dr. Oliver has furnished, I think, a very convincing proof that the *True Word* was communicated in the original ritual of the Third degree, as practiced from 1723 onward. In his *Origin of the English Royal Arch,* he makes the following statement:

"I have now before me an old Master Mason's tracing-board or floor-cloth, which was published on the continent almost immediately

after symbolical Masonry had been received in France as a branch from the Grand Lodge of England in 1725, which furnished the French Masons with a written copy of the lectures then in use; and it contains the true Master's *Word* in a very prominent situation."[1]

It can not be denied that his deductions from this circumstance are very legitimate. He goes on to say:

"This forms an important link in the chain of presumptive evidence, that the *Word*, at that time, had not been dissevered from the Third degree and transferred to another. If this be true, as there is every reason to believe, the alteration must have been effected by some extraordinary innovation and change of landmarks. And I am persuaded, for reasons, which will be speedily given, that the ancients are chargeable with originating these innovations, for the division of the Third degree and the fabrication of the English Royal Arch appear, on their own showing, to have been their work."

A future proof of the fact that the true *Word* was contained in the original Third degree may be found in Wilkenson's edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. That work was published at Dublin in 1769 and in front of the first page is a tracing-board, purporting to be the delineation of "A lodge fitted up for the reception of the most respectable Master." Among the emblems depicted are the hillock, the sprig of Acacia and the coffin surrounded by the heraldic *guttes de larmes*, or drops of tears, symbolic of grief, all of which refer to the Hiramic Legend of the Master's degree, while, in a prominent place and in conspicuous letters, is the true Master's *Word*.

In another work Dr. Oliver says that the "Royal Arch *Word* was anciently the true *Word* of the Third degree,"[2] and he refers to a French writer of 1745 as stating that "the Master's *Word* was originally . . . but that it was changed after the death of Adoniram."

The writer here referred to is, I think, Guillemain de St Victor, who, however, published the first edition of his *Recueil Precieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite*, not in 1745, but in 1781. Guille-

[1] "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 20.

[2] "Discrepancies of Freemasonry," p. 75. In this posthumous work Dr. Oliver has evidently made the personages of his interesting dialogues merely the media fog communicating his own opinions.

main gives the *Word* in full, which is precisely the Royal Arch *Word* of the present day. It was engraved on the tomb of Hiram upon a triangular plate of gold, and it was, he says, *l'ancien mot de maître*."[1]

Now, what Guillemain knew of the Third degree had for its basis the primitive ritual of the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England, for this had passed over into France and been adopted on the Continent long before that Grand Lodge made the changes so much objected to by the seceding Masons of 1740. His authority may therefore be accepted as confirmatory of Oliver's statement that the Third degree originally contained the *True Word.*

But though it should be admitted that the Master's degree was known to the framers of the ritual of that degree, as it was fabricated soon after the organization of 1717, and was communicated in the last part of the degree, it will not follow that there was anything more than a mere communication of it, without comment or explanation.

Something in the teachings of the ritual must have been wanting; else why should there have been a secession of a part of the Craft, who sought professedly to supply a defect which they felt by supplementing a Fourth degree.

The loss and the recovery of the *Word* constitute the foundation on which the entire system of Masonic symbolism is built. Without these important points, Speculative Freemasonry as "a science of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols" would be a total failure. As a moral and social institution inculcating the practice of virtue and cultivating the principle of brotherhood, it might remain. But it would in no respect differ from hundreds of other societies professing the same objects, which have sprung into existence, and wanting the vitality which a deep, religious symbolism has given to Freemasonry, have all passed through only an ephemeral existence.

Hence, the invention about the middle of the 18th century of a Fourth degree which should supply the deficiency of the original "Master's part," gave an impetus to the institution, which history records in the successful progress of the seceders who had adopted the invention.

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[1] "Recueil Preceiux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite," p. 105, edition of 1787.

The interpretation of the loss and the recovery of the *Word,* lie, as has already been said, at the very foundation of all Masonic symbolism.

Now, it is more than probable that the fabricators of the original Third degree were acquainted with and communicated to their initiates the history of the loss. We know that the Hiramic legend constituted an important part of the ritual, and the loss of the *Word* must have been included in the allegory which forms the substance of that legend.

But as the history of the recovery of the *Word* is not included in the legend, it is evident that the original Third degree could have made no reference to it, and the dual symbolism of a loss and a recovery could not have been perfect.

The degree, as originally intended, being founded on the Hiramic legend, gave, of course, a history of the way in which the *Word* was lost. But though afterward it was communicated, as it is said, to a select few, we do not learn from its ritual in what way it was restored to the Craft. There was, therefore, an important defect in the symbolism of the system.

Now, this defect must have at length attracted the attention of some of the students of the ritual who were looking at Speculative Freemasonry as something more than a mere social organization, and who were desirous to lift it to a more elevated plane of intellectuality.

It was on the continent that the disposition to expand the ritual first displayed itself. It was this disposition which, in time, passed out of the limits of propriety and gave rise to the almost innumerable *hauts grades,* which have rather overclouded than purified the atmosphere of Masonic symbolism.

At first, however, the attempt at expansion was conducted with moderation, and was confined to only two points—to supplying the deficiency in the history and symbolism of the *Word,* and to inventing a new account of the origin of the institution.

With the latter of these expansions, the present subject has no connection. It is only to the former that we must direct our attention.

The first innovator on the original ritual of Desaguliers and his collaborators was the noted Chevalier Ramsay, and it is to him that we have to trace the first addition to that ritual which was to sup-

plement the Third degree with another, which has since under great modifications been known to English-speaking Freemasons as the Royal Arch.

The Masonic labors of Ramsay entitle him to, at least, a brief sketch of his life and character.[1]

Andrew Michael Ramsay, commonly known as the Chevalier Ramsay, was born at Ayr, in Scotland, on June 9, 1668. Having completed his education at the University of Edinburgh, where he was distinguished for ability and diligence, he became, in 1709, the tutor of the two sons of the Earl of Wemyss.

Subsequently, he left his native country and retired to Holland. There he became acquainted with Peter Poiret, a learned and philosophical disciple of the celebrated Quietist Antoinette Bourignon. Poiret was a prominent teacher of the mystic theology which then prevailed on the continent.

To his intimacy with this pious mystic, Ramsay was very probably indebted for that love of mystical speculation which he subsequently developed as the inventor of high degrees in Freemasonry, and as the author of a Masonic rite.

In 1710 Ramsay visited Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambray, became his guest and pupil, and six months afterward a proselyte to Romanism.[2]

Through the influence of the Archbishop he received the appointment of preceptor to the young Duke de Chateau-Thierry and the Prince de Turenne.

As a reward for his services in that capacity he was created a Knight of the Order of St. Lazarus, whence he derived the title of "Chevalier," by which he is always designated.[3]

In 1724 Ramsay went to Rome and was appointed tutor to the two sons of the titular James III., who, as the son and heir of James IL, the exiled King of England, still claimed the throne of his an-

[1] See a biography of Ramsay in Mackey's "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry," from which the present sketch is condensed.

[2] In his "Life of Fénélon," Ramsay gives the full details of the intellectual process and the arguments of the prelate through which his conversion was effected. "Life," pp. 189-247.

[3] The Order of St. Lazarus was first instituted in Palestine and the knights were devoted to the care of persons infected. They afterward united with the other Orders in the war against the Saracens. We may presume that Ramsay's connection with this Order first suggested to him the idea of tracing Freemasonry to the Crusades and ascribing its origin to a system of knighthood, which he embraced in his high degrees.

cestors. He is known in history generally by the more appropriate title of the "Old Pretender."

Ramsay's close connection with the exiled family of Stuart, and with their adherents, the Jacobites, undoubtedly exerted much influence in the shaping of certain high degrees and in the modified interpretation of certain legends, so as to give a coloring to the preposterous theory that Speculative Freemasonry was invented or at least used as a political means of promoting the restoration of the House of Stuart to the English throne. Ramsay, himself, is not clear from the suspicion of having sown the germs of this theory. He was a firm believer in hereditary right, and, being an aristocrat at heart, he spurned the idea that Freemasonry could have had an Operative origin.

In the year 1728 he visited England and became an inmate of the family of the Duke of Argyle. While in England the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, a tolerable evidence of his reputation as a man of letters.

On his return to France he took up his residence at Pointoise, a seat of the Prince of Turenne, and spent the remainder of his life as Intendant in the Prince's family, dying on May 6, 1743, in the seventy-fifth year of his life.

The literary career of Ramsay was marked by the production of only a few works, but each of these give evident proofs of his learning and of his skill as a writer. His first work appears to have been *The Life of François de Salignac de la Motte Fénélon, Archbishop and Duke of Cambray.* This was published at London in 1723, and gave rise to a severe criticism by "Britannicus" in several consecutive numbers of the *London Journal* of that year.

In 1727 he published *The Travels.* This work, composed after the style of Fénélon's *Telemaque,* was enriched by a learned "Discourse on the Theology and Mythology of the Persians." The book was so favorably received as to be speedily translated into the French, the Dutch, the German, and the Danish languages. A much altered and improved edition was subsequently published by the author at Glasgow in Scotland.[1]

[1] The copy in my possession bears the imprint of James Knox, Glasgow, but without a date. Kloss registers several London and Paris editions of the work varying from 1760 to 1829, but omits any mention of this Glasgow edition. See Kloss, "Bibliography," No. 3936

In the latter years of his life he wrote as a tribute of friendship a *History of the Viscount Turenne.* After his death his greatest work appeared, namely, *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, Unfolded in a Geometrical Order,* This work, published in two quarto volumes at Glasgow in 1748, stamps its author not only as a man of varied learning but as a profound metaphysician and an astute logician. Of all the adversaries of Spinoza, none has so adroitly and successfully attacked the errors of that incredulous philosopher as Ramsay.

His contributions of published works to the literature of Speculative Freemasonry are still fewer. They consist of only two productions, and the authorship of one of these is only conjectural.

In 1738 there was published at Dublin, Ireland, a work, reprinted at London in 1749, with the title of *Relation apologetique et historique de la Societé des Francs-Maçons, par J. G. D. M. F. M. Kloss,* who styles it a comprehensive and fundamental apology for the Institution of Freemasonry, and attributes its authorship without doubt to Ramsay. By order of the Sacred Congregation it was burnt in the following year, at Rome, by the public executioner, for containing "impious propositions and principles," and "the faithful" were prohibited from reading it. This act of literary cremation was the first instance of the impotent persecution of the Order by the Roman Church after the publication of the celebrated Bull *in eminenti* of Pope Clement XII.

In 1740, when Ramsay was Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge of France, he pronounced a discourse before that body. It was first published in 1741 in the *Almanach des Cocus,* under the erroneous title of *Discours d'un Grand Maître.* Ramsay never attained to that official dignity.

This *Discourse* and the *Apologetic Relation,* conjecturally attributed to him, are the only published writings of Ramsay on Masonic subjects that have come down to us. It is not known indeed that he ever published any others.

But this *Discourse* is of great importance, inasmuch as in it he develops in explicit terms his theory of the origin of Freemasonry. It is sufficient here to say that that theory repudiated the idea of its connection with an Operative art and traces its birth to Palestine and to the time of the Crusaders. He thus gave to Freemasonry

not an architectural but a religious and military character which connected it with the Orders of Knighthood.

It is to the influence of this theory on the Masonic mind that we are to attribute the subsequent incorporation of Templarism into the system of Freemasonry, a thought that never suggested itself to the original founders of the Society.

But though Ramsay wrote but little on Freemasonry for the public eye, no one during the 18th century exerted a greater influence over continental Masonry, and that influence, as it will hereafter be seen, extended, in some degree, even into England.

He was an assiduous and enthusiastic ritualist, and sought to develop the Masonic system by the invention of new degrees.

To him we are indebted (though the value of the debt is questionable) for the invention of the system of Rites, wherein the science of Speculative Freemasonry is expanded by a superstructure of "high degrees," based upon the primitive three.

At that time the Grand Lodge of England recognized and practiced only the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason. The same system was pursued by the Grand Lodge of France.[1]

This simple system had no congruity with the theory of Ramsay. It made no reference to the Orders of Chivalry and bore no appearance of a relationship to anything but an Operative art.

Ramsay, therefore, found it necessary to construct a new system, which should bear the evidence not of an Operative, but of a Chivalric origin.

If in carrying out these views he had rejected the primitive degrees, his new system would have had no pretensions to be a Masonic one.

He was unwilling to attempt such a revolution, which would, most probably, have been unsuccessful in its results.

Speculative Freemasonry had by that time become a popular institution—it possessed wealth and influence, and men of rank and learning eagerly sought admission into the society. Ramsay, himself, was undoubtedly attached to it, though his aristocratic tendencies induced him to seek for it a more elevated sphere.

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[1] La Grande Loge de France ne reconnaissait que les trois grades symboliques; ses constitutions ne s' etendaient pas au delà. Thory, "Fondation de la G. L. de France," p. 15.

Besides, he must have seen that it furnished, even in what he deemed its imperfect state, a firm foundation on which to erect the edifice of his "high grades."

Ramsay, therefore, constructed a new system, which has since been called a Rite. His example was afterward imitated, but with less moderation as to the number of degrees, by ritualists who inundated Freemasonry with their new inventions. But of all the succeeding rites, though some of them extended to nearly a hundred degrees, only one of the original ideas of Ramsay, that, namely, of perfecting the Master's part, by the symbolism of a recovery of the *Word*, was sedulously preserved.

This first Masonic Rite, which has since been known by the title of "The Rite of Ramsay," consisted of six degrees, designated as follows:

1. Entered Apprentice.
2. Fellow-Craft.
3. Master Mason.
4. Ecossais or Scottish Master.
5. Novice.
6. Knight of the Temple or Templar.

Rhigellini adds a seventh degree, which he says was the Royal Arch; but I find no evidence elsewhere of this fact, and Rhigellini, I am sorry to say, is worse than useless as an historical authority.[1]

The fifth and sixth of these degrees embodied his ideas of the chivalric or Templar origin of the Institution. Their consideration would throw no light upon the investigation of the Royal Arch which we are now pursuing.

It is the Fourth only in which we are interested—the *Ecossais*—from which it is supposed that the suggestions were derived which gave origin to the invention of the Royal Arch degree in England and to the great Masonic schism which followed.

Ramsay went to England in 1728. How long he remained there is uncertain, but it was long enough to win the favor of the University of Oxford, and to obtain from that body one of its highest literary favors. He had also gained warm friends in that coun-

[1] Rhigellini, "La Maçonnerie, etc.," tome ii., p. 125. It was a part of Ramsay's system to ascribe the invention of these degrees to Godfrey of Boulogne, in the days of the Crusaders. It was Ramsay's legend with less foundation in truth than legends usually possess.

try, among whom may be named the Duke of Argyle, in whose family he resided, and Lord Landsdowne, to whom he dedicated his *Travels of Cyrus*, and of whose "singular friendship" he boasts.

It is not, therefore, improbable that he possessed some influence with the Freemasons of England, among whom it is said he sought to introduce his new ritual.[1] But he failed in his effort to get it adopted by the Grand Lodge, which was then, as it still is and always has been, extremely conservative in its views.

But though unsuccessful with the Grand Lodge, his Royal Arch seems to have excited an interest in some of the Fraternity. His method of supplying the allegorical symbol of a recovery of the lost *Word* had awakened them to the fact that this symbolism, so necessary to perfect the circle of Masonic symbology, was wanting in the old system of three degrees as then practiced by the Grand Lodge.

For some few years no effort was made to incorporate the new system into the then accepted ritual. But the thought did not die. It continued to grow, and at last was given actual life when, about 1738 or perhaps a few years earlier,[2] certain of the brethren began to manipulate the Master's degree, and to add to the story of the loss of the *Word* the new legend of its recovery.

This tampering with the Third degree was met by the Grand Lodge first with grave censure, and then, as the participants in the scheme continued to be refractory, with their expulsion.

This led, as we have already seen, to the schism which divided the Masons of England into two parties, distinguished by the titles of the "Moderns" and the "Ancients."

The latter having organized a Grand Lodge, adopted a new ritual of four degrees, and called the last the Royal Arch.

It has been said that Ramsay invented the Royal Arch degree. He did no such thing. He did not even invent the name. But he did the symbolism which referred to the recovery of a *Word* that had been once lost and afterward recovered. And this constitutes the whole essential sum and substance of all Royal Arch Masonry, no matter under what name and in what Rite it is to be found.

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[1] Il voulut introducerie a Londres, en 1728, un nouveau Rite; mais il echoua dans ce projet. Thory, "Acta Latomorum," tome iL, p. 568.

[2] The Grand Lodge first officially noticed the "irregular makings" in 1738; but it does not follow that they had not been occurring for some time before attention was called to them.

We may suppose, and the supposition is a very tenable one that he said to his disciples in England, "Your ritual gives you a recital of how the *True Word* of a Master was lost, but it does not tell you how it was afterwards restored to the Craft; and in this respect your system is perfect. The discovery of a lost *Word* constitutes a most important part of the symbolism of Speculative Freemasonry. This symbolism and the Legend which refers to it, I offer you as necessary development and improvement of your system."

His disciples accepted the idea of the symbolism, but they rejected his Legend, and invented one of their own.

Neither the Legend of what has been called Dermott's Royal Arch, though he was not its author, nor Dunckerley's, nor that which has been in existence in England certainly since the Union of 1813, has any similitude to that of Ramsay's *Ecossais* degree.

So then, the correct historical statement would be that Ramsay suggested to the English Masonic mind the symbolism of a *Recovered Word*, for which Speculative Freemasonry was indebted to his inventive genius.

In this guarded sense of the expression it may be permitted to be said, that he introduced the doctrine of the Royal Arch into English Freemasonry. Without the suggestive influence of his ideas, Royal Arch Masonry would have been unknown to the Masonic system.

This theory, which is, I think, generally accepted as correct by Masonic scholars, has met with, so far as I know, only one opponent.

The late Bro. Charles W. Moore, the learned editor for many years of the *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, published at Boston, Mass., in an article[1] "On the Origin of Royal Arch Chapters, at Home and Abroad," says, "it is not true that Ramsay had anything to do with the Royal Arch degree." His grounds for this unbelief are thus stated:

"Ramsay's system consisted of the three degrees of *Ecossais*, Novice, and Knight Templar only. If he ever invented a Royal Arch degree, which is very doubtful, no traces of it now remain."[2]

Now the error of Bro. Moore consisted in his confounding the doctrine and symbolism of the Royal Arch degree with the specific name adopted in England. He could find no such title as Royal

[1] "Moore's Magazine," vol. xii., April, 1853, p. 160.

[2] Ibid., p. 163, note,

Arch among the degrees of Ramsay's Rite, and he rashly concluded that he had nothing to do with it.

It did not occur to him to look in Ramsay's system for the doctrine of the Royal Arch, under another name. Had he done so, he would have found it in the Fourth degree, or *Ecossais,* of that system.

The word *Ecossais,* which may be correctly translated as *Scottish Master* or *Scottish Mason,* was invented and first used by the Chevalier Ramsay as the name of a grade in the Masonic ritual which he had constructed. In pure French the word signifies Scottish or Scotsman, and is said to have been adopted by Ramsay, because it was a part of his Legend, that though the degree, like the rest of Freemasonry, was originally fabricated by the Crusaders, it passed over from the Holy Land into Scotland, where at Kilwinning it found for a long period an abiding place, until it was disseminated over Europe.

From this as the original degree has sprung up numerous others having the same name and the same design.

That design is to detail the method in which the *Lost Word* was recovered, so that the true symbolism of the *Word* may be preserved.

This symbolism, which gave perfection to that of the hitherto incomplete Third degree, was so acceptable to the Fraternity everywhere, that in all the Rites subsequently established over the continent, the *Ecossais* of Ramsay was adopted with certain modifications.

The extent to which this cultivation of *Ecossaism,* or the doctrine of the *True Word,* was carried by the ritualists who succeeded Ramsay may be shown from the fact that Ragon, in his almost exhaustive *Nomenclature* of the degrees, enumerates no less than eighty-three which bear the name of *Ecossais.*

In every legitimate *Ecossais* degree we meet with these two essential characteristics: first, there is a communication of the *True Word* which had been lost; and secondly there is a Legend which details the mode by which it was recovered and restored to the Craft.

In all these degrees the *Word* is substantially the same; in most of the Continental Rites the Legend of Ramsay, which accompanied it, has been preserved, with but little or no alteration.

The English Masons accepted the suggestions of Ramsay as to the necessity of expanding the Third degree or Master's part They adopted the *Word* which indeed it is said had always existed in the original ritual of the Third degree; but they transferred its collocation from the Third to a Fourth degree; and they wholly rejected Ramsay's Legend, fabricating a new one for themselves, for which there is some reason for believing that they were partly indebted to a talmudic or rabbinical tradition. They also declined to adopt Ramsay's nomenclature, and having perhaps no liking for a name which, by implication at least, gave a Scottish origin to the Institution, they abandoned the title of *Ecossais* and took instead of it that of Royal Arch.

If the details of this narrative and the conclusions drawn from it are correct, then the theory has been established that the brethren who seceded about 1738 from the Constitutional Grand Lodge of England, with its three primitive degrees, and afterward organized a schismatic Grand Lodge of their own with an additional or Fourth degree, were indebted to Ramsay for the idea which led to the innovation.

Ramsay introduced the doctrine of the Royal Arch into English Masonry, but he did not succeed in introducing his degree.

Having thus settled the question of the origin of English Royal Arch Masonry, we are next to inquire at what time it was introduced into England and incorporated in the ritual of English Speculative Freemasonry.

There is no authority anywhere to be found which traces the existence of a Royal Arch degree in England anterior to the year 1738.

The earliest printed work which makes any reference to the degree is a book entitled *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Free-masonry in the Kingdom of Ireland, by Fifield Dassigny, M.D.*, published in London in 1744.[1]

The references of the author of this work to the subject of Royal Arch Masonry, are, viewing the time when they were printed, of

[1] The book is very scarce, there not being a copy in the British Museum. There is none to be found in any library in Ireland, and only one in America, which is in possession of Bro. Carson of Cincinnati, O. Bro. Hughan having obtained a copy, republished it in his "Memorials of the Union." The passage here quoted is from p. 96 of his republication.

great interest, and may throw some light on a contested point of history. They are, therefore, here quoted in full, as follows:

"Now as the landmarks of the constitution of Free-Masonry are universally the same, throughout all kingdoms, and are so well fixt that they will not admit of removal, how comes it to pass that some have been led away with ridiculous innovations, an example of which I shall prove by a certain propagator of a false system some few years ago, who imposed upon several worthy men under a pretense of being Master of a Royal Arch, which he asserted he had brought with him from the city of York; and that the beauties of the Craft did principally consist in the knowledge of this valuable piece of Masonry. However, he carried on his scheme for several months, and many of the learned and wise were his followers, till at length his fallacious art was discovered by a Brother of probity and wisdom, who had some small time before attained that excellent part of Masonry in London and plainly proved that his doctrine was false; whereupon the Brethren justly dispised him and ordered him to be excluded from all benefits of the Craft, and altho' some of the fraternity had expressed an uneasiness at this matter being kept a secret from them (since they had already passed thro' the usual degrees of probation) I cannot help being of opinion that they have no right to any such benefits until they make a proper application, and are received with due formality, and as it is an organized body of men who have passed the chair, and given undeniable proofs of their skill in Architecture, it can not be treated with too much reverence, and more especially since the character of the present members of that particular lodge are untainted and their behaviour judicious and unexceptionable; so that there can not be the least hinge to hang a doubt on, but that they are most excellent Masons."

As Dassigny's book was published in 1744, the phrase "a few years ago" may be interpreted as applying to about the year 1741, or perhaps even 1740. With this explanation as to time, we may infer several facts from this passage.

In the first place, it appears that an adventurer coming to Dub. lin to propagate the Royal Arch thought it favorable to his interests to claim that he had brought the degree from the city of York. From this we may infer that it was a belief among the Freemasons of Ireland as well as elsewhere, that there was a Royal

Arch organization then existing at York. This is not an absolutely essential inference, because he may have depended for its success on the prestige given to that city in the Masonic mind by the traditional belief that it was the cradle of Masonry.

But the inference gains some strength from what Dassigny says in a foot-note: "I am informed in that city (York) is held an assembly of Master Masons under the title of Royal Arch Masons, who as their qualifications and excellencies are superior to others, they receive a larger pay than working Masons."

Here we have the explicit statement of a contemporaiy writer that such a belief was in existence. Whether it was founded in fact or in fiction is another question. Yet it is a proverbial dogma that there is no rumor without some foundation. "Flame," says Plautus, "is very close to smoke."[1]

However, Bro. Hughan, whose authority as a Masonic historian demands great respect, says it is doubtful whether an Assembly of Royal Arch Masons ever met in York so early as 1744, for there is no trace of such a degree until many years later in any of the Records preserved.[2]

But the absence of any records of a Royal Arch degree among the papers of the Grand Lodge of York, which have been preserved, is no sufficient evidence of the non-existence of that degree between 1740 and 1744. These wanted records may have been among those which have been lost or destroyed. Against this explainable deficiency of evidence by official records, which it is admitted are not complete, we have the testimony of a contemporary writer of repute and intelligence who says that there was in 1744 a rumor that the Royal Arch degree was conferred in York at that time.

The question therefore of this early existence of Royal Arch Masonry in York must still remain in abeyance; it is *sub judice,* nor can it ever be decided, until further testimony is produced. But notwithstanding the high authority of Bro. Hughan, I am disposed to think that in 1744 and a few years before, the Royal Arch degree was conferred in the city of York, having of course been brought there from London, where it originated.

It does not follow that at that time there was any regular organi-

[1] Flamma fiemo est proxima. Plautus, "Curculio," i., 53.

[2] "Memorials of the Union," p. 6.

zation connected with the Grand Lodge (which, by the way, was at that time dormant, or of which we have no records) or with the lodge which was still in existence. The degree was about that time just beginning, even in London, to assume an official shape, and irregularities must have prevailed. Bro. Hughan tells us that Bro. William Cowling, an officer of the present York Lodge, is of opinion in reference to the later and undisputed organization of a Chapter in 1780, that "the Royal Arch Degree was kept distinct from the Craft at York, but that there was a very intimate connection between them."[1]

What is here Said of the later organization may probably be applied to an earlier one. If so, it would be vain to look in the missing records of the York Grand Lodge from 1735 to 1760, if they are ever found, for any reference to Royal Arch Masonry.

Returning to the extract from Dr. Dassigny's *Enquiry* we infer, in the second place, that in the year 1744 there were Royal Arch Masons in Dublin who appreciated the degree as a valuable addition to the Masonic system.

We infer, thirdly, that at that time there was an organized body of Past Masters there who regularly conferred the degree, restricting it, however, to those Masons who had passed the chair. As this was the regulation which existed in London, it is evident, if other proof were wanting, that the degree given in Ireland was originally derived from London and from the "Ancients."

After this digression for the purpose of demonstrating the time of the first appearance of the degree at the cities of York and Dublin, we may return to our investigation of the history of its origin in England.

We have seen that in 1728, soon after the Chevalier Ramsay had fabricated his system of high degrees, among which was one that, under the title of *Ecossais* or "Scottish Master" developed his doctrine of the Royal Arch or the recovery of the *true Word,* he came to England.

There he had personal intercourse with many Freemasons and communicated to them his views, and demonstrated to them the incompleteness of the established ritual, which, terminating in the

[1] Hughan, "Memorials of the Union," p. 82.

Master's part, and the loss of the *Word*, made no provision for its recovery.

To the greater part of the English Freemasons his theory was either unintelligible as a doctrine or offensive as an innovation. Hence, the efforts he is said to have made for its adoption by the Grand Lodge proved unsuccessful.

But, happily for the progress of Masonic light, there were some thinkers of more enlarged views. They saw the deficiency in the old ritual, and were ready to accept any modification that would improve it.

With this party, small at first but gradually increasing in numbers, the ideas of Ramsay became popular.

But while they adopted his doctrine concerning the recovery of the true *Word* as the basis of a new degree to be added to the ritual of three degrees, they refused in the end to adopt his legend.

It is not unlikely that the first English Freemasons who were engaged in 1738 in the "irregular makings" which were censured by the Grand Lodge may have used Ramsay's legend for a time.

This is mere guess-work. Still, it is very supposable that Ramsay taught his whole system to a few disciples who naturally would seek to propagate.

Dassigny, in his *Enquiry*, throws some gleams of light on this obscure subject in the following passage:

"I can not help informing the Brethren that there is lately arrived in this city a certain itinerant Mason whose judgment (as he declares) is so far illumined, and whose optics are so strong that they can bear the view of the most lurid rays of the sun at noon day, and altho' we have contented ourselves with three material steps to approach our *Summum Bonum*, the immortal GOD, yet he presumes to acquaint us that he can add three more, which, when properly placed, may advance us to the highest heavens."[1]

Now, it is at least a coincidence that Ramsay's newly invented Rite added just three degrees to the three of the original ritual. May not this "itinerant Mason" referred to by Dassigny have been a disciple of Ramsay, who was seeking to introduce his ritual into Dublin?

But as I have said before, this is mere guess-work. It only

[1] Dassigny's "Enquiry," in Hughan's republication in the "Memorials," p. 97.

gives a sort of probability to the hypothesis that Ramsay had succeeded in imbuing the minds of certain English Freemasons with the principles of his system, so that they were prepared to formulate out of it a degree, which, though differing in name and differing in legend, retained its doctrine.

And so out of this system of Ramsay the seceding Masons of England formulated a Fourth degree, which they called the "Royal Arch," and which, though owing its origin to Ramsay's *Ecossais*, resembled it only in the doctrine of a lost *Word*, recovered, which is the true and only doctrine of Royal Arch Masonry, under whatsoever name it may be known.

It may be considered as a well-settled fact in history that the Royal Arch degree was not known in England before the year 1738,[1] at which time it was practiced by certain brethren who afterward assumed the name of "Ancient Masons," and finally seceded from the Constitutional Grand Lodge.[2] The degree then conferred was suggested by and founded on the *Ecossais* degree of Chevalier Ramsay.

"If the Royal Arch degree," says Brother Hughan,[3] "in its separate and distinct form, existed prior to 1738, and indeed, was as old as the Third degree, how comes it that the regular Grand Lodge of England persistently refused to recognize it until 1813, but the body of Masons which seceded from this original and premier Grand Lodge, made much of the degree, and by it, we may truly say, succeeded in making their numerical position in a few years almost equal to the regular Grand Lodge itself?"

The degree as practiced by the seceding Masons was, as Dr. Oliver[4] remarks, "imperfect in its construction," and its rude and unfinished state betrayed its recent origin.

Its form was, however, gradually improved. When the Grand Lodge of Ancients was organized in 1753, that body adopted it as one of its series of degrees, making it the Fourth in order of precedence.

At first, the degree was conferred in the lodges and as a supplement to the Third degree.

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[1] Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 38.

[2] See Northouck's "Book of Constitutions," where, in a note to p. 239, a full but not altogether impartial account of the secession is given.

[3] In a Review of Higgins's "Anacalypsis," in the "Voice of Masonry," vol. xiii., p. 887.

[4] "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 21.

Dr. Oliver describes it as having at that early period "jumbled together, in a state of inextricable confusion, the events commemorated in Ramsay's Royal Arch, the Knights of the Ninth Arch, of the Burning Bush, of the East or Sword, of the Red Cross, the Scotch Fellow-Craft, the Select Master, the Red Cross of Babylon, the Rose Croix," etc.[1]

I know not whence Oliver derived his authority for this statement. But as none of the degrees which he mentions were then fabricated, it is impossible that he can be correct.

It is very probable that the *Legend of Enoch* which was embodied in Ramsay's *Ecossais*, and which was afterward adopted in the degree of Knights of the Ninth Arch, was at first used by the seceders in conferring their Fourth degree. But it was afterward changed for the very different Legend which is still taught in the English Royal Arch.

After a short time, when the degree had been nursed into a better shape by the Grand Lodge of Ancients, it was conferred into a body called a "chapter," but still constituting a part of a Warranted lodge.

The regulations "for the Instruction and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapter," adopted by the Atholl Grand Lodge, declare that "every regular and warranted lodge possesses the power of forming and holding meetings in each of these several degrees, the last of which from its pre-eminence is denominated among Masons a chapter." And this regulation continued in force until the Union of 1813.[2]

The earliest official minute of the Royal Arch degree among the "Ancients" bears the date of 1752.[3] At that time the "Ancients" were organized in a General Assembly, which bore the name of a "Grand Committee."

The degree was then conferred in the lodges but only on those who had passed the chair. We have seen that this right of the lodges to confer the Royal Arch was always recognized by the Atholl Grand Lodge.

But a Grand Chapter was subsequently established, at what precise date is not accurately known.

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[1] "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 21.

[2] See the "Ahiman Rezon" published in 1807, p. 107.

[3] Hughan, "Memorials of the Union," p. 6.

On April 6, 1791, the "Ancients" published "Laws and Regulations for the Instruction and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapters, under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Constitutions." These Regulations were subsequently revised, amended, and approved "in a General Grand Chapter" held at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern," in the Strand, on April 1, 1807, and are contained in the *Ahiman Rezon* of that year.

The first of these Regulations that, "There shall be a General Grand Chapter of the Holy Royal Arch held half yearly at the 'Crown and Anchor,' Strand, on the first Wednesday in the months of April and October. That agreeably to established custom the officers of the Grand Lodge, for the time being, are considered as the Grand Chiefs, and are to preside at all Grand Chapters, according to seniority; they usually appoint the most expert R. A. companions to the other Offices; and none but Excellent Masons, being members of warranted lodges, in and near the Metropolis, shall be members thereof. Certified sojourners may be admitted as visitors only."[1]

It will be perceived that the organization of this Grand Chapter of the "Ancients," though not recognized as legal, prepared the model on which the subsequent Grand Chapter of England has been founded. The government by three Chiefs has also been adopted in America, though they are no longer made identical, as they still are in England, with the three principal officers of the Grand Lodge.

Warrants were granted by the Grand Chapter for the formation of chapters, but only where the parties composing such chapter possessed a regular Warrant granted by the Grand Lodge.[2] Hence, every chapter under the system of the "Ancients" was, though independent as to the degree, an appanage of a warranted lodge. An application for initiation to the Royal Arch degree was to be directed "to the presiding chiefs of the chapter of Excellent Royal Arch Masons, under sanction of lodge number——."[3]

This usage prevailed in America as long as lodges of "Ancient Masons" existed there. I have in the early part of my life personally known several old Royal Arch Masons who received the degree in lodges attached to chapters.

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[1] "Ahiman Rezon," 1807, p. 108.

[2] "Laws and Regulations of the General Grand Chapter," No. iv. [3] Ibid., No. vi.

The chapters, though thus closely connected with the lodges, were so far under a separate jurisdiction as to be required to make returns of their exaltations and payment of fees to the Grand Chapter.[1]

Another regulation required that none should receive the Royal Arch degree but those who had "passed the chair."[2] The earliest custom was to confer it only on those who had been Masters of lodges. But this practice having been found inconvenient, as it too greatly restricted the number of candidates, the law was subsequently violated, and a fictitious degree of Past Master was instituted, brethren being permitted by a mere ceremony to "pass the chair" without having ever been elected Masters of lodges. Thus the distinction of *actual* and *virtual* Past Masters came in vogue, the degree or rank of Past Master being thus virtually conferred as a prerequisite to exaltation.

In 1813 the United Grand Lodge of England abolished this practice and it now admits Master Masons to be exalted. But the practice still prevails in the chapters of the United States, though efforts have at times been unsuccessfully made to abandon it.

The "Moderns" had seen with some envy, as we may suppose, the success which the "Ancients" were securing, and they very properly attributed it to the prestige given to the seceders by their fabrication of a Fourth degree.

It was therefore a very judicious movement on their part to avail themselves of a like prestige by the extension of their ritual and the adoption also of an additional degree.

Hence we find that some of the "Moderns" formed a chapter for conferring the Royal Arch degree on June 12, 1765.[3] It has been believed that Thomas Dunkerley was the founder of this chapter, but Bro. Gould denies this, because the minutes show that he did not become a member of it until January 8, 1766.

But I am unwilling to reject the almost universally accepted tradition that to him we owe the fabrication of the Royal Arch of the "Moderns"—a degree which is said to have differed in many points from that of the "Ancients."

Dunkerley, who was an illegitimate son of George the Second, and whose claims to that paternity received a sort of quiet recognition from the royal family, was a man of excellent character and

[1] "Laws and Regulations of the General Grand Chapter," No. xii. [2] Ibid., No. viii.

[3] Gould, "Atholl Lodges," p. 38.

of considerable talents. He was very popular with the Craft and was the author of a new system of lectures, or an improvement of the old, which had been sanctioned by the Grand Lodge.

In the course of his Masonic studies he appears to have been convinced of the policy, under existing circumstances, of supplementing the deficiencies of the original Third degree. We may indeed attribute to him a higher motive than that of policy, and believe that as a Masonic scholar he saw the necessity of completing the system by the fabrication of a Royal Arch degree.

It does not therefore follow that because Dunkerley's name does not appear as a member of the new chapter until six months after its formation, he may not have had an important part in its organization. If he was, as there can be no valid doubt, the original fabricator of the Royal Arch of the "Moderns," from whom, except from him, could the original members of the new chapter have received the degree which qualified them to enter upon its organization?

That he appeared later on the scene does not militate against his influence and his quiet work in its formation. There are no records extant to show what he was doing between the time when he invented the degree and that when it was first put into practice by the foundation of a chapter. The leading character in a drama does not always make his appearance in the first act, nor the hero of a novel in the first chapter.

It is more logical to suppose that the inventor of the Royal Arch of the "Moderns" was the founder of the chapter in 1765. But if Dunkerley was not the inventor, who was? History upon the best grounds assigns the invention to him, and to him also I am willing to ascribe the foundation of the chapter, though his name does not appear on its records until six months after its formation.

The chapter did not long continue to hold the position of a private body. In 1766, according to Bro. Hughan,[1] it assumed the rank of a Grand Chapter. This it must have done, just as the lodge at York in 1725 resolved itself into a Grand Lodge There were no other chapters to unite with it, as the four Lodges did in 1717 to form a Grand Lodge. It simply changed its title and enlarged its functions.

Dr. Oliver places the date of the formation of the Grand Chap-

[1] "Memorials of the Union," p. 8, note.

ter at a later date, that of 1779.[1] This is, however, only an assumption, as he gives no proof of the correctness of his statement, and on a point of Masonic history dependent on the authority of old documents and the correctness of a deduction from them I am compelled to prefer the accuracy and the judgment of Bro. Hughan to those of even the venerable Oliver.

Notwithstanding that the Grand Chapter counted some of the most distinguished "Modern" Masons among its members, it was never officially recognized as a Masonic organization by the Grand Lodge. In 1792 it was resolved that the Grand Lodge has nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons.[2]

Still, it met with marked success. In 1796 it had one hundred and four chapters under its obedience and to which it had granted warrants.

Unlike the Grand Chapter of the "Ancients," it was independent in its jurisdiction, being, as has been seen, wholly unconnected with the Grand Lodge. Its presiding officers were called the three Principals, and bore respectively as titles the initials of the names Zerubbabel, Haggai, and Joshua. Thus there was Principal Z., Principal H., and Principal J. This usage has been preserved in the present Grand Chapter of England. It had for its chief Principal Thomas Dunkerley as long as he lived, and for its first Patron, the Duke of Cumberland, who on his demise was succeeded by the Duke of Clarence.

In 1813, on the union of the two Grand Lodges of the "Ancients" and the "Moderns," the Royal Arch degree was recognized as a component part of Ancient Craft Masonry, and the Supreme Grand Chapter was established as one of the powers of English Freemasonry.

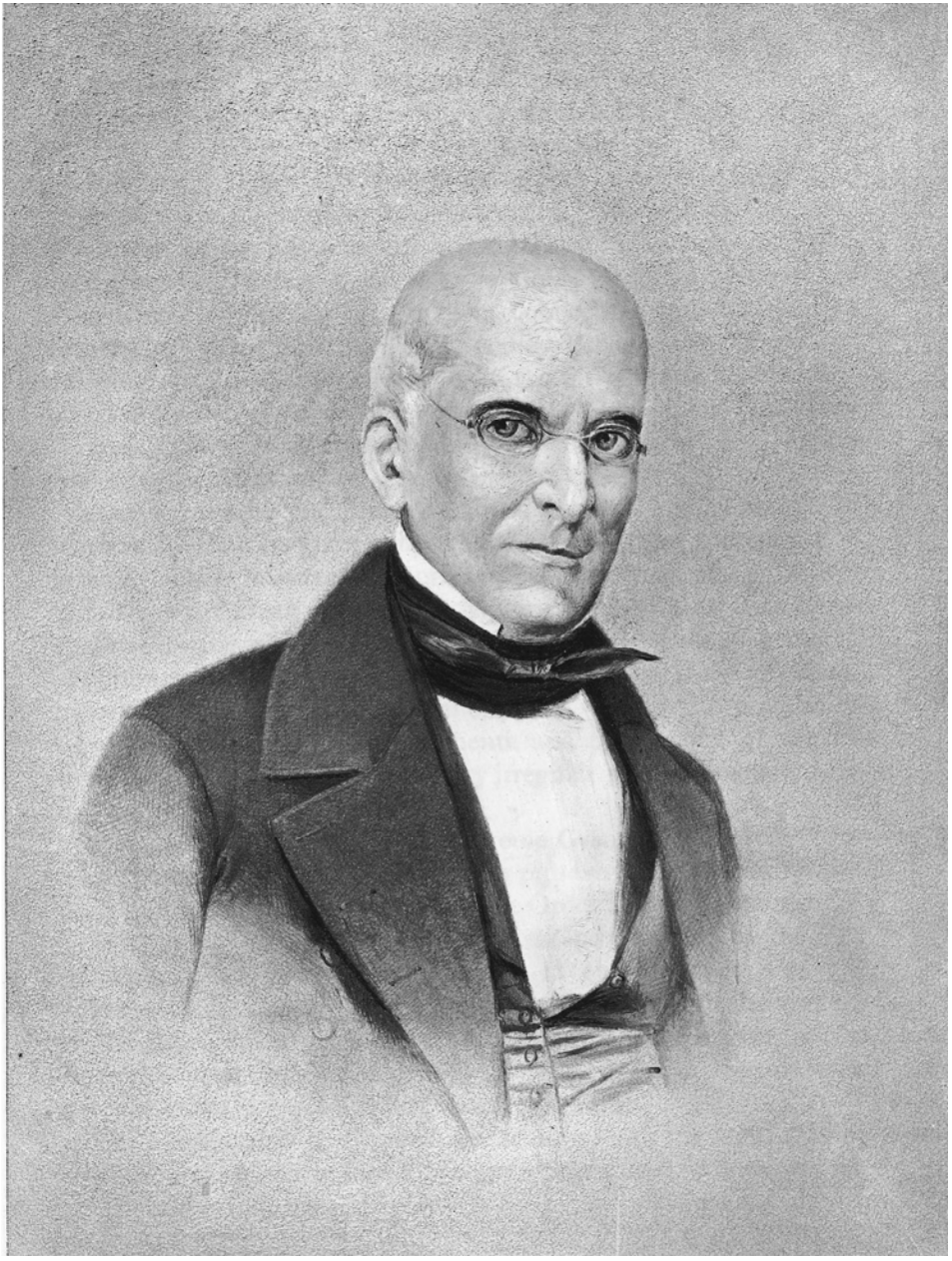
Of the two rituals then in use that invented by Dunkerley, which had been practiced by the "Moderns," was preferred,[3] but the regulation of the "Ancients," which closely united the Grand Lodge

[1] "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 38.

[2] Hughan presents this fact in his "Memorials," p. 8. The Grand Chapter, he says, was purely a defensive organization to meet the wants of the regular brethren and to prevent their joining the "Ancients."

[3] Dunkerley's ritual was Christian in its character, and his principal symbol, the *foundation stone*, was made to allude to the Saviour. In 1834 this ritual was abolished by the Grand Chapter, and a new one, less sectarian in its interpretation of the symbols, was adopted, which still continues in England and in English chapters.

J. M. RAGON



and the Grand Chapter and vested the presiding officers of both bodies in the same persons, was adopted. Hence, the Duke of Sussex, who had been elected the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, became, by virtue of his office, the chief Principal of the Grand Chapter.

Lyon says that the Royal Arch degree was introduced into Scotland about the middle of the last century, through the medium of military lodges whose members had received it in Ireland.[1] The statement that the degree was first worked in Scotland by the "Ancient Lodge of Stirling" in 1743 in connection with the Knight Templar and other high degrees, is said by Bro. Lyon to be without authentic evidence. But the writer of the introduction to the *General Regulations for the Government of the Order of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland* asserts that the Minute Book of the Chapter from 1743 is still extant.[2]

About 1800 several Templar Encampments were founded in Scotland by charters granted by a body assuming that prerogative in Ireland. These charters authorized the conferring of the Royal Arch degree. There were other chapters which at that time practiced the degree without a charter.[3] The establishment of a Grand Encampment in 1811 by a charter granted by the Duke of Kent, the head of Templarism in England, put a stop to the practice of Royal Arch Masonry in Encampments, and that branch of the institution was for some time in a very irregular position, though there were many working chapters.

But on August 28, 1817, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland was established by the representatives of thirty-four chapters at a General convocation of the Order held at Edinburgh.[4]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland, persistently wedded to the idea that Speculative Freemasonry consists of only three degrees, has always refused to recognize the Royal Arch as a part of the system. At first it prohibited its members from receiving the degree, but as that extreme of opposition has long since ceased, the antagonism now reaches only a quiet, official non-recognition.

The introduction of Royal Arch Masonry into the continent of America, and especially into the United States, will occupy our attention in the following chapter.

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[1] "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 291.

[2] "General Regulations of the Grand Chapter of Scotland," Introduction, p. vii.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 290.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE INTRODUCTION OF ROYAL ARCH MASONRY INTO AMERICA

HE Royal Arch degree was introduced into the North American Colonies not very long after its invention or adoption in England.

The Grand Lodge of Ancients granted its first Warrant for a lodge in the colonies in the year 1758.[1] In the same year, as will be seen hereafter, a chapter connected with an Atholl lodge was established. This alone would prove, if such proof were necessary, that the Royal Arch Masonry of Pennsylvania, where it first appeared on this continent, was derived from the "Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Institutions," and that the degree which was then worked was what is commonly known as Dermott's Royal Arch.

Of course, the degree must have been conferred in a chapter working under a Master's Warrant, as at that time no Grand Chapter had been organized.

The Grand Lodge of Ancients had always granted this privilege to its lodges, and it was maintained up to the early years of the present century by several of the American lodges. Thus as late as January, 1803, Orange Lodge of Ancient York Masons, an Atholl lodge in Charleston, S. C, granted the privilege of its Warrant "for the use of the Royal Arch Chapter of South Carolina."[2]

The first Royal Arch Chapter in America of which we can find any account, was held in Philadelphia in the year 1758. The author of the *Historical View* prefixed to Pennsylvania *Ahiman Rezon,* says that it was held "anterior" to that year. This is manifestly an error, as the date of the Warrant of the first lodge of the "Ancients"

[1] It is so stated in Gould's "Register of the Atholl Lodges," p. 16, and the fact is confirmed by the recent researches of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

[2] "Historical Sketch of Orange Lodge." See Mackey's "History of Freemasonry in South Carolina," p. 471.

in that city, and indeed in the country, was June 7, 1758, and it is evident that no chapter could have preceded the lodge in date of birth, as the former derived its authority from the latter, and worked under its Warrant.

The author of the *Historical View*, which has just been referred to, stated that it worked under the Master's Warrant of Lodge number 3, and that it was recognized by and had communion with a military Chapter working under a Warrant number 351 granted by the Grand Lodge of England, meaning, as the context clearly shows, the Atholl Grand Lodge or the Grand Lodge of the Ancients.[1]

There can be no doubt of the truth of the statement that a chapter of Royal Arch Masons was established in Philadelphia about the year 1758 and that it worked under the Master's Warrant of Lodge number 3. Bro. Clifford MacCalla, who is the very best authority on the early history of Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, says that the minutes of this Chapter, which he designates as Jerusalem Chapter number 3, are in existence as far back as 1767, and that they mention prior minutes.[2]

But it is not easy to reconcile the statement that it held communion with a military lodge, numbered 351, granted by the Atholl Grand Lodge, with the facts of history.

Up to the year 1756 the Atholl Grand Lodge had granted only two military Warrants, numbers 41 and 52, one in 1755 and the other in 1756. In fact, at the end of the year 1757 the numbers on the roll of that Grand Lodge as accurately arranged by Bro. Gould amounted to only 68.[3]

There was a military Warrant numbered 351, but it was not granted until October, 1810.[4]

Indeed, number 351 is too high for the year 1758 roll of either of the Grand Lodges of England, or of those of Ireland or Scotland. Even in England, the oldest of the four bodies, the numbers had not at that early period gone far into the two hundreds.

What then was this military Lodge, numbered as 351, at a time

[1] "Ahiman Rezon of Pennsylvania," edition of 1825, p. 79.

[2] "Philadelphia, the Mother City of Freemasonry in America," p. 99.

[3] Gould's "Atholl Lodges," p. 16.

[4] Ibid., p. 102. By a typographical error the number is printed 361 instead of 351, as it should evidently have been.

when no such numbers could have been reached by the existing registrations, and what was this Lodge number 3 on the Pennsylvania roll which held communion with it, and both of which were thus engaged in the propagation of the Royal Arch degree in America?

Bro. MacCalla, referring to the military lodges in Pennsylvania during and before the war of the Revolution, says that "Lodge number 18 was in the 17th Regiment British army." Now in the first official list of the Atholl lodges given in the *Ahiman Rezon* for 1807, we find "18, 17th Regiment of foot," as the third of the military lodges. No date is given for its Warrant, but from its position in the list we may presume that it was one of the oldest lodges. Gould says it was originally warranted as number 237, and he gives the original 18 as having been constituted as a civil lodge at London in 1753. This lodge becoming extinct, the number seems by a system of registration peculiar to the Atholl Masons to have been taken up by the military lodge instead of its original number,

237.

Again this military Lodge number 18 makes its appearance in another official quarter.

C. Downes, Past Master of Lodge number 141, on the registry of Ireland, published at Dublin in 1804, Lists of lodges "according to the 'Old Constitutions' of the kingdom of Great Britain, and also of America, the East and the West Indias, &c." Downes was the printer to the Grand Lodge of Ireland and with its permission had edited the Irish *Ahiman Rezon.* His Lists are therefore possessed of some official authority.

In his List of military lodges he also gives Lodge number 18, in the 17th Regiment, as third lodge in order of sequence as having been warranted by the Atholl Grand Lodge of England.

But he also gives a list of the lodges which had been warranted up to the year 1804, amounting to 65. How many of these had been discontinued, and what was the date of any of their warrants, we can not learn from the List, which gives only the numbers and places and times of meeting.[1]

The 8th Pennsylvania lodge in Downes's List is marked as

[1] In an article on "Military Lodges," published by Bro. Gould in the "Freemasons' Chronicle," and copied into the "Keystone" (July 31, 1880), he finds, after much research, much difficulty in "disentangling the history of Lodge number 18." The only explanation at all satisfactory, and that not altogether so, is the one given in the text.

"number 18, British 17th Regiment of Foot." The coincidence here apparent would indicate that this was the same lodge as that marked in Downes's, Harper's, and Gould's list of military lodges warranted by the Atholl Grand Lodge of England. By what process it changed its obedience from its Mother Grand Lodge to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Downes does not inform us.

We have an authentic record that in 1767 there had been and was a military lodge in an Irish regiment stationed at Philadelphia.

The records of Lodge number 3, which have been copied in the *Early History and Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania*,[1] contained the following item:

"Dec. 9, 1767. The majority of (the) Body was of opinion that it would not be proper to admit Bro. Hoodless a member of this or to enter, pass, or raise any person belonging to the army, in this lodge, as there is a lawfull warranted Body of good and able Masons in the Royal Irish regiment."[2]

So much for the military lodge which is said to have introduced Royal Arch Masonry into the American Colonies, and through whose instrumentality the degree was first conferred in Lodge number 3.

Our next inquiry must be directed to the character and position of this lodge, which, without rhetorical exaggeration, may be well called the Mother of Royal Arch Masonry in America.

The Lists of the Atholl lodges show that the Grand Lodge of the Ancients granted a Warrant for a lodge at Philadelphia in the year 1758. On the Pennsylvania roll this lodge was known as number 2, but in Gould's List it is marked as "No. 69, Philadelphia, 7 June 1758." On June 13, 1761, the Grand Lodge of Ancients granted a Warrant for another lodge, which Gould records as "89, number 1 Philadelphia." This Warrant was, however, lost and another one was issued on June 20, 1764.

It is from the date of this Warrant that the organization of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania is reckoned.

Why the lodge warranted in 1758 should be designated as number 2, while that warranted three years afterward should be desig-

[1] Compiled and published by authority of the Grand Lodge, 1777.

[2] "Early History," etc., p. 11. The "Royal Irish Regiment" afterward became the 18th on the Muster roll of the British army. See Debrett's "British Imperial Calendar for 1819," p. 137.

nated as number 1, can be accounted for in only one way. There was most probably a deputation accompanying the Warrant for number 2, which deputation must have organized a Provincial Grand Lodge which took the number 1. The *Ahiman Rezon of Pennsylvania*, for 1825, referring to Lodge number 2, says that "the patents to Provincial Grand Masters were usually in force for one year, at the expiration of which, if a Grand Lodge was formed, it elected its Grand Master, Wardens, Secretary and Treasurer. . . . If no Grand Lodge was constituted upon a patent, it expired, and another patent was issued as occasion required."[1]

The writer then concludes that "it is probable that no Grand Lodge had been organized upon the first patent issued for Pennsylvania since a second was issued on June 20, 1764, by the Grand Lodge of England to William Ball, Esqr., and others authorizing them to form and hold a Grand Lodge for the then province."[2]

This conjecture is very plausible. The deputation which accompanied the Warrant for number 69 in Philadelphia may have been intended for a Provincial body, which was not, however, completely organized, but which nevertheless took the number 1, while the lodge which on the registry of the Atholl Grand Lodge of England bore the number 69 was changed on the Pennsylvania roll to number 2. The Provincial deputation which had been appointed in 1758 not having completely fulfilled its functions by the permanent establishment of a Provincial Grand Lodge, another Warrant for that purpose was issued in 1761, and that having been lost on the way, a second was issued in 1764, and the Provincial Grand Lodge was formed. In fact this must have been merely a continuation of the first lodge or deputation, and the Lodge number 69, which had been originally transmuted into number 2, retained that number, and, excepting the Provincial Grand Lodge, we find no number 1 on the registry of Pennsylvania.

But though this deputation of 1758 did not formally and permanently organize a Provincial Grand Lodge, or if it did, has left no record of the transaction, it performed the functions of one by warranting another lodge, which received the number 3.

Of this fact we have the following evidence. When the Grand Lodge of Ancients granted its warrant for a lodge in 1758, no further

[1] "Ahiman Rezon of Pennsylvania," for 1825, p. 67.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

notice of Pennsylvania was taken by it until it granted the Warrant numbered 89 on its register in 1761, which being lost was replaced by another of the same tenor issued in 1764, and which Gould calls number 1, at Philadelphia.

Between 1758 and 1764 it granted no more Warrants for the establishment of lodges in Pennsylvania, nor did it ever afterward do so. With the exception of the Warrant issued at first in 1761 and renewed or rather replaced in 1764, Freemasonry in Pennsylvania appears, from the year 1758, to have been controlled solely by some authority within the Province, and from that authority Lodge number 3 must have received its Warrant.

The first act of the Provincial Deputation, or Provincial Grand Lodge, or whatever may have been the character and designation of the authority existing in Philadelphia in the year 1758 was to grant a Warrant for the establishment of another lodge as number 3.

There is no record extant of this Warrant, but the author of the *Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania* says that "Lodge number 3 of Philadelphia by tradition dates its warrant about the same time as number 2."[1]

This Lodge number 3 is the one which in 1758, with the concurrence and under the instruction of the military lodge in the 17th Royal Irish Regiment, introduced the Royal Arch degree into Pennsylvania and worked it, as all "Ancient" lodges at that time did, under the authority of its Master's Warrant.

The absence of the records of early Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, which were lost or destroyed during the revolution, forces us to trust, more than is desirable in writing history, to conclusions mainly based on conjectures; but the conjectures are reasonable, sustained by the strongest evidence and entirely consistent with facts derived from the very few authentic documents that remain.

We are told in the Pennsylvania *Ahiman Rezon* that other Chapters were afterward established "upon like principles." That is, they were established under the shadow of Master's Warrants.

The writer of the *Historical View of Masonry*, contained in the 1825 edition of the Pennsylvania *Ahiman Rezon*, tells the story of the further progress of Royal Arch Masonry in that State in the following words:

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[1] "Early History and Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania," p. 35.

"In November, 1795, an irregular attempt was made, at the instance of one Molan, to introduce innovations in the Arch degree and to form an independent Grand Royal Arch Chapter, under the Warrants of numbers 19, 52, and 67, held in the city of Philadelphia, and a lodge constituted by authority of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and another holding under the Grand Lodge of Georgia. Chapter number 3 instituted an enquiry into these proceedings, which they declared, after investigation, to be contrary to the established uniformity of the Craft. The Grand Lodge, upon complaint made, unhesitatingly suspended the Warrants of numbers 19, 52, and 67, and having received the report of the committee raised for that purpose, resolved that Molan ought not to be received as a mason by the lodges or brethren under its jurisdiction. The offending lodges, by the mild and firm course of the Grand Lodge, were convinced of their errors, and were received into favor, having their Warrants restored to them.

"Throughout this controversy, the Grand Lodge acknowledged the right of all regular warranted lodges, so far as they have ability and number, to make masons in the higher degrees, but lest differences might exist, or innovations be attempted in such higher degrees, which for want of some proper place to appeal, might create schism among the brethren, they resolved that a Grand Royal Arch Chapter should be opened, under the immediate sanction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; and that all past and present officers of the Grand Lodge, having duly obtained the degree of Royal Arch, and all past and existing officers of Chapters of Royal Arch masons, duly and regularly convened under the sanction of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, to be considered as members of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter; and that all members of the regular Chapters shall be admitted to their meetings, but without the right to vote or speak therein, unless requested."[1]

It has, from this record, been maintained that this was the first Grand Chapter established in America, and that Webb was mistaken in giving the priority to that organized at Hartford in 1798.

But the truth is that the Grand Chapter established at Philadelphia in 1795 was not a Grand Chapter in the sense attached to such

[1] "Ahiman Rezon of Pennsylvania," edition of 1825, p. 79.

a body by those who organized at Hartford the Grand Chapter of the Northern States.

The Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania was merely an instrument of the Grand Lodge. That body alone could grant permission to hold a Chapter, and no Chapter could be held unless with the sanction of the Warrant of a lodge, and it was expressly declared that the Grand Chapter was to be opened "under the immediate sanction of the Grand Lodge."

Now all these principles of dependence were repudiated by Webb and his associates. They expressly declared in the very outset of their labors of organization—no matter whether the statement was historically accurate or not—that no Grand Lodge could "claim or exercise authority over any convention or Chapter of Royal Arch masons." In the first constitution which they formed they placed Chapters exclusively under the control of Grand Chapters, and by implication abolished all authority of Grand Lodges over them and at the same time denied the right of any Chapter to work under the Warrant of a Master's lodge.

This system has ever since prevailed in the United States. It was subsequently adopted by the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania itself.

The Grand Chapter established at Philadelphia in 1795 was only an organization for the more convenient administration of Royal Arch Masonry in the bosom and under the superintendence of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Chapter established in 1798 at Hartford was, as has been shown, of a very different construction, and based on very different principles of Masonic law.

To the Grand Chapter formed at Hartford in 1798 must therefore in all fairness be given the precedency of date as being the first independent Grand Chapter established in the United States—indeed we may say it was the first in the world, as the Grand Chapters previously established in England were like that of Pennsylvania, dependent instruments of the Grand Lodge.

The credit, however, must be given to Philadelphia of having introduced Royal Arch Masonry into the British Colonies. We have no record of the establishment of a Chapter in any other of the Provinces before the year 1758, at which time, as we have seen, the degree was conferred in a Chapter attached to Lodge number 3,

But during the succeeding years of the 18th century the degree, under various modifications, was introduced into other States, principally by Atholl, or as they were pleased most incorrectly to style themselves, "Ancient York Masons."

The original system inaugurated by the "Ancients" was strictly followed, and as Thomas Smith Webb, the founder of the American system, has said, during all that period "a competent number of companions, possessed of sufficient abilities, under the sanction of a Master's Warrant, proceeded to exercise the rights and privileges of Royal Arch Chapters, whenever they thought it expedient and proper, although in most cases the approbation of a neighboring Chapter was deemed useful if not proper."[1]

The degree practiced was that of the Grand Lodge of Ancients from whom it was derived. Virginia was, however, an exception. Whether the English Royal Arch was worked in the early period of Freemasonry in that State is not known. Dr. Dove, the author of the *Virginia Text Book of Royal Arch Masonry*, our best authority on the subject, does not inform us.

Joseph Myers was one of the deputies of M. M. Hayes, who had, under the authority of Stephen Morin, been engaged in the dissemination of the twenty-five degrees of the Rite of Perfection, which was afterward developed into the Ancient and Accepted Rite of thirty-three degrees.

Soon after 1783 Myers removed to Richmond, Va., where, says Bro. Dove, he imparted the degrees of the Rite *Ecossais* to many Master Masons.[2]

Among these degrees was the Arch of Enoch, which was really Ramsay's Royal Arch. This degree, Dove says, was taught in Virginia until the year 1820, when it was abandoned and Webb's degree, which was the modification of the English system, and which is now universally practiced in the United States, was adopted.

During the latter part of the 18th century several Chapters were organized in Virginia, each of which worked under the authority of Master's Warrant. Such were the Chapters at Norfolk, Richmond, Staunton, and Dumfries. In the year 1808 the first three united in the organization of a "Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter," which immediately assumed jurisdiction over the degree in the State.

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[1] "Freemason's Monitor," p. 155.

[2] "Virginia Text Book," p. 91.

The Royal Arch degree was introduced into New York not long after its introduction into Pennsylvania, and most probably by some of the English military lodges, many of which were at that time in the Province.[1]

Independent Royal Arch Lodge was warranted in December, 1760. Bro. John G. Barker, the author of the *Early History of Masonry in New York*, says "that the history of this lodge, prior to the year 1784, is involved in obscurity, as is also the derivation of its name."[2]

But it is evident that the peculiarity of the name refers to the fact of its having been engaged in working the Royal Arch degree. I do not therefore hesitate to place, conjecturally, the introduction of that degree into the Province at a time contemporaneous with the organization of the lodge.

From New York, Royal Arch Masonry extended into other Northern Provinces, and independent Chapters were established which eventually gave birth to the General Grand Chapter.

Chapters were successively formed in different parts of the Province, each acting under the authority of a Master's Warrant. One of the most important of these was Washington Chapter in the City of New York, which, as it will hereafter appear, granted Warrants for the establishment of other Chapters.

In 1798 a Deputy Grand Chapter was formed under the newly adopted constitution of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States, and when in 1799 that body changed its title to that of the "General Grand Chapter," the Deputy Grand Chapter of New York assumed rank and name as a "Grand Chapter."

In the Province of Massachusetts, Royal Arch Masonry was introduced about the year 1769, probably a year or two later.

In that year the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted a Warrant for a lodge under the title of "St. Andrew's Lodge number 82." In the same year, if we may credit the statement of Bro. C. W. Moore,[3] "the degree was conferred in Boston in a "Royal Arch

[1] Of the nine lodges engaged in 1782 in the organization of the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York, six were military lodges, attached to different regiments in the British Army.

[2] "Early History and Transactions of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York," published by Kane Lodge, 1876, p. 17.

[3] "Freemasons' Monthly Magazine," vol. xii., p. 165.

Lodge," which he "thinks" was attached to St. Andrew's Lodge. Subsequent researches have removed all uncertainty on that point.

There is no positive information as to the original source whence the ritual of the degree as it was practiced by the St. Andrew's Chapter was derived. Its introduction has been attributed to Moses Michael Hayes, who is said to have introduced it from France, under the authority of a patent dated December 6, 1778. This statement Bro. Moore declares to be not true,[1] and his close official connection for a long series of years with the Masonry of Massachusetts, certainly makes him a competent judge.

But besides Hayes was one of the Inspectors appointed by Stephen Morin for the propagation of the Rite of Perfection which subsequently became the Ancient and Accepted Rite, and if the degree had been instituted by him, it would have assumed, which it did not, the form of Ramsay's Royal Arch, or the thirteenth degree of that Rite, as it did in Virginia, where Royal Arch Masonry was introduced by Myers, who was one of the collaborators of Hayes.

But according to Moore, the degrees conferred by the St. Andrew's Chapter corresponded in number and name with the degrees which were then conferred in Scotland, and hence he asserts with great plausibility that the system was brought over from Scotland, perhaps at the same time that the Warrant for St. Andrew's Lodge was issued.

The degree had no rapid growth in Massachusetts. In 1798 there were but two Chapters in the State. St. Andrew's at Boston, and King Cyrus's at Newburyport. These two united to form a Deputy Grand Chapter, and in 1799 became the Grand Chapter of Massachusetts, under the new Constitution of the General Grand Chapter.

The history of the introduction of Royal Arch Masonry into Rhode Island presents some interesting facts in reference to the degrees which were at that time conferred preparatory to the Royal Arch.[2]

In the year 1793 a number of the members of St. John's Lodge number 1, in the city of Providence, met to consult upon the prop-

[1] "Freemasons' Monthly Magazine," vol. xii., p. 165.

[2] The facts stated in this narrative are derived from the Records of St. John's Lodge, extracts from which were published in "The Warden," a Masonic magazine, printed at Providence, No. IV., September, 1879, p. 23 et seq.

er steps to be taken for the establishment of a Royal Arch Chapter, after consulting with those brethren who were already in possession of the degree.

An agent was accordingly sent to New York, who, on October 5, 1793, returned with a Dispensation issued by Washington Chapter in the city of New York.

Though called in the official records a Dispensation, the words of the instrument show that it was really a Warrant of Constitution. Its date is September 3, 1793.

The brethren proceeded under this Warrant to organize Providence Chapter number 2. This was done on November 23, 1793, with the assistance of certain Royal Arch Masons who had been invited from Newport, and who were members of a Chapter.

As we learn from the records of this Chapter, the essential officers were, a High Priest, King, Scribe, Royal Arch Captain, and Zerubbabel, the latter officer evidently being the one now known as Principal Sojourner. The fact that an inferior office was attributed to Zerubbabel instead of the more exalted station of King, as is now the case, shows that the ritual used in New York and in Rhode Island was different from the present one.

Such a position for the "Prince of the Captivity" is more conformable to the ritual of the Sixteenth degree or Prince of Jerusalem, in the Rite of Perfection which afterward became the Scottish Rite, but altogether incompatible with the functions ascribed to him in the Royal Arch of the present day.

This circumstance would indicate that there is some foundation for the hypothesis that in its early introduction into the American Colonies, Royal Arch Masonry was to a considerable extent affected by the rituals of the *Hautes Grades* or High Degrees, which were brought over from France in 1761 by Stephen Morin as the Agent of the "Deputies General of the Royal Art," for the purpose of "multiplying the sublime degrees of High Perfection."[1]

Morin appointed his Deputies, who spread over the West India islands and the continent of North America, and there is very strong evidence that they or some of them exercised an influence in the organization of Royal Arch Masonry in several parts of the country. Charters for Mark Lodges were originally issued by Grand Councils

[1] The language of the Patent issued to Morin.

of the Prince of Jerusalem. The Select degree was one of the honorary degrees conferred by the Inspectors—we have seen that Myers, one of Morin's Inspectors, organized the Royal Arch Masonry of Virginia according to the ritual of the Thirteenth degree—Moses Michael Hayes, who was also an Inspector of the new Rite, was at one time Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and as he was a very zealous Mason and a very energetic officer, it can scarcely be doubted that he exercised an influential connection with St. Andrew's Chapter, the first Chapter established in that State—and finally we have a significant fact stated in the records of the organization of the chapter at Providence, which shows the intimate relation which existed at that time between the Royal Arch Masons who founded the Chapter and certain possessors of the High Degrees imported into this country by the deputies and agents of Stephen Morin.

When the Dispensation or Warrant had been issued by Washington Chapter for the holding of a Chapter at Providence, the brethren to whom it had been granted, feeling perhaps incompetent, from their want of skill and experience to undertake unaided the task of organization, invited the assistance of the Royal Arch Masons who resided at Newport to give their assistance in the ceremony. The invitation having been accepted, the lodge met on Tuesday evening, October 29th. But "unavoidable necessity having prevented the attendance of the brethren from Newport, the brethren who had met, agreed to postpone any further meeting until they should arrive." Nearly a month passed before any further steps were taken toward the organization, and it was not until November 23d that the Newport Royal Arch Masons having then made their appearance, the organization was completed.

The evidence of the connection of these Newport brethren with the "High Degrees" is to be found in the following extract from the record of the proceedings:

"Our worthy and respectable Brethren from Newport, viz.: R. W. Moses Seixas, 45th Degree or Deputy Inspector General of Masonry in and thro'out the State, and Master of St. John's Lodge number 1, in Newport, the W. Peleg Clark 28th Degree or Knight of the Sun, and Senior Warden of the Grand Lodge in this State, and the Hon. Thomas W. Moore 28th Degree or Knight of the Sun and Consul of his Britannic Majesty in this State, having this

Day cheerfully attended at the Council chamber in this Town, agreeably to invitation, for the express Purpose of assisting in the Formation of a Royal Arch Chapter, the Brethren of the Royal Arch here, with the brethren aforesaid and our worthy Brother, Samuel Stearns, 7th Degree, R. A. (who also attended by Invitation), proceeded agreeably to the Directions in that case provided to open and consecrate a Royal Arch Chapter, by the name of 'Providence Chapter of Royal Arch Masons' under the Dispensation from the M. W. Washington Chapter of R. A. Masons of New York, etc."[1]

The figure "45" is evidently either an error of the pen in the manuscript record or of the press in the printed copy in *The Warden.* It should be "43." In David Vinton's *Short Historical Account of Masonry* appended to his *Masonic Minstrel,* which was published at Dedham, in Massachusetts, in the year 1816, will be found a list of the degrees said to be conferred in Charleston, New York, and Newport. The number is 43, and the last, or 43d, is Sovereign Grand Inspector-General. The number is made up by adding to the thirty-three degrees of the Scottish Rite ten others, embracing the degrees of the American Rite and several Orders of Knighthood. In this enumeration the Knight of the Sun is made the 38th, and therefore I suppose that the number "28" prefixed to that degree in the extract above quoted is also an error. This enumeration of 43 degrees was never accepted nor used by the legitimate bodies of the Scottish Rite, but only by some spurious associations which then existed. Newport was the locality of one of these associations, and Moses Seixas was its chief. This does not, however, affect the truth of the statement that the possessors of the "High Degrees," whether legally or illegally obtained, sought, in the infancy of Royal Arch Masonry in this country, to take a part in its institution and in giving complexion to its ritual.

There is another record in these minutes of the proceedings of Providence Chapter which is of far greater importance, as it shows, officially, the number, names, and sequence of the degrees which in the year 1793 and for some time before were considered as essentially preliminary to the reception of the Royal Arch.

At the meeting on October 5, 1793. when the Dispensation was

[1] Proceedings of Providence Chapter, published in "The Warden," No. iv., p. 24.

received from New York, we find the following proceedings recorded:

"Our M. W. having suggested that in order to confer the R. A. Degree it would be necessary that the Brethren who were Candidates for the same should previously be initiated in Three Degrees which were between that of Master Mason and the R. A., and to accomplish the business as soon as possible, proposed the immediate opening of a lodge for that purpose, which was done accordingly.

"Present, M. W. DANIEL STILLWELL, M.
W. JONA. DONNISON, S. W.
W. JACOB SMITH, J. W.
BR. WILLIAM MAGEE.

And the Brethren whose names here follow after due preparation were regularly initiated in the degrees of Master Mark, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master."

This record conclusively proves that Thomas Smith Webb was not the inventor of the Mark and Most Excellent degrees, an opinion that has been entertained by several Masonic writers. Webb was not initiated into the symbolic degrees until about the year 1792; certainly not before, for having been born in October, 1771, he was not qualified by age to receive those degrees at an earlier period. The Royal Arch degree he of course obtained at a still later date, and it is certain that in October, 1793, he could not have been competent by skill or experience to invent a ritual, nor could he have had influence enough to establish it.

All that can justly be ascribed to him is that in 1798, and in the subsequent years in which he was engaged in teaching a ritual, he modified the degrees of the Chapter, as well as those of the lodge, so as to give them that permanent form which they have ever since retained.

But though it appears very satisfactorily from this record that about the year 1793 the system of degrees given in a Royal Arch Chapter was well settled in the Northern States, at least in New York and in New England, yet in other parts of the United States and in Canada there remained for a long time, even to the early years of the 19th century, a great diversity in the names and number of the preparatory degrees.

In Philadelphia, where Royal Arch Masonry made its first ap-

pearance, having been derived from England through a military lodge, warranted by the Ancient Masons, the system pursued by the Atholl Grand Lodge appears to have adopted, and the Royal Arch immediately followed the Master's degree. Such was the case in Royal Arch Lodge number 3, whose minutes, as far back as 1767, have been preserved.[1]

This lodge was so styled because it conferred the Royal Arch degree as well as the three symbolic degrees. In its minutes, so far as they have been published, we shall find no allusion to any preparatory steps. Indeed, the only reference to the degree in the earlier minutes is on December 3, 1767, when the important admission is made that the initiation into the symbolic degrees of a candidate who had been Entered, Passed, and Raised by three Royal Arch Masons acting without a Warrant was lawful.[2] There is no evidence elsewhere, either in England or America, that this prerogative was ever claimed or admitted for the possessors of the Royal Arch degree.

It was, however, from the earliest period made the qualification of the Royal Arch degree that the candidate should have passed the chair either by election or by a dispensation from the Grand Master.

We learn from the minutes of Jerusalem Chapter number 3 that in 1783 the Royal Arch as given in Pennsylvania differed so much from that conferred in Scotland that Bro. George Read, coming from the latter country, where he had been made a Royal Arch Mason, "not being able to make himself known in some of the most interesting points, he was (in consequence of his certificate) granted the privilege of a second initiation." Bro. Charles E. Meyer, when quoting this extract from the Minutes, in his *History of Royal Arch Masonry and of Jerusalem Chapter number 3,* as a proof that the rituals of Scotland and Pennsylvania were not alike, says: "It would be interesting to know what these points were that Bro. Read did not possess."

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[1] "See Early History and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania," Part I., p. 11.

[2] "It appearing by good authority that Bro. John Hoodless has been *duly* and *lawfully* entered, passed and raised at Fort Pitt in the year 1759 by our brethren, John Maine, James Woodward and Richard Sully, all Royal Arch Masons."—Minutes of Royal Arch Lodge, No. 3.

I think it very probable that there was a difference in the rituals of the two countries at that time, as there is at the present day. But the proof of it from this record is not positive, since the question may very naturally arise, whether the difficulty in this case arose from the difference of ritual or from the ignorance or forgetfulness of the candidate, who had possibly not retained in full the lesson which he had been taught.

In May, 1795, we have the first record of the adoption of the Mark as a preparatory degree, though Bro. Myers thinks it was doubtless previously conferred as a side degree.

The first record of the Most Excellent Master's degree in the minutes of Jerusalem Chapters is on November 5, 1796, and from that time the three preparatory degrees have been conferred in Pennsylvania as they are in the other States.

In Virginia, the Royal Arch was introduced as we have already seen by Myers, and was not the degree practiced either by the Ancient Masons of England or by the Chapters of this country. It was the Thirteenth degree or Royal Arch of Solomon, contained in the series of degrees of the Rite of Perfection. Dislocated from its proper place in the original Rite to which it belonged, it was made to follow the Third degree, without the interpolation of any preparatory step.

Subsequently the Virginia Chapters introduced preliminary degrees, derived from other sources. In the minutes of the Grand Chapter, as late as 1808, we find references to the degrees of "Most Excellent Master," and of "Arch and Royal Arch Excellent and Super-Excellent Masons."[1]

In Connecticut all the Chapters except one had derived their Warrants from Washington Chapter of New York, and necessarily adopted the system of degrees which was practiced by it and by the Chapters which it established. These degrees, as we have already seen in the instance of Providence Chapter in Rhode Island, were the Master Mark, Past and Most Excellent Master as preliminary to the Royal Arch.[2]

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[1] Dove, "Royal Arch Text Book," p. 132.

[2] There was not, however, absolute uniformity. According to Wheeler ("Records of Capitular Masonry in Connecticut," p. 21), the minutes of Solomon Chapter No. 5 at Derby contain no notice of the Past Master's degree until January, 1796, and the Mark and Most Excellent Master are not mentioned until a later period.

But in Vanden Broeck Chapter, at Colchester, which was warranted in 1796 by the Grand Chapter of New York, the names and sequence of the preparatory degrees was as follows: Mark Master, Excellent Master, and Super-Excellent Master. In 1800 it conformed to the system which has been established by the General Grand Chapter. Excellent Master was exchanged for Past Master, and Super-Excellent for Most Excellent.[1] It is probable that the change was rather in the nomenclature than in the ritual.

We have already seen that the names and ranks of the officers of Chapters in the 18th century differed from those now used. For instance, Zerubbabel, who now occupies one of the prominent places in our modern ritual, was formerly placed at the bottom of the list.

The by-laws of Hiram Chapter, at Newtown, which were adopted March 3, 1792, give the following succinct account of the duties of these officers, and throw considerable light upon the ritualistic history of the time:

"It shall be the duty of the High Priest to preside at every meeting, to direct the business and to give occasionally a lecture; of the King to preside in the absence of the High Priest, and to assist him in his duty; of the Scribe, to preside in the absence of both, to cause the Secretary to enter in a fair and regular manner the proceedings of the Chapter in a book provided for that purpose, to summons the members for attendance at every regular and special meeting and also to administer the obligation; of Zerubbabel, to superintend the arrangements of the Chapter; of the Royal Arch Captain, to keep watch at the Sanctuary; of the three Grand Masters, to watch the vails; of the Treasurer, to receive the monies, to keep an account thereof and to pay none but on the warrant of the High Priest, and to render an account at the meeting previous to the annual election; of the Secretary, to keep the minutes under the direction of the Scribe, to receive the fees for admission, and to pay the same to the Treasurer; of the Clothier, to provide and to take care of the clothing; of the Architect, to provide and take care of the furniture."[2]

The Royal Arch was probably introduced into many of the Southern States, as it had been into the Northern, either by possessors of the degree coming direct from England, or by military

[1] "Records of Capitular Masonry in Connecticut," p. 24.

[2] By-laws of Hiram Chapter, Article VIII. See Wheeler's "Early Records," p. 10.

lodges in the British army, and which held their Warrants from the Grand Lodge of the Ancients.

Chapters were, however, not organized as independent bodies, but the degree was, until some time after the beginning of the 19th century, conferred both in South Carolina and Georgia, and, I think, also in North Carolina,[1] in Chapters dependent on and deriving their authority from Master's Warrants.

Many years ago, while investigating the history of Royal Arch Masonry in South Carolina, I was led to make the following statements, the correctness of which I have since had no reason to doubt.[2]

I have in years past made the acquaintance of several Royal Arch Masons in the upper part of South Carolina, who had received their degrees in Master's lodges. The long period which had elapsed since their withdrawal from the active pursuits of Freemasonry, and the imperfection of memory attendant on their extreme age, prevented them from furnishing me with all the particular information in reference to the ritual which I desired, but I learned enough from my frequent conversations with these Patriarchs of the Order (all of whom must long since have succeeded to their heritage in the Celestial Lodge) to enable me to state, positively, that in the upper counties of the State, at as late a period as the year 1813, the Royal Arch degree was conferred in Master's lodges. The same condition of things existed in the neighboring State of Georgia.

The manuscript "Minutes of Royal Arch Chapter number 1, under the sanction of Forsyth's Lodge number 14," are now, or were, some years ago, in the Archives of the Grand Chapter of Georgia. For an examination of these interesting records I was indebted to the kindness of the Grand Secretary, Comp. B. B. Russell.

The Chapter met in the City of Augusta, and the Minutes, to which I shall have occasion again to refer, are restricted to the year 1796.

These records state that the chapter at Savannah, having announced its intention to apply to the Grand Lodge of Georgia for

[1] The first warrant for an independent chapter in North Carolina was granted in 1808 by the Grand Chapter of Virginia to "sundry Royal Arch Masons" in Bertie County. But the petition was recommended by the Lodge at Windsor, and by the Master of the Lodge at Winston. The Royal Arch Masons who signed the petition had, it is to be supposed, previously received the degree in these Lodges. Dove, "Royal Arch Text Book," p. 122.

[2] Mackey's "History of Freemasonry in South Carolina," 1861, p. 471.

a dispensation or warrant, a letter was written to the brethren at Savannah by the chapter at Augusta on May 27, 1796, in which the following declaration appears:

"If there is any rule or by-law that requires a Royal Arch Chapter to apply for a special dispensation or Warrant, it is unknown to us. We conceive that the Warrant given to Forsyth's Lodge was sufficient for the members thereof to confer any degree in Masonry agreeable to the ancient usages and customs."[1]

The same usage was pursued at the same time in South Carolina, where, as has been previously stated, Orange Lodge number 14 in 1796 adopted a resolution to "sanction the opening of a Royal Arch Chapter under its jurisdiction, and again in January, 1803, resolved "that the privilege of the Warrant of this lodge be granted for the use of the Royal Arch Chapter of Charleston."[2]

That this usage was not confined to the Atholl lodges is seen from the fact that while Orange Lodge in South Carolina was a lodge of "Ancient Masons," all the lodges in Georgia were "Moderns," the Atholl Grand Lodge of England never having extended its jurisdiction over that State nor organized any lodges in it.

The first Chapters in these States, under the constitution of the General Grand Chapter, were established in 1805 at Beaufort in South Carolina and at Savannah in Georgia.

The Grand Chapter of the former State was formed in 1812; that of the latter in 1816.

But reverting to the subject of the early ritual of Royal Arch Masonry and to the differences which prevailed toward the end of the 18th century in the names and character of the degrees, we shall meet with some interesting information in these Minutes of the Royal Arch Chapter at Augusta.

The business of electing candidates for the Royal Arch having been accomplished in an informal meeting of Royal Arch Masons. a Master Mason lodge was opened, when, the qualification for exaltation being to "pass the chair," they were made what are now called "Virtual Past Masters."

We find this in the records of the first meeting of the Chapter of which the following is an exact transcript made by me from the original manuscript.

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[1] "MS. Minutes of Forsyth's Royal Arch Chapter."

[2] "Historical Sketch" appended to By-laws of Orange Lodge, p. 4.

"At a meeting of the subscribers, Royal Arch Masons at Forsyth's Lodge room the 29th February, 1796.

"Read a petition from Brothers Joseph Hutchinson, William Dearmond, and John McGowan, Master Masons of Forsyth's Lodge, praying to become Royal Arch companions; and the same being agreed to, a Master's lodge was then opened.

"Present: Thomas Bray, Master; Thomas Davis, S. W.; D. B, Butler, J. W.; Joseph Hutchinson, Tyler; William Dearmond, John McGowan.

"Brothers Hutchinson, Dearmond, and McGowan were regularly passed the chair and obtained the degree of Past Master, and returned thanks for the same. The lodge was then closed.

"A Royal Arch Chapter was then opened in ancient form.

"Present: Thomas Bray, H. P.; Thomas Davis, C. S.; D. B. Butler, K.

"Bro. Hutchinson (attending) received the preparatory degrees; also Brothers Past Masters Dearmond and McGowan. They were then in rotation raised to the super-excellent degree of Royal Arch Masons, and returned thanks for the same."

Subsequent minutes are of the same character, except that the election of the candidates took place in a Master's lodge and not as in the first in an informal meeting of Royal Arch Masons. But, of course, we are to suppose that all the Master Masons present were not only Past Masters but also Royal Arch Masons.

But what were the preparatory degrees? That question is answered by the Minutes of November 29, 1796, where the names of these degrees are for the first time given. The record is as follows:

"At an extra meeting of Forsyth's Lodge, convened by the order of the W. M. and held at the court-house on Tuesday 29th November, 1796.

"Present: Thomas Bray, Master; Thomas Davis, S. W.; William Dearmond, J. W. *pro tem.*

"A Master's Mark lodge was opened for the purpose of conferring the degrees of Fellow-Craft Mark and Master Mark on Brothers John McGowan, Lawrence Trotti, and John B. Wilkinson, when they, attending, received the same and returned thanks to the lodge; which was then closed. A Past Master's lodge was then opened.

"Present: Thomas Bray, M.; Thomas Davis, S. W.; William Dearmond, J. W. *pro tem.;* John McGowan.

"The lodge was opened for the purpose of conferring the degree of Past Master on Brothers Lawrence Trotti and John B. Wilkinson, when, they attending, were regularly passed the chair and obtained the degree of Past Master, and gave thanks for the same. The lodge was then closed in ancient form. The Royal Arch Chapter was then opened.

"Present: Thomas Bray, H. P.; Thomas Davis, C. S.; John McGowan, K.; William Dearmond, R. A. C.

"The minutes of the last Chapter were read. The M. E. H. P. informed the companions present that the Chapter was called for the purpose of conferring the Super-excellent degree on Brothers Lawrence Trotti and John B. Wilkinson, who were then attending. Bro. Trotti was then duly prepared and received the preparatory degree of R. M. and R. A., also Brother Wilkinson. They were then raised to the super-excellent degree of Royal Arch Mason, and returned thanks. The Chapter was then closed by order of the M. E. H. P."

These records supply us with several interesting and important facts relating to the ritual and the organization of Royal Arch Masonry in America about the close of the 18th century.

The Chapter degrees were then, as has been already shown from other sources, conferred under the sanction of the Warrant of a Master's lodge, but the body in which the Royal Arch degree was given was called a Chapter.

Nine Royal Arch Masons were not then deemed necessary to the opening of a Chapter or the conferring of the degree.

The only officers mentioned are a High-Priest, Chief Scribe, King, Royal Arch Captain, Treasurer and Secretary, and the Scribe appears to have taken precedence of the King. The officer called "Zerubbabel" in the Northern Chapters, is not mentioned in the Southern. In the latter it is probable that the same officer was called the "Royal Arch." The Royal Arch Captain could not have supplied his place, for both officers are recorded in the Minutes of the Providence Chapter in Rhode Island. The absence of an officer called "Zerubbabel" in the Southern Chapters, while it is found in all Northern ones, would evidently indicate some difference in the rituals of the two sections of the country. It is also significant on this point, that in the records of the Chapters at Augusta, no mention is made of the three Grand Masters of the Vails. They are in

cluded in the list of officers of all the Chapters in Connecticut which derived their Warrants and, we may suppose, their rituals from the Washington Chapter in New York.

It was always deemed an indispensable qualification for the reception of the Royal Arch degree that the candidate should be a Past Master. This practice, established in England at the origin of the degree, was followed by all the Chapters in America. As the restriction of the degree to those only who had presided for twelve months over a Symbolic lodge and thus become "Actual Past Masters" would have circumscribed the number of candidates within a very narrow and inconvenient limit, the ceremony of passing the chair was invented, by which the candidate became a "Virtual Past Master." This usage, which was the real origin of what is now called the Past Master's degree, was adopted by all the American Chapters, and thus the earliest records of the Augusta Chapter show that each person before being raised to the degree of Royal Arch was made to "pass the chair."

At first, as is shown by the minutes of February 29, 1796, the ceremony was performed in a Master's lodge. The same usage was observed at several subsequent meetings, but on December 26, 1796, for the first time it is recorded that the Master's lodge was closed and a Past Master's was opened for the purpose of conferring what had then become, not a mere qualification, but a preparatory degree.

Other preparatory degrees are mentioned in the earliest Minutes, but their names are not given until a later period. From the later minutes we learn what these degrees were. They are recorded in the November minutes as having the following names and being given in the following order:

Past Master, Fellow-Craft Mark, Master Mark, R.M., and R.A. These last two degrees are never recorded otherwise than by their initials, but we have every reason to believe, from other authorities, that they were Royal Master and Royal Ark, or Royal Ark Master.

Samuel Cole, writing in 1826, says of these two degrees that "they are considered as merely preparatory and are usually conferred immediately before the solemn ceremony of exaltation." Cole's work received the sanction of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and it is hence evident that these two degrees were at one time

conferred in the Chapters of the State. They were not known to or practiced in the chapters of the Northern States.

It will be noticed also, as a further evidence of the want of uniformity in the rituals of the 18th century, that the Minutes of the Chapter at Augusta make no reference to the Most Excellent Master's degree, which from an early period was always conferred as a preparatory step to the Royal Arch in the Northern States.

Passing over from the United States to Canada, we shall find the Royal Arch ritual at the close of the 18th century in another but still confused condition.

In the year 1856 the members of Ancient Frontenac Chapter, attached to the St. John's Lodge number 491, English Register, situated at Kingston in Canada, published a history of the Chapter from its organization. From this little but interesting work may be gleaned a very satisfactory statement of the character and condition of Royal Arch Masonry at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

Ancient Frontenac Chapter, which is or was the old Chapter in Canada West, was established at Freemasons' Tavern, in the town of Kingston, on June 7, 1797, under the sanction of a Warrant which had been granted to Lodge number 6 on November 20, 1795, by R. W. William Jarvis, at that time Provincial Grand Master of Canada, under the Atholl Grand Lodge of England.

Master's lodges in Canada, as in the neighboring United States, assumed the right to hold Chapters for conferring the Royal Arch degree. It was a right always sanctioned by the usages of the "Ancients" and tolerated by the "Moderns," nor ever denied until after the organization of the General Grand Chapter at Hartford. As late as February, 1806, at a convocation held in Kingston a charge was preferred against a member of Frontenac Chapter of "unmasonic conduct in striving to separate the Holy Royal Arch Chapter from the body of number 6."

Until the year 1809, the three principal officers of the Chapter were designated as "1, High-Priest; 2, Solomon, King of Israel; and 3, Hiram, King of Tyre." Judging by this, we must conclude that the ritual used in Frontenac Chapter differed very materially from all the various systems which prevailed at the time in other parts of America.

The earliest records of the Chapter do not show any recognition

of preparatory degrees. The "Most Excellent" was first conferred on April 17, 1807, and the "Mark" on July 20, 1818. These degrees were not, however, even then obligatory, but appear to have been taken or not, at the action of the candidate; and as there was an attendant expense, few of the brethren availed themselves of the opportunity of receiving them. The Past Master's was, however, a prerequisite qualification toward exaltation, and, as elsewhere, it was always conferred in the Master's lodge to which the Chapter was attached.

Up to the end of the last century, many candidates were exalted when only *seven* Royal Arch Masons were present, the mystical number *nine* not being then required to constitute a quorum for conferring the degree.

Capitular Masonry seems to have been separated in Canada from Lodge Masonry in 1806, for on January 18th in that year a decision was received from the Provincial Grand Master for holding a Chapter at Kingston, which, says the pamphlet from which I have been quoting, was "the first step towards this Chapter working under a warrant separate from that of the Craft lodge."

On February 10, 1818, the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Upper Canada was established, and on March 25th of the following year Frontenac Chapter number 1 received its Charter as one of its constituents.

The extracts given in the preceding pages, from the records of Chapters working at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, have been sufficient to show that there prevailed at that time, in the different parts of the American Continent, a very confusing variety in the ritual of the Royal Arch and in the number of preparatory degrees, which clearly demonstrates that the conflicting systems must have been derived from different sources.

What these sources were it is impossible to precisely say, at least in every instance, in consequence of the unavoidable scantiness of the records. The general drift of history leads us to believe that among these sources were the Grand Lodge of Ancients, in England, and at a later period the Grand Lodge of Moderns, both of whom disseminated the degree through their military lodges, the Grand Lodge of Scotland, or rather the Royal Arch Masons of that kingdom, who practiced the degree without the recognition of their Grand Lodge, and as in Virginia and the Southern States the pos-

sessors of the "Sublime degrees," as they were called, which had been introduced into this country from France by Stephen Morin and his emissaries or deputies.

The result of borrowing rituals from so many different sources inevitably led to a deplorable diversity in the ceremonies, which led the Royal Arch Masons in some of the Northern States to attempt the laying of a firm foundation on which a uniform system might be established, and the constitution of a superintending authority which should maintain that uniformity, and give to Capitular Masonry a symmetry and shapeliness which should secure to it a permanence and success such as had been previously given to Craft Masonry by the ritualistic labors of Desaguliers and his associates in the second and third decades of the 18th century.

This work of reformation and of purification, in which the dross was rejected and the pure ore only retained, was finally accomplished by the institution of the General Grand Chapter of the United States, which was one of the most important events in the Masonic history of the United States.

To this event we must therefore next direct our attention. But the extent and interest of the subject demand a separate chapter for its consideration.

CHAPTER L

THE GENERAL GRAND CHAPTER OF THE UNITED STATES

S the system of Royal Arch Masonry which is practiced in the United States of America is really indebted to the organization of the General Grand Chapter for its existence and popularity, no history of that body could be complete without some account of the Masonic life of Thomas Smith Webb, who was the founder of both the system and the General Grand Chapter.

I shall therefore precede the history of the origin of the General Grand Chapter by a brief sketch of the Masonic services of that distinguished ritualist.[1]

Thomas Smith Webb was the son of English parents who had emigrated to this country a few years before his birth, and settled at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, where he was born, on October 13, 1717.

Having received an elementary education in the public schools, he was bound as an apprentice to the art of printing, or perhaps of book-binding. There is some uncertainty about this question, but the testimony preponderates in favor of the former. It is, however, not material as, in after life, he did not pursue either calling.

Having soon after removed to Keene, in New Hampshire, he there married, and about the year 1792 was initiated in the primary degrees of Freemasonry.

Subsequently he removed to Albany in New York. It is probable that he there received the higher degrees, as we find him, while residing there, engaged in the establishment of a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons and a Commandery of Templars. We may also sup-

[1] In "Mackey's Encyclopædia of Freemasonry" will be found a copious memoir of Webb, from which, as the creation of my own pen, I have not hesitated to borrow the materials and indeed much of the language of the present sketch.

pose that while living in Albany he became acquainted with the Ineffable degrees of which Albany was an early seat.

It was about this time that Webb commenced his career as a Masonic ritualist and teacher. In 1797 he published the first edition of his *Freemasons Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry*.[1] In the Preface to this work he acknowledges his indebtedness to Preston for the observations on the first three degrees. But he states in his Preface that he has made an arrangement of the lectures which differs from that of Preston, because the latter's distribution of the sections is not "agreeable to the present mode of working."[2] If other proof were wanting this would be enough to show that the "Prestonian work," as it has been called, differed from that then practiced in the United States, and ought to be an answer to those who at a later period have attempted to claim an identity between the ritual and lectures of Webb and those of Preston.

About 1801 he removed to Providence, R. I., and commenced the manufacture of wall-paper on an extensive scale. But he did not abandon his labors in the field of Speculative Masonry. By invitation he became a member of St. John's Lodge number 2, of Providence. He passed through the various grades of office and was elected in 1813 Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island.

His labors in the constitution of a Grand, and afterward a General Grand Chapter, will be hereafter referred to.

While continuing his interest in the manufacture in which he was engaged he did not neglect his Masonic labors, but in 1816 visited the Western part of the United States and appeared to have been actively employed in the organization of Chapters and Encampments.

He died at Cleveland, O., where he was on a visit on July 6, 1819, and was buried with Masonic honors. The body was subsequently disinterred and carried to Providence, where it was reinterred by the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island.

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[1] This edition is very rare. The title-page, in a copy now lying before me, is as follows: "The Freemasons Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry: In two Parts. By a Royal Arch Mason, K. T.—K, of M.—&c, &c. Printed at Albany, for Spencer and Webb, Market street, 1797," p. 284.

[2] "The observations upon the first three degrees are principally taken from Preston's 'Illustrations of Masonry,' with some necessary alterations. Mr. Preston's distribution of the first lecture into six, the second into four, and the third into twelve sections, not being agreeable to the present mode of *working*, they are arranged in this work according to the general practice." First edition. Preface.

As to Webb's Masonic character and services, I see no reason to say otherwise than what I have already said on a former occasion.

His influence over the Freemasons of this country is to be ascribed almost wholly to his personal communication with them and to his oral teachings. He has made no mark in Masonic literature of any importance. His labors and his reputation as an author are confined to a single work, and that one of but little pretension. It is, indeed, only a meager syllabus of his Lectures. He seems, though the author of a Masonic system now universally practiced in the United States, to have been but very inadequately imbued with the true philosophical spirit of symbolism. He was an able workman of the ritual which he had invented, and an effective teacher, and to this he owed his popularity. The deficiencies of his system are to be regretted, but Webb undoubtedly deserves commendation for his devotion and perseverance in the establishment of a system of ritualism which has been productive of such abundant fruit.

The Freemasons of America have generally attributed to him the invention of the preliminary degrees of the Chapter. But of this fact we have no satisfactory evidence, while there is much to the contrary. It has been seen in a preceding chapter that the Mark and Past degrees, as well as the Most Excellent, though probably under a different name, had been conferred in Chapters before Webb had been exalted in Albany to the Royal Arch.

But what Webb really did, was to change the rituals of these degrees and to give to them the form which is now universally adopted in the Chapters of this country.

For instance, the Mark Master's and the Most Excellent Master's songs, which now constitute essential parts of the working of those degrees, and are indispensably connected with their most important ceremonies, were composed by him and first published in his *Free-Masons Monitor*. They could therefore have been introduced into the work only after his composition of them.

In short, Webb can be deemed the founder of what is now called the "American Rite" only in so far that he modified the degrees which had previously existed, and gave to them not only a new and improved form, but established them in a legitimate sequence which has ever since been recognized by the constituted authorities.

Previous to his teaching, there was no regularity in the management of the preliminary degrees. In some Chapters they were con-

ferred as preparatory to the Royal Arch; in others they were omitted, and the Royal Arch immediately followed the Third degree. For the permanent regularity now existing, we are certainly indebted to Thomas Smith Webb.

With this brief sketch of the Masonic life of this popular ritualist, we are now prepared to direct our attention to that portion of his labors which were especially given to the establishment of Royal Arch Masonry on a plan peculiar to this country.

The supplement of the Master's degree, which had been introduced by the Seceders into the English system, about the middle of the last century, was not long after imported into this country. This importation has been generally attributed to the military lodges which worked under the *régime* of the Atholl Grand Lodge, and which had received, at the time of their constitution, the instructions and the privileges of the Royal Arch.

It has been seen that the first American Chapter was instituted at Philadelphia in 1758, and that the degree had been received from an English military lodge, at that time stationed in that city.

At a somewhat later period in the century the Royal Arch degree was conferred in many lodges in the United States, under a Master's Warrant. This custom continued for several years to be observed in the Southern States, where distinct Chapters were unknown until the 19th century.

But in the Northern States, the control of the Royal Arch was assumed by independent Chapters at an earlier period.

From the records of the General Grand Chapter it appears that St. Andrew's Chapter was instituted at Boston, in 1769; King Cyrus Chapter at Newburyport, Mass., in 1790; Providence Chapter at Providence, R. I., in 1793; Solomon Chapter at Derby, Conn., in 1794; Franklin Chapter at Norwich, another of the same name at New Haven, Conn., and Hudson Chapter at Hudson, N. Y., in 1796.[1]

Temple Chapter at Albany, N. Y., is mentioned in the Proceedings of a convention held in 1797, and was probably instituted at an earlier period.

On October 24, 1797, a convention of Royal Arch Masons was held in Boston, for the purpose of forming a Grand Chapter.

At this convention delegates from three Chapters were present:

[1] "Compendium of Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter from 1797 to 1856," p. 8.

St. Andrew's, of Boston; Temple, of Albany, and King Cyrus, of Newburyport.

This convention, probably in consequence of the small number of Chapters represented, did no more than issue a circular addressed to the various Chapters in the Northern States, recommending a future meeting to be held at Hartford.

In this circular the delegates at Boston enunciated the principle which has since been universally accepted as the law of Royal Arch Masonry in the United States; namely, that "no Grand Lodge of Master Masons can claim or exercise authority over any convention or Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, nor can any Chapter, although of standing immemorial, exercise the authority of a Grand Chapter."[1]

On January 24, 1798, a convention of delegates from seven Chapters assembled at Hartford, in the State of Connecticut.

At this convention the following Chapters were represented: St. Andrew's, of Boston; King Cyrus, of Newburyport; Providence, of Providence; Solomon, of Derby; Franklin, of Norwich; Franklin, of New Haven; and Hudson, of Hudson.

The States represented were, therefore, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York.

It was then unanimously resolved that the delegates should establish a Grand Chapter for the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New York, to be denominated "The Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States of America."[2]

On the next day, delegates from Temple and from Horeb Chapter, both of New York, presented their credentials. These nine Chapters then proceeded to the organization of a Grand Chapter.

On January 26, 1798, a constitution was adopted and immediately afterward the officers were elected.

The preamble to this constitution ordains and establishes the body as "The Grand Royal Arch Chapter for the Northern States of America," a title under which jurisdiction was assumed over the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New York.

In each of these States there was to be under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter a Deputy Grand Chapter, over which a Deputy

[1] "Compendium of Proceedings," p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

Grand High-Priest was to preside, assisted by a Deputy Grand King and a Deputy Grand Scribe.

The Grand Chapter was to be composed of its officers elected for the time, of the Past Grand High-Priests, Kings, and Scribes, and of the first three officers of the Deputy Grand Chapters.

The Deputy Grand Chapters were to be composed of the elected officers, of the Past Deputy Grand High-Priests, Kings, and Scribes, and of the High-Priests, Kings, and Scribes of the subordinate Chapters.

The Grand Chapter was to meet biennially and the Deputy Grand Chapters annually, and the first meeting of the former body was to be held at Middletown, Conn., on the following September.

In this Constitution the nomenclature and precedency of the Capitular degrees, which had hitherto been somewhat unsettled, was finally determined, so that the names and order of sequence should remain forever thereafter as they were then established.

This arrangement has ever since remained unchanged and makes the Mark Master, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master essentially preliminary degrees, to be followed by the Royal Arch degree as the consummation of the system.

This constitution gave to the Grand Chapter an exclusive power to hear and determine all controversies between Chapters within its jurisdiction, and an appellate jurisdiction over all the proceedings of the Deputy Grand Chapters.

As far as regards the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, which States were represented in the convention, the Constitution was definitely adopted. But the Chapters in Vermont and New Hampshire, not having sent delegates, a committee was appointed to solicit their concurrence in the organization.

The convention then proceeded to the first election on the newly adopted constitution, which resulted in the following choice of officers:

Ephraim Kirby, of Connecticut, Grand High-Priest; Benjamin Hurd, Jr., of Massachusetts, Grand King; Thomas Smith Webb, of New York, Grand Scribe; William Woart, of Massachusetts, Grand Secretary; Rev. Abraham Lynsen Clarke, of Rhode Island, Grand Chaplain; Stephen Titus Hosmer, of Connecticut, Grand Treasurer, and Gurdon Lathrop, of Connecticut, Grand Marshal.

It will be seen that the meeting here described was only that of a convention to take the preliminary steps for the organization of a Grand Chapter. The first meeting of the "Grand Chapter of the Northern States," after that organization, was holden on October 19, 1798, at the city of Middletown in Connecticut. The object of the meeting, as expressed in the Proceedings, was "for the choice of officers." Although these had already been elected, at the meeting of the convention in January preceding, that election was not by the Grand Chapter, which was at that time inchoate, and could hardly have been considered as regular. It was therefore legalized by the subsequent action on October 1, 1798, which was in fact the first meeting of the Grand Chapter.

"Agreeably to the Constitution," says the compendium, "the Grand Chapter proceeded to the choice of officers, when on sorting and counting the votes the old officers were all declared re-elected."[1]

No other business was transacted, and the Grand Chapter adjourned to hold its second meeting on the second Wednesday of January, 1799, at Providence, in the State of Rhode Island.

The Grand Chapter accordingly convened at Providence on January 9, 1799, when the representatives of the Deputy Grand Chapters of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York were present.

At this Convocation some important changes in the regulations were made, and the constitution was revised.

The title of the Grand Chapter was altered to that of the "General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons for the six Northern States of America," and its meetings were changed from a biennial to a septennial period. The Deputy Grand Chapters were in future to be styled "State Grand Chapters." The powers of the General Grand Chapter were much abridged. The section giving it appellate jurisdiction over the State Grand Chapters was omitted from the new Constitution, and has never again been re-asserted. Its powers were confined to a control of the ritual and to the establishment of Chapters in States where there were no Grand Chapters. It continued, however, to maintain the prerogative of defining the powers and functions of State Grand Chapters. This prerogative has never been denied, and the law of Royal Arch Masonry, as it now exists and has ever since the close of the last century existed in this country, is dependent on the Constitution of the General Grand Chapter.

[1] "Compendium of Proceedings," p. 18.

Thus, the internal regulations of the State Grand Chapters and their subordinates are all directed by this Constitution. It prescribed the method of granting charters, the number of petitioners, the fee to be paid, the titles of the officers, the time of election, the price of the degrees, and the rule for receiving candidates, with several other points, all of which have always been implicitly obeyed.

In a word, the Constitution of the General Grand Chapter has been received as, in some sort, the common law of Royal Arch Masonry in this country. This law, derived from and formulated by that body, has universally been accepted, and it is admitted that it cannot be repealed or rescinded in any of its parts by any inferior body.

If the General Grand Chapter had accomplished no other good result by its organization, this alone would furnish a sufficient defense of its institution, and an answer to those discontented spirits who from time to time have sought for its dissolution.

The third convocation was holden at Middletown, Conn., on January 9, 1806. Representatives from only four States were present. The Constitution was again revised, and some important changes were made. Hitherto the General Chapter had claimed jurisdiction over only the six Northern States. But it now sought to extend its territorial limits over the whole country and assumed the more pretentious title of "The General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons for the United States of America." This title it has ever since retained.

An oath of allegiance was also for the first time prepared, and every officer of a lodge or Chapter under the jurisdiction of the General Body was required, on assuming office, to swear that he would support and maintain the General Grand Royal Arch Constitution.

The exclusive right of issuing charters to subordinate Chapters, in States where there were Grand Chapters, was conferred by this constitution on those bodies, while the General Grand Chapter reserved to itself the right of issuing warrants for Chapters which were to be established in States where no Grand Chapters existed.

The next septennial convocation of the General Grand Chapter should have taken place in 1813. But at that time the United States were engaged in a war with Great Britain, and the situation of the country incidental to such a cause was such as to prevent the General Grand Chapter from convening.

A special session was called in 1816 at the city of New York. But no business of any especial importance was transacted, except the admission of the Grand Chapter of Maryland and the District of Columbia, under a provision which permitted it to confer the degrees of Royal and Select Master as preliminary to the Royal Arch. This permission has always been refused to other Grand Chapters, as being in positive contradiction of the terms of the constitution, which recognizes only three preparatory degrees in the Chapter. In the subsequent history of the General Grand Chapter this too liberal action has been found to be productive of some trouble.

Indeed, in the very inception of this proceeding there was an evident irregularity. The Grand Chapter of Maryland proposed to enter the Union of the Grand Chapters and to support the Constitution of the General Grand Chapter, but "requests that it shall not be forced to alter its mode of working."

This was reported to the General Grand Chapter by the Committee of conference, which recommended the admission of the Grand Chapter of Maryland, "under a consideration of all the circumstances," which of course must have referred to its request to continue its peculiar mode of working. The terms of the report were agreed to by the Maryland delegates, and accepted by the General Grand Chapter, which immediately afterward resolved that the Grand Chapter of Maryland and the District of Columbia be admitted under its jurisdiction, "subject to the Constitution and Regulations of the said General Grand Chapter."

It is very difficult to discover the real meaning and result of this action. The acceptance of the report permitted the Maryland body to confer its two additional preliminary degrees. The adoption of the subsequent resolution prohibited it from so doing, because the Constitution to which it was made subject as a condition of admission, recognized only three preliminary degrees, and excluded the two conferred in Maryland.

The Maryland companions selected the explanation which was most agreeable to their own views. They entered the Union of Grand Chapters, and continued, for a time, to confer the Royal and Select Master's degrees as preliminary to exaltation to the Royal Arch. Subsequently they dropped the Council Degrees and confined themselves to the usual four degrees.

In 1829 the General Grand Chapter recommended that these

degrees, which have always been under the control of independent organizations, known as Grand Councils, should be conferred in Royal Arch Chapters, but in 1853 it retraced its steps and declared that the Mark, Past, and Most Excellent Master were the only capitular degrees, thus returning to the original arrangement of Webb.

In 1870 another attempt was made by several of the Grand Chapters to get the two degrees of Royal and Select Master incorporated as preparatory steps in the Capitular system, but it did not succeed, and most probably never will.

According to adjournment another session of the General Grand Chapter was holden in the city of New York on September 9, 1819. No business of great importance was transacted and it was ordered that the next convocation should be held at the city of Washington in February, 1823. No such meeting was held.

The sixth session of the General Grand Chapter was holden at the city of New York on September 14, 1826, which was the regular septennial convocation. The Grand Chapters were largely represented, delegates from no less than fifteen of them being present.

The Constitution was again revised, and among other amendments the word "triennial" was substituted for "septennial," so that the Convocations were thenceforth to be holden every three years. This regulation has ever since been continued.

Probably the most important event that occurred at this meeting was an attempt made to dissolve the General Grand Chapter. This was the first effort at a suicidal policy which has since been several times repeated, but always without success.

The attack was made by the Grand Chapter of Kentucky, which presented a memorial, copies of which had previously been transmitted to the different Grand Chapters with the hope that they would unite in the action.

In this memorial the Grand Chapter of Kentucky set forth at great length its reasons for desiring a dissolution of the organization. They are the same arguments which have since been advanced at different times.

The objections urged against the General Grand Chapter were its nationality, the danger of its usurping the functions and destroying the sovereignty of the State Grand Chapters, the existence in it of life members, whose voice and numbers might become more potential than the votes of the elected delegates who would soon be in a

minority, and, finally, the great expense of supporting such an organization.

But the arguments, plausible as they might have appeared, had no weight with the Grand Chapters, nearly all of which expressed their opposition to any such movement. When the question was submitted to the convocation, only two votes, those of the delegates from Kentucky, were found in its favor. Every other officer and member voted against a dissolution.

It is "passing strange" that an institution whose utility has been proved by ample experience, should ever have met with opposition to its existence. We have already seen that to it we are indebted for that common and universal law, which has done so much good in the establishment of an organized system.

When we remember the discordant condition of Royal Arch Masonry at the close of the last century, when the number of the degrees, their names and the order of their sequence, which varied in every State and sometimes even in adjacent Chapters, when there was no positive and generally recognized principles of Masonic law, and no authority to which to appeal for the settlement of controversies in ritual or in custom, and when we view the uniformity which now prevails in all parts of the country, which is undoubtedly owing to the weight and influence of the General Grand Chapter as a well-organized head, it can not be denied that all American Royal Arch Masons owe a debt of gratitude to the founders of that institution which thus wisely brought order out of chaos.

It is not worth while to extend this history beyond the period at which we have arrived. From the year 1826 the General Grand Chapter, now placed on a stable foundation, has continued to meet triennially at different cities of the United States. There has been but one interruption to this continuity. In 1862 a civil war then dividing the country into two hostile sections so that there was a military impossibility for the convocation to be held at the appointed place, which was Memphis in Tennessee, the General Grand High-Priest, Albert G. Mackey, suspended the meeting until the restoration of peace, and by his proclamation the session was held at Columbus, O., in 1865. The session lasted but one day, when it adjourned to meet in the same place and on the next day in a new triennial session.

Its jurisdiction now extends over the whole of the United States,

embracing all the Grand Chapters except those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which have never entered into the confederation, and Texas, which withdrew during the war, 1861-65, and has never reunited.

The following list of all the Presiding officers of the body since its organization will be of interest as an historical document. It will be seen to embrace the names of some who have been distinguished in Freemasonry or in political life:

1798, EPHRAIM KIRBY, of Connecticut
1799, EPHRAIM KIRBY.
1806, BENJAMIN HURD, of Massachusetts.
1816, DEWITT CLINTON, of New York.
1819, DEWITT CLINTON.
1826, DEWITT CLINTON.
1829, EDWARD LIVINGSTON, of Louisiana.
1832, EDWARD LIVINGSTON.
1835, Rev. PAUL DEAN, of Massachusetts.
1838, Rev. PAUL DEAN.
1841, Rev. PAUL DEAN.
1844, Rev. PAUL DEAN.
1847, ROBERT P. DUNLAP, of Maine.
1850, ROBERT P. DUNLAP.
1853, ROBERT P. DUNLAP.
1856, CHARLES GILMAN, of Maryland.
1859, ALBERT G. MACKEY, of South Carolina.
1865, JOHN L. LEWIS, of New York.
1868, JAMES M. AUSTIN, of New York.
1871, JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, of Maine.
1874, JAMES H. ENGLISH, of Arkansas.
1877, JOHN FRIZZEL, of Tennessee.
1880, ROBERT F. BOWER, of Iowa.

*1883, ALFRED F. CHAPMAN, of Massachusetts.

*1886, NOBLE D. LARNER, of District of Columbia»

*1889, DAVID F. DAY, of New York.

*1891, JOSEPH P. HORNER, of Louisiana.

*1894, GEORGE L. MCCAHAN, of Maryland.

"1897, REUBEN C. LEMON, of Ohio.

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* Presiding officers since the death of Dr. Mackey.

REPRINT.

In Deo Fiducia Nostra.

——:o:——

Or ∴ of Washington, June 24th, 1881.

THE GRAND COMMANDER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE SOUTHERN JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES:

To the Free-Masons of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite throughout this Jurisdiction:

אבל אניה בכות

DEAR BRETHREN: Sickness and old age have brought the ending of his days to the Dean of the Supreme Council, its Secretary-General, Brother ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY. Born at Charleston, in South Carolina, on the 12th of March, 1807, made a Mason there, it is said, in the year 1831, he became a member of the Supreme Council and Secretary-General in 1844, and continued to be both until his death, at Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, on the 20th of June, 1881.

The Masonic Text-books written by him for the Symbolic Lodge, the Chapter of Royal Arch, and the Council of Royal and Select Masters, his Treatises on Masonic Jurisprudence, on Parliamentary Law as applied in Masonry, and on Symbolism, his Lexicon and Encyclopædia of Free-Masonry, and the Masonic Periodicals at different times edited by him, have made his name as an Author widely and well known in this and in other countries. He stood, indeed, at the head, *facile princeps*, of all the Masonic writers of the world. A ripe scholar and an accomplished writer as well as an educated physician, he would have won even a larger fame in other and wider fields of literature.

Bro.∴ Mackey was Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina for many years, a Commander of Templars, Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of Royal

Arch Masons of the State, and General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States. In the Sessions of 1856 and 1859 of that Body, he was especially prominent in debate. In our Supreme Council, in 1870, he was elected Lieutenant Grand Commander, and declined, preferring to continue to be Grand Secretary. The Symbolic Masonry, above all, is his debtor, because most of his works were written for the use of the Masons of the Blue Degrees; and he intended to render it further service, if he had lived, by exploding some of the fictions that have been imposed upon Masons for history and truth.

Bro.·. Mackey had lived all his life among gentlemen, and had the manners and habits of a gentleman. Tall, erect, of spare but vigorous frame, his somewhat harsh but striking features were replete with intelligence and amiability; he conversed well, and was liked as a genial and companionable man, of a cheerful, tolerant and kindly nature, who if he had quarrels with individuals, had none with the world. Idolized by his wife and children, he loved them devotedly, and suffered intensely when, one after another, his two intelligent and amiable daughters died. He had many friends, and made enemies, as men of strong will and positive convictions will always surely do. He plotted no harm against any one, and sought no revenge, even when he did not forgive, not being of a forgiving race, for he was a McGregor, having kinship with Rob Roy.

Masonry will not soon lose as great a man, and she may well put dust upon her head and wear sackcloth in her Lodges, where, in Masonry, his heart always was.

Of course, as he grew old, he had his crosses and troubles, and fortune was not kind to him. Adversity may be profitable; but the world goes too hardly with too many of us; and Sallust truly says:

'*In luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum, esse:*'

'In grief and sorrows, death is a rest from troubles, and not a misfortune.'

A great man hath fallen in Israel; and, in the words of Pushmataha the Chahta Chief, it is like the falling of a huge oak in the woods. The fall will be heard afar off, and the sound be re-echoed from many and far-off lands.

Upon the reading of this letter in the Bodies of our Obedience, the altars and working-tools will be draped in black, and the Brethren will wear the proper badge of mourning during the space of sixty days. And may our Father Which is in Heaven have you always in His holy keeping!

Albert Pike 33d,

Grand Commander.

Supreme Council, 33°, A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite,

For the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the U. S.

:: ORIENT, BOSTON, MASS. ::

Office of the M.·. P.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander,

Milwaukee, Wis., July 10th, 1881.

The M.·. P.·. Sovereign Grand Commander, to all Free Masons of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of the obedience of the said Supreme Council.

Sorrow! Sorrow! Sorrow!

BRETHREN:

With profound sorrow I announce to you the decease of our Illustrious Brother ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY of the A.·.A.·.Scottish Rite of the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction of the U. S. He died at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, on the 20th of June, 1881. Bro.·. MACKEY was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 12th of March, 1807, and had long since passed the allotted span of three score years and ten.

For a full half century he had been an active, zealous Mason, always laboring where his work was most needed, to elevate and dignify Masonry and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness. During his long and active masonic career he honored many exalted official stations, the duties of all of which he discharged with signal fidelity. He was for many years Grand Secretary of the Grand

Lodge of South Carolina, "a Commander of Templars, Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of the State and General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States."

In the Ancient Accepted Rite he was the Dean of the Supreme Council of the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction, and at the time of his decease and for many years prior thereto, the Grand Secretary General of our sister Supreme Council. A ripe scholar and an accomplished writer, his taste naturally led him to enter the literary field of the craft, in which his labors were of immeasurable value to the Great Brotherhood he loved so well. The various works he prepared and published, and without which no masonic library is complete, have rendered his name a household word among the fraternity everywhere, and constitute a fitting monument of his love for masonry and his patient and intelligent labor in its behalf. After a long and useful life he has been called to rest, his departure leaving a void to be filled—when? by whom? Others may indeed extend and enlarge the work he commenced, but it was he who laid the foundation, and first reared the superstructure. In addition to the various text books prepared by him for the use of Lodges and Chapters, and his other works of a more general character, the Fraternity are more indebted to him than to any other one man for its present admirable system of masonic jurisprudence. When such a man falls, it is meet that his brethren, who alone can appreciate his entire worth, should deplore his loss.

While we tender our sincere sympathy to our Brethren of the Southern Jurisdiction, who were more immediately connected with our deceased Brother, we also feel the loss we have all sustained, and mingle our tears with theirs.

Let these letters be read in all the Bodies of our obedience at the first meeting thereof held after its receipt, and let the altars and working tools be draped with the usual badge of mourning for the space of sixty days.

Given at the Grand Orient, the day and year aforesaid.

A. L. Palmer 33
Gov. Gr. Com.

REPRINT

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND.

In Cruce stat securus Amor.

Washington, 24 June, 1881, A. O. 568.

The Brethren of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the United States will already have learned that their Brother, the Senior Provincial Grand Warden, SIR ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, closed his eyes upon this world, and his life here ended, at seven of the clock on the morning of the 20th day of this month of June. Worn and wasted by age and disease, he fell into unconsciousness a little while before he died, and his life passed painlessly away, as when one falls asleep.

He was born at Charleston, in South Carolina, on the 12th of March, 1807, and so was an old man. Made a Mason in 1831, he had laboured in Masonry during half a century, and the works of his brain, published for the use of Masonic Bodies and for the instruction of the Brethren, are known to all reading Masons at home, and to many abroad. By them he will be long remembered. He was a man of mark, who toiled in the Masonic field assiduously, an accomplished writer and impressive speaker, and one who made many friends, a genial and companionable man, whose death a host of Masons will regret.

I invite the Brethren of the Provincial Grand Lodge to wear with me the badge of mourning of the Order, on account of the death of this Veteran Brother and Knight, during the space of thirty days from the receipt of this letter.

Morte detur aliquando otium
Quiesque fessis.

Albert Pike
R. L. F.,
Prov'l Grand Master

THE HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF FREEMASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLS OF FREEMASONRY

AND THE

HISTORY OF THE A.·. A.·. SCOTTISH RITE

BY

WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, 33D

PART THREE

THE HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF FREEMASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES

SALUTATORY

HE death of Dr. Albert Gallatin Mackey, June 21, 1881, prevented the completion of his great work on the "History of Freemasonry." The preceding chapters, ending on page 1302, were all written by him, and, as he had contemplated continuing his labors until the whole history of the Masonic Orders and Degrees should have been completed, his publishers have complimented the present writer by selecting him to do, imperfectly as it will appear, what so able a writer as Dr. Mackey would have done, had his life been spared a little longer. Dr. Mackey's long and useful career as a Masonic savant and writer had endeared him to all Masonic students over the wide world of Masonry. Wherever the English language is spoken may be found the Masonic works of our distinguished brother. In the conclusion of the admirable "Historical Sketch of the Order of Knights Templar," by Theodore S. Gourdin, of Charleston, S. C., 1855, he says: "The history of our Order remains yet to be written. It can not be attempted by an American, alone and unaided. In fact, it can not be written at all in this country; for we have not the materials. But this great work can and ought to be undertaken by the Templars of the United States. . . . Let them select a Brother, who, from his great learning and his thorough knowledge of the principal modern languages, as well as the dead, is fully qualified for the work. I know but two brethren in the United States who are qualified to execute the work proposed: Bro. Albert G. Mackey, of Charleston, S. C.; and Bro. William S. Rockwell, of Milledgeville, Ga."

We thus see that, at as early a date as 1855, Bro. Mackey shared, with that other eminent and distinguished Brother, Rockwell, the highest reputation for scholarship among all the Masons of the United States. He then continues: "Then would a history be written worthy of our illustrious Order, and of the distinguished

body which governs it in this country! The author of such a work would earn, for himself, an immortal reputation, and each individual brother who contributed his mite would enjoy the delightful consciousness that the Masonic world was, in a measure, indebted to him for a work which would prove the great desideratum of the age."

The rapid and continued increase of the membership of the Templar Order has kept pace with the growth of the population of the United States, and the progress in all branches of human knowledge, in science, and arts, as we shall demonstrate when we give a history of the Order and show in each particular State, what is the present membership, and the great field for usefulness laid open and the prospect before us, for the great battles which are yet to come, between truth and error, light and darkness, ignorance and enlightenment, crime and obedience to lawful authority, fanaticism, bigotry, and persecution against toleration, liberality and freedom of thought

The Templars, in the Crusades, for two hundred years fought with material armor against the Infidels and Turks of Syria, but our modern Templars are engaged against more powerful and insidious foes, scattered everywhere in our midst. The Templars of the Crusades were carried from the West to the East, to fight for the Christianity as then known and practiced, a system of ignorance, the great parent of superstition, bigotry, fanaticism, intolerance, and persecution; these are the elements which finally culminated in the Middle Ages, in the Inquisition; and by which the Templar Order, for so many centuries the instrument of the Church of Christ in oppressing mankind, was totally destroyed, and the leaders burned at the stake by Clement V. and Philip the Fair, after they had no further use for them.

"God works in a mysterious way His purpose to fulfill!"

The Templars, now only such in name, may be the instruments of God, in turn, in the next century, to deliver His true children from the fangs of the monster who for so many ages has kept mankind, so far as they could be, within his power, in total ignorance of the TRUTH as it was, and is yet, in Christ the Lord, for whose sake and in whose name the original Templars fought, bled, and died upon so many hard-fought battle-fields of Syria. Let this thought be in the mind of every Knight Templar of the present day and in the future, whose eyes may see these words, written in the year 1899: That

this great country, beginning with a few emigrants from several European nations, bringing with them to Virginia, first, at Jamestown, the descendants of the pride and chivalry of Old England; then the Puritans in New England—while these differed greatly in their method of interpreting the Scriptures, they were yet agreed in the great principles therein inculcated, viz.: EQUALITY, FRATERNITY, AND LIBERTY.

These, the descendants of the Reformation, have grown from the original Thirteen Colonies, despised and looked down upon by the great monarchies of Europe and Asia, with scorn and sometimes with contempt. Now these scornful peoples begin to appreciate what is before them in the future.

We therefore say to the Commanderies, Preceptories, and Encampments, and also to each private member of the Knightly Order of the Temple, remember your vows of obedience to the Grand Master of all Temples. The sword which you wield is not a weapon of carnal warfare, but a symbol, whose significance you have learned, and should ever put in practice in the defence of *Truth*, not as explained by the Mother Church of the Middle Ages, for the purpose of propagating *error*, but the truth as so well understood by every Templar, and in whose cause he should be prepared to make every sacrifice, and perform his pilgrimage even to the loss of life while engaged therein, and remember that you shall reap your reward if ye faint not.

"Magna est Veritas, et prevalebit."

WILLIAM R. SINGLETON.

CHAPTER LI

GENERAL HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN KNIGHTHOOD

IN our examination of various authors who have written on Templarism, we have found it very difficult, if at all possible, to determine, categorically, when the American Rite of the "Commandery" was really formulated. We learn from ancient as well as recent writers that the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, Knights of St. John the Evangelist, and Knights of the Grand Cross were of a much earlier date than the Knights of the Templar Order. The Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine was the first Order of Christian Knights. The Knights of the Red Cross, which is the first degree conferred in the Commandery of Knight Templars in the United States, has no connection whatever with the Templar Order of the Crusades, nor the events in the history of the other Knightly Order of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine first above mentioned.

The real history of the present American degree of the Red Cross is, that it is composed of the 15th and 16th degrees of the A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·.; and the incidents commemorated therein are located at the time of the captivity of the Jews, after the destruction of King Solomon's Temple, and the return of the Jews to Palestine by direction of Cyrus, and after him by Darius the Persian monarch.

The original symbol of the red cross, which is a Christian symbol, has no place in the Ritual of the Commandery degree of Red Cross, which relates to the Jews in captivity and the Persian Court of that date. The first red cross of Constantine, with its motto, "*In hoc signo vinces*," was adopted by Constantine the Great as the "Labarum" from the following circumstance, according to tradition: The night before the battle between himself and Augustus Maxentius the sign of the cross appeared to him in the heavens, with the inscription "*In hoc signo vinces*" This battle has been called "*of*

Saxa Rubra," which was an ancient station on the "Flaminian Way," eight miles north of Rome, which meant "*red stones*."

Having been successful in defeating his opponent, Constantine, on December 25, A.D. 312, instituted a new order of knights, of the "Red Cross of Rome and Constantine." The red cross became a badge, and was worn on the right arm of each knight or on his shield, this insignia thereafter being the highest honor of knighthood.

The Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, some writers say, "was instituted by Constantine, at the prayer of his mother Helena, for the avowed purpose of protecting the Holy Sepulcher, and defending it from the enemies of the Christian faith. Only Knights of the Red Cross, by royal decree, were eligible for the Order." It is also said that Constantine "instituted the Order of Knight of the Grand Cross, which he conferred (in 326) on several of his generals and ministers, as a special mark of merit and distinction."

The same writers say: "After the death of Constantine (337) the popes of Rome claimed, and exercised, sovereign authority over the Order throughout Christendom, delegating to the Papal Nuncios and Cardinal Princes, at the various Catholic Courts, the right to nominate candidates for the Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine. Samuel Cole, in the *Freemason s Library*,[1] gives a list of the various Masonic degrees and says:

"In a later publication, 1816, we find the following list of Masonic degrees, which the author states are conferred on the Sublime Grand Lodges in Charleston, S. C., in the city of New York and in Newport, R. I.: No. 9 is Knight of the Red Cross; No. 10, Knight of Malta; No. 11, Knight of the Holy Sepulcher; No. 12, Knight of the Christian Mark; No. 13, Knight Templar. The degrees enumerated amount to forty-three. Besides these degrees there were ten others which were in the possession of most of the Inspectors given in different parts of the world, and which they generally communicate, free of expense, to those brethren who are high enough to understand them—such as Select Masons of 27, and the Royal Arch, as given under the Constitution of Dublin; six degrees of Maçonnerie d'Adoption, Compagnon Ecossais, le Maître Ecossais, et le

[1] "Freemason's Library" and General Ahiman Rezon. Baltimore, Md., 1826.

Grand Master Ecossais, etc., making, with the regular number of forty-three, in the aggregate fifty-three degrees.

"It will be well here to notice that the Select Masons of 27, which the Grand Chapter of Virginia *alone* retains in her curriculum and confers prior to the Royal Arch, was designed, by the Consistories of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of the last century, and by the Supreme Council of the A.·. A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite of 1802, *to follow the Royal Arch.* A great many of our distinguished Masons think that the Select of 27 should precede the Royal Arch, as, by its *chronology,* it does; but they forget that the same chronological circumstances occur in the present arrangement of the Mark degree, which not only follows the Fellow-Craft but also the Master's degree, while chronologically the events of the first section were prior to the completion of the Temple."

Cole thus refers to the Knight of the Red Cross: "After having, as we had supposed, satisfactorily shown that the Order of Knights Hospitalers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who were afterwards called Knights of Rhodes, and now Knights Templars and Knights of Malta, is indisputably the oldest order of knighthood in the world, we are suddenly transported into the distant regions of Persia, and instructed to believe that the Order of the Cross was instituted 520 years before the birth of Christ, namely during the reign of Darius."[1] This was written prior to 1826, and he continues: "This Order has not, until late years, been practiced in America. I have, indeed, conversed with well-informed knights, who received the degree in Ireland; perhaps it may have originated there—be that as it may, it has found its way into our books, and is practiced, though very imperfectly, in some of our encampments, usually preceding the degrees of Knights Templars and Knights of Malta. A reference to the foregoing list will show us that the author has given us two other degrees, which are intended to precede the two last mentioned, namely, Knights of the Holy Sepulcher and Knights of the Christian Mark. Nor shall we have cause to wonder, if, in the process of time, an attempt should be made to precede the important Degree of Knights Templars, etc., with that of Knight of the Golden Spur, Knight of the White Elephant, or of the Golden Fleece."

Cole does not seem to have been aware that the 15th and 16th

[1] Samuel Cole: "Freemason's Library," p. 321, 1826. Note.—Cole refers, of course, to the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine.—EDITOR.

degrees of the A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. were the materials for the so-called Red Cross, which has no connection historically with the Templarism of Christianity.

The Caleph Muez destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulcher, which was rebuilt by the Red Cross Knights and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, in 969. In 1093 Philip I., King of France, revived the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, and nominated his son, the Dauphin of France, as Grand Marshal. After the return of the Crusaders from the Holy Land, the Knights of the two Orders were called the first and second grades of the "Knight of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine."

From A.D. 337 to 1094 the Popes exercised sovereign authority over the Orders. In 1099 there was held a Grand Conclave of the Orders of the "Knights of the Red Cross and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher."

Addison says: "The Holy Sepulcher presented itself to the eyes of the pilgrims, surrounded by a magnificence which redoubled their veneration.

"An obscure cavern had become a marble temple paved with precious stones and decorated with splendid colonnades. To the east of the Holy Sepulcher appeared the Church of the Resurrection, in which they could admire the riches of Asia, mingled with the arts of Greece and Rome. Constantine celebrated the twenty-first year of his reign, A.D. 333, by the inauguration of this church, whose corner-stone had been planted under the auspices of his sainted mother, and thousands of Christians came, on occasion of this solemnity, to listen to the panegyric of Christ from the lips of the learned and holy Bishop Eusebius. St. Jerome, who, toward the end of the 4th century, had retired to Bethlehem for literary labors and religious solitude, informs us, in one of his letters, that pilgrims arrive in crowds in Judea, and that around the holy tomb the praises of the Son of God were to be heard uttered in many languages. From this period pilgrimages to the Holy Land were so numerous that several doctors and fathers of the Church thought it their duty to point out the abuses and dangers of the practice. They told Christians that long voyages might turn them aside from the path of salvation; that their God was not confined to one city; that Jesus Christ was everywhere where faith and good works were to be found. But such was the blind zeal which then drew Chris-

tians toward Jerusalem that the voices of the holy doctors were scarcely heard. The councils of enlightened piety were not able to abate the ardor of the pilgrims, who believed they should be wanting in faith and zeal if they did not adore Jesus Christ in the very places where, according to the expression of St. Jerome, 'the light of the Gospel first shone from the top of the Holy Cross.'

"As soon as the people of the West became converted to Christianity, they turned their eyes to the East. From the depths of France, from the forests of Germany, from all the countries of Europe, new Christians were to be seen hastening to visit the cradle of the faith they had embraced. An itinerary for the use of pilgrims served them as a guide from the banks of the Rhone and the Dordogne to the shores of the Jordan, and conducted them on their return from Jerusalem to the principal cities of Italy. When the world was ravaged by the Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals, pilgrimages to the Holy Land were not at all interrupted. Pious travelers were protected by the hospitable virtues of the barbarians, who began to respect the Cross of Christ, and sometimes even followed the pilgrims to Jerusalem. In these times of trouble and desolation a poor pilgrim who bore his scrip and staff often passed through fields of carnage and traveled without fear amidst armies which threatened the empires of the East and the West.

"Illustrious families of Rome came to seek an asylum at Jerusalem and by the tomb of Christ. Christians then found, on the banks of the Jordan, that peace which seemed banished from the rest of the world. This peace, which lasted several centuries, was not troubled before the reign of Heraclius, A.D. 610-641. Under this reign the armies of Chosroes, King of Persia, invaded Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The Holy City fell into the hands of the worshipers of fire. The conquerors bore away into captivity vast numbers of Christians and profaned the churches of Jesus Christ. All the faithful deplored the misfortunes of Jerusalem, and shed tears when they learned that the King of Persia had carried off, among the spoil of the vanquished, the Cross of the Saviour, which had been preserved in the Churches of the Resurrection."[1]

At the Council of Clermont in Auvergne, November, 1095, Pope Urban addressed himself to all the nations represented at

[1] "Addison," p. 66.

the council, and particularly to the French, who formed the majority:

"Nation beloved by God," said he, "it is in your courage that the Christian Church has placed its hope. It is because I am well acquainted with your piety and your bravery that I have crossed the Alps and am come to preach the word of God in these countries. You have not forgotten that the land which you inhabit has been invaded by the Saracens, and but for the exploits of Charles Martel (A.D. 732) and Charlemagne (A.D. 768-800), France would have received the laws of Mohammed. Recall without ceasing, to your minds, the dangers and glory of your fathers. Led by heroes, whose names shall never die, they delivered your country, they saved the West from shameful slavery. More noble triumphs await you under the guidance of the God of armies. You will deliver Europe and Asia; you will save the city of Jesus Christ—that Jerusalem which was chosen by the Lord, and from whence the law is to come to us."

As Urban proceeded, the sentiments by which he was animated penetrated to the very souls of his auditors. When he spoke of the captivity and misfortunes of Jerusalem, the whole assembly was dissolved in tears; when he described the tyranny and the perfidy of the Infidels, the warriors who listened to him clutched their swords and swore in their hearts to avenge the cause of the Christians.

"When Jesus Christ summons you to his defense, let no base affections detain you in your homes. See nothing but the shame and the evils of the Christians; listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember well what the Lord has said to you: He who loves his father or his mother more than Me is not worthy of Me; whoever will abandon his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his inheritance, for the sake of My name, shall be recompensed a hundred-fold, and possess life eternal."

At these words the auditors of Urban displayed an enthusiasm that human eloquence had rarely before inspired. The assembly arose in one mass as one man and answered him with the unanimous cry, "Dieu le veut! Dieu le veut!" "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" "Yes, without doubt, it is the will of God," continued the eloquent Urban; "you to-day see the accomplishment of the word of our Saviour, who promised to be in the

midst of the faithful when assembled in His name. It is He who has dictated to you the words that I have heard. Let them be your war-cry, and let them announce everywhere the presence of the God of armies." On finishing these words, the Pontiff exhibited to the assembled Christians the sign of their redemption. "It is Christ himself," said he to them, "who issues from His tomb, and presents to you His Cross. It will be the sign raised among the nations, which is to gather together again the dispersed Children of Israel. Wear it upon your shoulders and upon your breasts. Let it shine upon your arms and upon your standards. It will be to you the surety of victory or the palm of martyrdom. It will unceasingly remind you that Christ died for you, and that it is your duty to die for him."

When Urban had ceased to speak, loud acclamations burst from the multitude. Pity, indignation, despair at the same time agitated the tumultuous assembly of the faithful. Some shed tears over Jerusalem and the fate of the Christians. Others swore to exterminate the race of the Mussulmans. But all at once, at a signal from the Sovereign Pontiff, the most profound silence prevailed-Cardinal Gregory, afterward St. Innocent IL, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a form of General Confession, the assembly all fell upon their knees, beat their breasts, and received absolution for their sins.[1]

Joseph François Michaud, in his *History of the Crusades,* states: "To the feudal Princes, assembled in the Holy Land in A.D. 1099, belongs the glory and honor of reviving the Order of the 'Knights of the Holy Sepulcher.' The Order was conferred on the Knights of the Red Cross for rare personal valor and courage. Every recruit receiving the Order of 'Knight of the Holy Sepulcher,' or that of 'Knight of St. John,' was required to wear a Red Cross on his arm or shield."

In 1100 the Crusaders of every country carried the banner of the Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine.

A Grand Conclave of that Order assembled in Rome, May, 1119. Emperor Michael Angelo Comnenus was chosen Sovereign Grand Master. The Sovereign Grand Council issued an edict limiting the active membership of Knights of the Grand Cross to fifty

[1] McCoy's "Addison," pp. 87, 88.

Sir Knights in each kingdom or independent country, and that a Grand Cross Knight shall have precedence, in all assemblies of Sir Knights of the Red Cross, immediately after the Sovereign Grand Master.

Pope Innocent III. urged the Knights of the Red Cross, Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, and Knights of St. John to overthrow the Infidels in Constantinople in 1193. Richard of England in 1195 was proclaimed Sovereign Grand Master of the Knights of Rome and Constantine, and Senior Knight of the Grand Cross, by the Duke of Burgundy, for valorous services in front of Jerusalem. After the return of the Crusaders (1200), to about 1654, the history of the Order of Knights of Rome and Constantine is somewhat uncertain. No General Assembly was held. The Kings of Spain and France and the Emperor of Germany asserting sovereignty by Divine authority in their respective countries. In 1270 the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, under the leadership of the monarch of France, a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order, drove the Mohammedans out of Carthage. In 1460 the germs of a new civilization had been scattered over Europe by this Order. They opened up the East to the nations of Europe and brought Asia and Europe in closer relations. In 1550 Father Boniface, a Prior of the Order, was appointed Warden of the Holy Sepulcher, by Pope Julius III. The Orders of Red Cross, Holy Sepulcher, and St. John were resuscitated in England, the first conclave being instituted by the German embassador to the Court of St. James, February, 1688. The Abbe Guistiniani, a Venetian priest of great learning, while visiting England, May, 1692, conferred these three Orders, of Red Cross, Holy Sepulcher, and of St. John, on several of the attachés of the English Court. The Abbé was the first writer to gather, prepare, and preserve the traditions and rituals of the Order as now existing. Sir Bernard Burke says: "*Duke Francis I.*, of Parma, of the house of Farnese, was installed (September, 1699) Grand Master of the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine with much pomp."

Baron Hunde states: "The great and rapid progress of Freemasonry on the European Continent is largely due to the efforts of the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine." He also credits the Knights of the Red Cross as being the true Templars and as the only Order of Christian Knighthood that has had a regular

succession since it was instituted in 312. After the Royal Arch degree was introduced into English Freemasonry prior to 1760. Many companies of the Royal Arch, in England, petitioned the local conclaves to modify the ancient *landmarks* of the Order, in *the interest and welfare of Royal Arch Masonry,* by changing the qualifications of membership in the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine and the Appendant Orders, from a *Master Mason* to *Royal Arch Mason.* From time immemorial a Master Mason, if a believer in the Christian religion, has been the qualification necessary for membership. In January, 1760, the Grand Masters of the English and Scottish Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine assembled in London, and adopted as a requirement for Knighthood in the Order that the applicant be a Royal Arch Mason and a believer in the Christian religion.

At Charleston, S. C., November 12, 1783, in St. Andrew's F. & A. M. Lodge, the Order of Knight of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine was conferred on a class of eight, a dispensation having been obtained in England by a retired British officer, then residing in Charleston. This is the second authentic account of the conferring of the Order in America.

The history of the Order of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine and also of Masonry being both silent as to the first connection of these two, there is some authority in the statement of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Masons of England, that (in 1788) all the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of England and Scotland received the Order of Knight of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine on their election, and before being installed as a Grand Officer. The retiring Grand Master, if he served two or more terms, receiving the Order of Knight of the Grand Cross on retiring from the Grand East. Masonry and Knights of the Red Cross evidently became closely allied early in the 17th century. All of the above extracts, referring to the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, and Knights of St. John, have been taken, with some slight alterations of language, from a small pamphlet, issued by C. L. Stowell, K. T. 33°, Sovereign Grand Master of the Knights "of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine," and Thos. Leahy, K. T. 32°, Grand Registrar General—which pamphlet is an addition to the literature on the subject of the Knightly "Appendant Orders," and shows the chronological se-

quence of those degrees from their origin and present connection with Freemasonry, through the degree of Knights of Malta—which at present is conferred after the degree of Knight Templar.[1]

ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmography of the World* (1660), says;

"The Chief Orders of Knighthood in this Kingdom (Jerusalem), after the recovery from the power of the *Turks,* were:

"1. Of the *Sepulcher,* said to be instituted originally (A.D. 314) by Queen *Helena,* the Mother of *Constantine* the Great, by whom the Temple of the *Sepulcher* was indeed first built; but more truly by *Philip,* King of France, *Anno* 1099, at such time as that Temple was regained from the *Turks.* The Arms, the same with that of the Kings (the Arms of the Christian Kings in *Hierusalem* was *Luna,* a cross Crosset, crossed, *Sol,* which was commonly called the *Hierusalem* Cross), representing the five wounds of our Saviour CHRIST. At the first, conferred on none but Gentlemen of blood and fortunes, now (A.D. 1660) salable to any that will buy it of the *Pater-Guardian* who with a Convent of *Franciscans* doth reside near that Temple.

"2. Of Saint *John* of *Hierusalem,* begun by one Gerrard, *Anno* 1114, and confirmed by *Pope Paschalis* the second. Their Badge or Cognizance is a White Cross of eight points. Their duty to defend the *Holy Land,* relieve Pilgrims, and succor *Christian* Princes against the Infidels. They were to be of Noble Parentage and Extraction; and grew in time to such infinite riches, especially after the suppression of the *Templars* (most of whose lands were after given to the Order), that they had at one time in the several parts of *Christendom* no fewer than 20,000 Mannors; and of such reputation in all Christian Kingdoms, that in *England* the Lord Prior of this Order was accounted the prime Baron in the *Realm.* But now (1660) their Revenue is not a little diminished, by the withdrawing of the Kings of *England,* and other Protestant Princes, from the Church of *Rome;* who on that change seized on all the Lands of that Order in their several Countries, and either kept them to themselves, or disposed them to others, as they pleased.

[1] See Mackey in chapters xxviii.-xxix., ante.

Their first *Great Master* was that *Gerrard* by whom they were founded; the last that had his residence in the *Holy Land* was one *John D. Villers,* in whose time, being driven out of *Palestine,* they removed unto *Cyprus,* and in the time of *Fulk de Villaret, Anno* 1309, to the Isle of *Rhodes.* Outed of which by *Solomon* the *Magnificent, Anno* 1522, they removed from one place to another, till at last by the magnificence of Charles V., *Anno* 1530, they were settled in *Malta;* and there we shall speak further of them,

"3. Of the *Templars,* instituted by *Hugh of Pagennes, Anno* 1113, and confirmed by *Pope Eugenius.* Their ensign was a *red cross,* in token that they should shed their blood to defend *Christ's* Temple. They were buried *cross-legged,* and wore on their backs the figure of a Cross; for which they were by the common people called Cross-backs, and by corruption *crook-backs.* Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, second son to *Henry* the Third, being of this Order, was vulgarly called Edmund *Crook-back;* which gave *Henry* the Fourth a foolish occasion to feign that this *Edmund* (from whom he was descended) was indeed the eldest son of King Henry the Third, but for his *crookedness* and *deformity,* his younger brother was preferred to the Crown before him. These knights had in all Provinces of *Europe* their subordinate Governors, in which they possessed no less than 16000 Lordships; the greatness of which revenue was not the least cause of dissolving the Order. For *Philip the Fair,* King of France, had a plot to invest one of his sons with the Title of *King of Hierusalem,* and hoped to procure of the Pope the revenue of this Order to be laid unto that Kingdome, for support of the Title: which he thought he might the better do, because Clement the V., then Pope, for the love he bore to *France,* had transferred his seat from *Rome* to *Avignon.* But herein his hopes deceived him; for this Order being dissolved, the lands thereunto belonging were given to the Knights *Hospitallers* or of St. *John.* The crimes objected against this Order were—first, their revolt from their professed obedience unto the Patriarch of *Jerusalem,* who was their Visitor. Secondly, their unspeakable pride; and, Thirdly, their sins against Nature. The House of our Law-Students in London called the *Temple* was the chief house of the Knights of this Order *in England;* and was, by the Knights of St. *John,* whose principle Mansion was in *Smithfield,* sold unto the Students of the

Laws, for the yearly rent of 10*l*., about the Middle of the reign of Edward III. These three Orders M. Seiden (and deservedly) put not in his *Title of honour*, in that they were prohibited to kiss a woman; honorary Knighthood and the love of Ladies going together, like Virtue and Reward."

KNIGHTS TEMPLARS DURING THE SEVEN CRUSADES FROM 1118 TO 1291.

Hugo de Paganis, after arriving in Palestine, as a Crusader and pilgrim, finding that the Moslem inhabitants infested the approaches to Jerusalem and other sacred places, and persecuted such pilgrims as were not in sufficient numbers to protect themselves, gathered with him eight other companions, viz.: Godefroi de St. Aldemar, Roral, Gundemar, Godefroi Bisol, de Montdidier, Archibald de St. Aman, Andrew de Montbar, and the Count of Provence, and bound themselves to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in A.D. 1118, "to guard the approaches to the Holy City, so that pilgrims to the sacred places might have easy access; to live as regular Canons of the Church, under the Benedictine rule; and to fight for the King of Heaven and the Bride of Christ, in chastity, obedience, and self-denial. In 1119 Hugo de Paganis became the first Master. The palace of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem, which had been a Mosque on Mount Moriah—which Mount constitutes now the Haram Es Sheriff—and then was known as "Solomon's Temple," was assigned to them as their quarters.[1] This Mosque, after many vicissitudes from the time of its first erection, is at the present day called the "Mosque of Omar," because at one time in its history he was supposed to have been its builder, but it has been well determined by good authority that he was not; but when he conquered Jerusalem, between A.D. 640 and 644, he put it in thorough repair.[2]

[1] In consequence of the services to the Christians performed by the "Poor Fellow Soldiers," Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, gave them for a habitation, for hitherto they seem to have had no fixed place of abode, "the palace or royal house to the South of the Temple of the Lord, vulgarly called the Temple of Solomon" (Addison). There seems to be confusion in this locality, by different writers, owing to the ignorance concerning the various buildings on this site.—EDITOR.

[2] Mosque of Omar or *Kubbet es Sakra* (Dome of the Rock). This building, which is on the Platform or Original Site of Solomon's Temple, is an Octagon of 66 feet to each

From this palace, or "Solomon's Temple," these Knights took the name of "Templars," and were also called "poor fellow soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon." They had every one of them seen hard service under the leadership of Godefroi de Bouillon, and were well qualified to render efficient service in aid of pilgrims and all others requiring their assistance.

Their fame and valuable services soon spread over all Europe, and many of the sons of noble houses were induced to enter into this body, so distinguished by its acts of benevolence and charity. The Order was brought prominently to the especial notice of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, by whom a pastoral was issued praising the valor and extolling the merits of the Templars. At the Council of Troyes, in 1128, statutes were formulated for the new Order. Seventy-two rules of discipline were adopted, which met the concurrence of Pope Honorius II. and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. So rapid was the growth of this Order that they had been established in every kingdom of Latin Christendom. Domains in Normandy were granted to them by Henry I. of France. In 1129 they were established in Castile, in 1131 in Rochelle, in Languedoc in 1136, in Rome in 1138, in Brittany in 1141. The White Mantle was chosen to be worn to distinguish them from the Hospitalers, who wore a robe of black. The Red Cross was added in 1146 by Pope Eugenius III., to be placed on the breast as a symbol that the Order was expected to invite martyrdom.

Hugo de Paganis, the first Master of the Templars, visited England, and many English knights followed him to Palestine as Members of the Order. Among these was Fulk, Count of Anjou, who afterward was King of; Jerusalem, in 1131. Hugo de Paganis died in 1136.

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side, having four porticoes and a range of pointed windows incrusted with beautifully colored Persian tiles. Within are two concentric ranges of columns and square pillars—the interior range supporting the drum of the magnificent dome, which is nearly 100 feet in height and over 60 feet in diameter. Within the central range is a rock 60 x 50 feet rising seven feet above the pavement—tradition saying that it was upon this rock Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac. Underneath this rock is a cave—a chamber 14 x 16 feet, in which the Mohammedans now worship. The walls and the drum are covered with beautiful Byzantine Mosaics of different dates, and the windows are filled with splendid sixteenth century colored glass. It is supposed that this Mosque was originally a very early Byzantine church. It was no doubt greatly improved by Omar, when the Mohammedans occupied Jerusalem. Some writers say, by Abd-el-Malek Ibn Marwan, before the time of Omar.

Robert de Craou, a nephew of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Paganis as Grand Master of the Order.

The Second Crusade was excited by the troubles and dangers to which the Christians of Syria were exposed from the conquering arms of the Turks, who defeated the Franks at Antioch, and had taken Edessa, and threatened the destruction of all the Christian kingdoms of Syria. In this crusade Everard de Baris, the third Master of the Templars, was greatly renowned for his deeds of valor. This crusade, as before stated, was incited by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux in Champagne, who was distinguished for his learning and devotion. Under Louis VIL, King of France, and Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, two immense armies marched for the Holy Land—this was in 1147. Manuel Comnenus, the Greek Emperor, through whose country the armies marched, by his treacherous conduct, caused great and a long series of disasters. A fruitless attempt was made to take Damascus, and the expedition was finally abandoned; only a small remnant of this vast host returned to Europe. Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, in 1187 caused a Third Crusade to be started. Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany; Philip Augustus, King of France; and Richard I. of England, were the Leaders of this crusade. In 1189 the Emperor of Germany set out first, but unfortunately died of a fever caused by imprudently bathing in the Orontes River, the modern Nahr-el-Asi, the chief river in Northern Syria; it flows past Antioch, and empties into the Mediterranean Sea. His army was then joined to the forces of the other two monarchs at Acre. Nearly two years were passed by these armies in the siege of Acre before it was surrendered, although Saladin made every effort to relieve the defenders. Nine battles were fought, and over 100,000 Christians perished during the siege. Unfortunately, from the peculiar temperaments of Philip of France and Richard of England, they could not agree; and Philip returned to Europe. Richard led his army to Ascalon and defeated Saladin; but was finally driven from Jerusalem. Richard performed prodigies of valor during this crusade, by which the admiration of the Saracens was excited, and from which he derived his name of "Cœur de Lion." He made a treaty with Saladin, by which the pilgrims were protected from injury and oppression; he then returned to Europe, in 1192. Saladin died in 1193; the unity of his empire was destroyed. The Sultans of Damascus, Egypt,

and Aleppo became hostile to each other, and the Christians of Syria were not molested for many years. Pope Innocent III., in 1203, promoted the Fourth Crusade. At Venice an extensive armament was fitted out. The expedition, however, was diverted from its true mission against the Mohammedans, and, led by Baldwin, Count of Flanders, proceeded against Constantinople. In 1204 the Crusaders took this city, and then founded there the Latin dynasty of emperors who continued to fill the throne for fifty-six years.

Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, in 1228 led the Fifth Crusade, and it was ended by a treaty which he made with the Sultan of Egypt, according to which Palestine was ceded to Frederick, and free toleration granted to the two faiths of Christianity and Mohammedanism. By this arrangement the Christians lived in Jerusalem in peace and prosperity, until the Mongols, in the middle of the 13th century, disturbed this harmony.

Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France, in consequence of the capture and pillage of Jerusalem by the barbarous Mongols, in 1249, undertook the Sixth Crusade. After he had taken Damietta he was completely defeated by the Sultan of Egypt and taken prisoner; but was, in 1250, ransomed by his subjects. In alliance with Prince Edward (afterward Edward I.), son of Henry III. of England, St. Louis undertook the Seventh and last Crusade, in 1269, because of the capture of Antioch by the Mame-luke[1] Sultan of Egypt. Louis went to Africa, expecting to receive the King of Tunis as a convert to Christianity; he, however, found him to be a determined enemy. A pestilence having seized upon the French camp, they perished by thousands upon the burning sands. St. Louis died in his tent; and his son, after making a treaty with the King of Tunis, returned to France. Prince Edward, who at the age of fifteen had been married (August 5, 1254) to Eleanora of Castile (infanta donna), not ten years of age, sister of King Alphonso, surnamed the "Astronomer," proceeded to Palestine, accompanied by his wife, who, leaving her three infants in England at Windsor, met her lord at Bordeaux, and from thence they sailed to Ptolomais, and in that campaign he won a great battle and stormed Nazareth. Embarking at Cyprus he won another victory, June, 1271, at Cahow.

[1] Mame-luke, meaning in Arabic *slave.*

The Saracens became greatly alarmed, and an attempt was made against Edward by the prince of the Assassins, called the "Old Man of the Mountains." He employed a fanatic, who, pretending to be a Christian convert, was admitted to the presence of Edward, aimed a dagger at his side, but stabbed him in the arm. Although wounded as he was, he overcame and killed the assassin before his attendants reached him. Being fearful that the weapon had been poisoned, for the wound turned black, when the Master of the Temple and the doctors recommended incision, the Princess Eleanora, agonized at what her lord had to suffer, cried and lamented, until his brother Edmund said: "My sister, it is better you should cry than all England weep." Edward, holding out his arm, bade his surgeons "cut away and spare not, he would bear it," and told his favorite knight, John de Vesci, to "carry the Princess away from a sight not fit for her to witness." Sir John carried her away to her ladies, she shrieking and struggling all the time. The surgical operation was effectual, and, owing to Edward's virtue of temperance and Eleanora's tender care of him, he was convalescent in fifteen days.[1]

The forces of Edward, having been greatly reduced by sickness and want, prepared to leave the Holy Land, where his wife had given birth to a daughter, celebrated under the name of "Joanna of Acre," in which city she was born, and who afterward married Gilbert de Clare, the first nobleman of England. On their arrival in Sicily sad news met them—that their heir, Prince John, had died suddenly, and his brother Henry also. A messenger arrived on the third day, announcing that Edward's royal sire, Henry III., had expired, and Edward was now King of England. He had borne the loss of his sons with firmness, but was thrown into agonies upon the news of his father's death. When surprise was expressed at this he replied, "Eleanora may bring me more sons, but the loss of a father can never be replaced."

This closed the era of the Crusades. Antioch had fallen by the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, and the inhabitants were slaughtered or carried into slavery in 1268. All the other towns in Syria, successively, were reduced and fell into the hands of the Mohammedans excepting Acre, which for some time was the seat of the Christians. It was captured by the Sultan in 1291, and 60,000 of its inhabitants

[1] Agnes Strickland, "Queens of England," 1871, p. 97.

were massacred or sent into slavery. Soon afterward all the churches and fortifications of the Latin Christians throughout Syria were destroyed.

We might with some profit here pause, and reflect upon the wonderful effect that resulted from these vast and religious wars, between the Western Christian nations and the hordes of ignorant and benighted Mohammedan believers of the East, which successively followed from the First Crusade in 1096. No less than 275,000 men, mostly the dregs of the population of the various nations of Europe, were commanded by a religious fanatic, Peter the Hermit. The first detachment, under Walter the Penniless, was destroyed by the Bulgarians, a few only succeeding in reaching Constantinople, where those led by Peter himself joined with them. After many difficulties a part of these succeeded in reaching Asia Minor, opposite Constantinople, where, upon the plains of Nice, they were defeated with great slaughter by the Turkish Sultan. A third and fourth expedition met with similar misfortune. However, the real Crusaders very soon thereafter arrived at Constantinople, who consisted of six armies of veteran soldiers, who were commanded by the most skillful and experienced commanders of that age: Godfrey of Bouillon; Duke of Lorrain; Hugh the Great, brother of Philip I., King of France; Robert, son of William the Conqueror of England; Count Robert of Flanders; Bo'he-Mond, Count of Tarentum, with his cousin, the noble and illustrious Tancred; and Count Raymond of Toulouse; amounting to nearly 600,000 men.

This force, under these noble leaders, defeated Sultan Sol'i-man, and took possession of his capital, Nice, in 1097, and afterward marched on to Syria, and besieged and took Antioch, in 1098, after seven months' siege; during which time Peter the Hermit, with multitudes of others, deserted the Crusaders. The Persian Sultan, having sent an immense army of Mohammedans to aid the others, they were also defeated and routed. The Crusaders then marched to Jerusalem, and found their numbers reduced to 40,000. This city surrendered to the Crusaders in 1099, after a short siege; and Godfrey de Bouillon was unanimously chosen King. Soon thereafter he met the Sultan of Egypt, with an immense army, at Ascalon, and there defeated him.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem, in a short time, was extended, until

it embraced the whole of Palestine; nearly all or the best parts of Asia Minor were restored to the Eastern Empire; Bohemond was made Prince of Antioch. At this time the two Orders of Knights Hospitalers of St. John and Knights Templars above referred to were founded, "and for nearly fifty years the three Latin principalities or Kingdoms of the East—viz.: *Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem*—maintained themselves against the Mohammedans, and increased in power and wealth."

Then a Turkish Emir, who, having been made Governor of Aleppo, had defeated the Franks at Antioch, had taken Edessa, and threatened the destruction of all the Christian Kingdoms in Syria.

The influence of these crusades, extending from 1090 to 1291, a period of two hundred years, was very evident upon the European nations who had so repeatedly furnished their contingents to supply the armies who fought so hard and through so many difficulties in that unfavorable climate of Syria. In reading the accounts of these various crusades we are constantly reminded that in nearly every successful battle the conduct of the brave and gallant Knights Templars insured a complete victory.

The great reputation which they gained caused a constant increase of their numbers from the very best elements of the higher classes in Europe—and a constant increase of lands and monasteries and other estates. The political and social improvement of the nations of Europe followed. They tended to break up the feudal system, and the great barons were compelled to sell their extensive estates, in order to get the means of paying for the equipments of their armies; and their estates were divided up among the people generally. Popular freedom was given to towns and cities, with political privileges, in return for contributions of money to pay for troops and equipments. Commerce was encouraged by the demand for so many ships to transport such immense amounts of supplies and men—and every branch of trade was greatly stimulated and increased to furnish arms, equipments, and food supplies. Knowledge was diffused among the people, who formerly were almost as ignorant of the outer world as their domestic animals. There was in those two centuries a wonderful advance in science, art, and literature. The Greek and Saracenic civilization was soon imbibed by those who visited the East, and on their

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return to Europe, their own countries soon felt the influence in every branch of human knowledge.

Among those who returned, and thus impressed at home the great improvement in manners and customs, none were more influential than the Knights of the several Orders. Their influence was greater by far than any others who were fortunate to return; and consequently, according to human nature everywhere, these Orders became distasteful to all classes by their arrogant and tyrannical conduct, both to high and low; until the King of France, Philip the Fair, and Pope Clement V., for their own selfish purposes, and to gain the wealth of these Orders, determined to suppress them, which resulted in, first, their imprisonment for several years, until the plot was ripe; then by their execution, after the minds of the people had become sufficiently reconciled to their suppression.

During A.D. 1118, some writers say 1188, according to a Swedish Legend, "the Rose Croix came from the East into Europe, to propagate the doctrine of Jesus. Three of them founded in Europe the Order of Masons of the East [some writers say that our *Knight of the Red Cross* may probably have been derived from this degree], to serve as a preparatory seminary for those pupils whom they intended to instruct in the most sublime sciences."[1]

To Ormesius, a priest of Alexandria in Egypt, is attributed the origin of the Order of Rose Croix. He with six others embraced Christianity at the solicitation of St. Mark the Evangelist, A.D. 46.[2] This tradition may be reconciled with the tradition of the formation of the Order of the Temple in Paris, which declares that the "Order of the East gave birth to the Order of the Temple; that, in Ancient Egypt, we find the cradle of the Order of the East." Also, "the Swedish brethren," as Reghellini observes, "have always enjoyed in the Order a very brilliant reputation for their learning; the proof of which is that all nations have adopted, in the Master's degree, the *distress sign* as it was established in the catechism of their symbolic degrees."[3] This, however, can not be reconciled with that, which gives the origin of the Rose Croix, by the admission of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem of 27,000 Scottish Masons, who had given their

[1] "La Maçonnerie," tome ii., p. 431.

[2] Ibid., tome ii., p. 431. "Acta. Lat.," tome i., p. 336.

[3] "La Maçonnerie," tome ii., p. 430.

aid to the Christian Princes during the wars of the First Crusade, as given by Oliver[1] and several others.[2] Addison says[3]: "That the first authentic notice of an intention on the part of the Hospitalers to occupy themselves with military matters occurs in the bull of Pope Innocent the Second, A.D. 1130." It is very probable that the latter Order was not of a military character at this time.

The Order of the Templars, by the exertions of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, was greatly extended throughout Europe. The church, through the Pope and clergy, was enlisted in their favor. A code or set of rules was given them, afterward confirmed by a Papal Bull. Large grants of land, and also money, were made to the Templars, after the visit of Hugo de Payens,to Normandy, England, and Scotland, as before mentioned (A.D. 1128). According to Reghellini, "Eighty-one Masons, under the conduct of Garimont, Patriarch of Jerusalem, crossed into Europe, in 1150" (date probably erroneous). "They went to the Bishop of Upsala, in Eastern Sweden, who received them very favorably, and by this means the Bishop was initiated into the mysteries brought from the Copts; afterward they intrusted to him the sacred depot of these doctrines, rites, and mysteries. The Bishop of Upsala took care to conceal them in the subterranean vault of the tower of the four crowns, which at that time was the treasure-house of the King of Sweden. Nine of these Masons, among whom was Hugo de Payens, established in Europe the Order of the Templars, who subsequently received the depot, which had been given to the Bishop of Upsala, which held the doctrines, dogmas, and mysteries of the Coptic Priests. Reghellini adds: "It was by this action that the Templars became the conservators and guardians of the mysteries, rites, and ceremonies brought from the East by the Masons and the Levites of the true light."[4] Hugo of the Temple, as he is sometimes called, before he left England, appointed a Prior to govern[5] the Order in England.

The enthusiasm which prevailed in favor of the Templars was so great over Europe at this time that the King of Navarre bequeathed his kingdom to the Order. Most of the Barons of Navarre and Aragon ratified the act; notwithstanding which, the claims of the Templars were afterward successfully resisted. After Hugo had

[1] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 135, note 40.
[2] "Dalcho's Oration," Appendix, note A, p. 66, Lexicon. [3] "Addison," p. 55.
[4] "La Maçonnerie," tome i., p. 437. [5] "Addison," p. 27.

laid the foundations of the Order, he returned to Jerusalem and was greeted with great distinction (A.D. 1129), and a grand Council of War was called; soon after which he died.

Hugo de Payens was succeeded by Robert de Craou, surnamed the Burgundian, son-in-law of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1136, who became a Templar after the death of his wife. The Templars were defeated in several battles by Zenghis and Noureddin, and lost several towns, the principal one being Edessa. In consequence of these defeats application was made to the Pope for assistance by the clergy of the Eastern Churches, and he commissioned St. Bernard to preach the Second Crusade. In 1146 Everard des Barres, or de Barri, succeeded; Lord Robert convened a general chapter at Paris, where the Second Crusade was arranged. The Red Cross was permitted to be worn by the Templars by Eugenius III. In 1148 the red cross banner was first unfurled in battle, it is supposed, at Damascus. It was a white standard, having in the center the blood-red cross, the symbol of martyrdom. Reghellini supposes the origin of this symbol to be of the highest antiquity. The Second Crusade having been a failure, the Master returned with King Louis to Paris. The Templars could only collect one hundred and twenty knights and one thousand serving brethren to recover the province of Antioch, which had been invaded by the enemy. The Master abdicated, and spent the rest of his life in the Monastery of Clairvaux.

He was succeeded by a nobleman of illustrious family of Burgundy, in France, Bernard de Tremelay, a valiant and experienced soldier, who was chosen Master in 1151. The Infidels were defeated near Jerusalem (1152) in a night attack, and driven to the Jordan, five thousand being left dead on the plain near the ford. Against this victory a disastrous defeat was encountered by the Templars, who in 1153 attempted to take the city of Ascalon. "They penetrated, at dawn of day, through a breach in the wall, reached the center of the town, were surrounded by the Infidels, and 'slain to a man.' Their bodies were exposed in triumph from the walls."

Bertrand de Blanquefort, of a noble family of Guienne, a pious and God-fearing man, succeeded to the Mastership in 1154. The enemy captured him, with Otho, the Marshal, and eighty-five others in an ambuscade near Tiberias in 1156. Shortly thereafter, *thirty* Knights Templars put to flight, slaughtered, and captured two hundred Infidels. At the instance of Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of

Constantinople, the Master was liberated (1158). In 1167 "Philip of Naplous became Master; he was the first Master who had been born in Palestine. He had been lord of the fortresses of Krak and Montreal in Arabia Petræa; having assumed the habit and taken che vows of the Order of the Temple, after the death of his wife." Philip resigned his office in 1170, and Odo de St. Amand, of undoubted courage and resolution, succeeded as Master of the Temple, according to William, Archbishop of Tyre, "having the fear neither of God or man before his eyes." In 1168, because the Master of the Temple refused to invade Egypt, in violation of certain treaties, Gilbert d'Assalit, the Guardian of the Hospitalers, the friend and confident of Almaric, King of Jerusalem, armed the Hospitalers as a great Military Society, in imitation of the Templars.

Egypt having been unjustifiably invaded by the Christian Knights, without the Templars, Saladin crossed the desert with 40,000 horse and foot, and after ravaging the borders of Palestine, advanced to and laid siege to Gaza, but was forced to retire again into Egypt by the Templars.

After this the Templars and Hospitalers became the guardians of the *true cross*—the former marched on the right, and the latter on the left of the sacred emblem.

The Templars conquered the Assassins in 1172, and their chief, "the Old Man of the Mountains," was forced to sue for peace. Near Ascalon, in a battle (November 1, 1177), "the Infidels were defeated. Odo with *eighty* Knights broke through the famous guard of Mamelooks, slew their commander, and forced Saladin to fly, almost naked, on a fleet dromedary." At the battle of Jacob's Ford, " where there was much hard fighting, the Master of the Hospital, covered with wounds, having fled, and the Count of Tripoli also, the Templars were all killed or taken prisoners and the Master Odo de St. Amand fell into the hands of the enemy. The fortress was burned down, and all the Templars taken in the place were sawn in two except the most distinguished."

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE MARTYRDOM OF DE MOLAY AND OTHERS.

During the difficulties between Philip, King of France, and Boniface VIII., the Templars coincided with the Pope. The King had issued coin below the proper standard, which caused a rebellion, and as the rents of the Templars were very great, they were thought by the King to be the instigators of the disaffection. The King determined to be revenged, and was not long in finding someone suited to his purpose. The evidence of the party who, to obtain the royal pardon, gave his testimony, was merely "hearsay," but two apostates from the Order, who were expelled and condemned to imprisonment for their crimes, corroborated this testimony. This information was treasured up by the King, to be made use of at the right time. Clement, an unprincipled man, in order to gain the summit of his ambition, had pledged himself on the holy sacrament to comply with a condition of which he was then ignorant. He became the instrument of the vindictive and wily monarch. This Order, which had been for one hundred and seventy years the admiration of all Christendom, its members having shed freely their blood, and given thousands of lives to defend Christianity, and lavished their treasures in defense of the Cross against the Infidels, were declared to be heretics and apostates; they were accused of the blackest crimes, all of which were impossible. All the Templars in French dominions were simultaneously arrested and cast into prison. Tortures of every kind were unsparingly applied. Some, to escape these horrible pains, confessed these crimes and absurdities imputed to them, in hopes of obtaining pardon. Most of these, after being restored to liberty, renounced their confessions and solemnly declared that the excessive torments to which they had been put alone induced them to confess that which they knew to be false. They were then treated as relapsed heretics and cast into the flames. Neither age nor rank could escape of those who persisted in denying the guilt of the Order. Some languished in loathsome dungeons for years and perished from neglect, disease, and starvation. Others, more robust, were in time restored to liberty, to wander about the world with mutilated limbs, to gain a living as best they could.

It would seem that these events, so well known to the nations of Europe, would have taught them all along the ages, from the Crusades to the 19th century, the humanitarian principles inculcated in their religion. Unfortunately, cruelty of every kind was so deep set in the very nature of all the Latin races, that where the religious sentiment was prevalent it was utterly impossible for the Roman Church ever to forgive any individual, high or low, who dared to controvert in the least manner any dogmatic utterance which might be promulgated from the Church authorities. Total obedience, the most abject and servile, was exacted from every individual. The history of every nation upon the continent of Europe, and where the Pope of Rome had authority elsewhere, shows that cruelties of the worst description were visited upon all who would not conform to the exactions of the Church of Rome. Such were the influences of that *"curse* of the world" which followed upon the suppression of the Templars by that "*Curse of France*"—as *Philip the Fair* was styled by Dante—that cruelties for differences in religious matters have been continued to the present day where any particular church is sustained by secular authority. The conduct of Spain in her treatment of her West and East Indian colonies in political matters is but the continuation of the old religious persecutions of the "Inquisition," "which caused countless millions to mourn." The persecutions of the Spanish governors in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Philippines, are the latest phases of the Spanish "Inquisition" and the "French Bastile"—The Devil's Island being but an outgrowth of that famous fortress destroyed in Paris during the Revolution.

EXECUTION OF DE MOLAY.

Let us now complete the history of the Templars of the Crusades. One recent author says: "The last scene of this dreadful tragedy was yet to be enacted. The four most noble victims were reserved for the last. James de Molay, the Grand Master; Guy, the Grand Preceptor; Hugo de Parait or Peraldes, the Visitor General; and Theodore Bazile de Merioncourt, who had returned from the East (1307), when summoned by the Pope, and who had languished in prison for five years and a half, were (March 11, 1313) led out to a scaffold which had been erected in front of Notre-

Dame, publicly to avow confessions which the Grand Master had declared were forged. The confessions were read, their assent was required. Two were silent, and were condemned to be incarcerated for life. "But the Grand Master raising his arms, bound with chains, toward heaven, and advancing toward the edge of the scaffold, declared, in a loud voice, that to say that which was untrue was a crime, both in the sight of God and man. 'I do,' said he, 'confess my guilt, which consists in having to my shame and dishonor suffered myself, through the pain of torture and the fear of death, to give utterance to falsehoods, imputing scandalous sins and iniquities to an illustrious Order, which hath nobly served the cause of Christianity. I disdain to seek a wretched and disgraceful exist ence by engrafting a naked lie upon the original falsehood.' He was here interrupted by the Probo and his officers, and Guy, the Grand Preceptor, having commenced with strong asseverations of his innocence, they were both hurried back to prison."[1]

King Philip was then informed of the occurrence, and in his blind fury ordered them to be immediately executed. This took place at four o'clock the same day, Addison says at *dusk.* There is no apparent discrepancy in this, as in March it often occurs that it is dusky soon after 4 P.M. They were conducted to the "Isle de la Cité," a funeral pile having been erected, and not yet completed, near where now stands the equestrian statue of Henry IV.

While the work of completion was going on, the Grand Master solemnly declared the innocence of his brethren, and then prayed as follows: "Permit us, O God! to remember the torments which Jesus Christ suffered to ransom us, and to imitate the example which he set us in enduring, without a murmur, the persecutions and tortures which injustice and blindness prepared for him. Pardon, O my God! the false accusations which have caused the total destruction of the Order of which Providence appointed me the head. And if thou wilt deign to hear the supplication which we now offer thee, grant that the deceived world may, at some future day, better know those who have endeavored to live for thee. We hope to receive, from thy goodness and mercy, the reward for the torments and death which we are about to suffer—to enjoy thy divine presence in the realms of bliss."

[1] "Addison," p. 279. Vertot gives this speech in different words, though alike in substance, vol. i., p. 219.

They were then hurried off to the stake, the executioners of the King being fearful of an insurrection of the people. Small fires were kindled under their feet. "This hellish torture was borne with fortitude and resignation, without cries or groans, imploring the mercy of God and maintaining the innocence and purity of their beloved Order to the last. At length De Molay, when his body was almost consumed, having yet command of his tongue, looking at the crowd before him, exclaimed:

"You who behold us perishing in the flames shall decide our innocence! I summon Pope Clement V. to appear in *forty days*, and Philip the Fair in *twelve months*, before the just and terrible throne of the ever-living God, to render an account of the blood which they have unjustly and wickedly shed!"[1]

The fires burned lower and lower, and in time became extinguished! The mortal parts of James de Molay and Guy had been reduced to ashes—their spirits had returned to their creator!

Vertot and *L'Histoire de l'ab. de i'Ord.* both doubt the truth of this tradition. The manuscript of Knights Hospitalers, the manuscript of Knights Hospitalers of de la Hogue, and the degree of Novice of the Order of Unknown Phil. Judges state that De Molay made this prediction *just* before he was placed on the funeral pile.[2]*

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[1] Vertot, vol. i., p. 219.

[2] "Orthodoxie Maçonnerie," p. 393.

* Vertot, in his account of the origin of the Order of Knights Templars, states that "A Templar and a citizen of Breziers, having been apprehended for some crime, were committed together to a dungeon; for want of a priest, they confessed each other; that the citizen, having heard the Templar's confession, in order to save his own life, accused the Order to Philip, King of France; charging them, on the authority of what his fellow-prisoner had told him, with idolatry, sodomy, robbery, and murder; adding that the Knights Templars being secretly Mahomedan, each Knight, at his admission into the Order, was obliged to denounce Jesus Christ, and to spit on the Cross, in token of his abhorrence of it. Philip, on hearing these accusations, pardoned the citizen, and disclosed to the Pope this extraordinary confession, with a request that their Order should be suppressed."—Cole, "Masonic Library," p. 286.

Vertot says that "In Germany the historians of that nation relate that Pope Clement having sent his bull for abolishing the Order to the Archbishop of Metey, for him to enforce, that prelate summoned all his clergy together, that the publication might be made with greater solemnity; and that they were suddenly surprised by the entry of Wallgruffer, Count Sauvage, one of the principals of the Order, attended by twenty other Templars armed and in their regular habits. The Count declared that he was not come to do violence to any body, but, having heard of the bull against his Order, came to insist that the appeal which they made from that decree to the next Council and successor of Clement should be received and published. This he pressed so warmly that the Archbishop, not

"The fate of the persecutors of the Order is not unworthy of notice. A year and a month after the horrid execution, the Pope, Clement V., was attacked by a dysentery, and speedily hurried to his grave. His dead body was transported to Carpentras, where the Court of Rome then resided. It was placed at night in a church which caught fire, and the mortal remains of the Holy Pontiff were almost entirely consumed. His relations quarreled over the immense treasures he left behind him, and a vast sum of money, which had been deposited for safety in a church at Lucca, was stolen by a daring band of German and Italian freebooters. Before the close of the same year, King Philip IV. died of a lingering disease which had baffled all the art of his medical attendants, and the condemned criminal, upon the strength of whose information the Templars were originally arrested, was hanged for fresh crimes. "History attests," says Raynouard, "that all those who were foremost in the persecution of the Templars came to an untimely and miserable death. The last days of Philip IV. were embittered by misfortune. His nobles and clergy leagued against him to resist his exactions. The wives of his three sons were accused of adultery, and two of them were publicly convicted of that crime."

"The chief cause of the ruin of the Templars," justly remarks Fuller, "was their extraordinary wealth. As Naboth's vineyard was the chiefest ground of his blasphemy, and as in England Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, said merrily, not he, but his stately house at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, was guilty of high treason, so certainly their wealth was the principal cause of their overthrow. We may believe that Philip IV. would never have taken away their lives, if he might have taken their lands without putting them to death, but the mischief was, he could not get the honey unless he burnt the bees."

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thinking it proper to refuse men whom he saw armed, complied. He sent the appeal afterward to the Pope, who ordered him to have it examined in a Council of his province. Accordingly a synod was called, and after a lengthy trial, and various formalities which were then observed, the Templars of that province were declared innocent of the crimes charged upon them.—Cole, "Masonic Library," pp. 288, 289.

Notwithstanding this verdict of innocence it does not appear that either their government or their possessions were restored to them as a distinct order. Their estates in the German Empire were divided between the Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Knights. Many of the Templars joined themselves to the Knights of Malta; and some writers hold this to be probable, for prior to this time the habit of the Knight Templar was originally *white;* but they now distinguish themselves by the same color as the Knight: of Malta, viz., black.

King Philip IV., the Pope, and the European sovereigns appear to have disposed of all the personalty of the Templars, the ornaments, jewels, and treasures of their churches and chapels, and during the period of five years over which the proceedings against the Order extended they remained in the actual receipt of the vast rents and revenues of the Fraternity. King Philip IV. put forward a claim upon their lands in France, to the extent of a million dollars, for the expenses of the prosecution, and Louis, his son, claimed a further sum of $300,000. "I do not know," says the celebrated Voltaire, "how much went to the Pope, but evidently, the share of the Cardinals, the Inquisitors delegated to make the process good, amounted to immense sums." The Pope, according to his own account, received only a small portion of the personalty of the Order, but others make him a large participator in the good things of the Fraternity.

ERA SUBSEQUENT TO THE DISPERSION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

Extracts from writings of Edward Manning, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster:

"The south of France, where a large Jewish and Saracenic element remained, was a hotbed of heresies, and that region was also a favorite one with the guild of Masons. It is asserted too that, as far back as the 12th century, the lodges of the guild enjoyed the special protection of the Knights Templars. It is easy in this way to understand how the symbolical allusion to Solomon and his Temple might have passed from the Knights into the Masonic formulary. In this way too might be explained how, after the suppression of the Order of the Temple, some of the recalcitrant, maintaining their influence over the Freemasons, would be able to prevent what had been hitherto a harmless ceremony into an elaborate ritual that should impart some of the errors of the Templars to the initiated. A document was long ago published, which purports to be a charter granted to a lodge of Freemasons in England, in the time of Henry VII., and it bears the marks in its religious indifference of a suspicious likeness between Freemasons of then and now. In Germany the guild was numerous, and was formally recognized by a diploma granted in 1489 by the Emperor Maximilian. But this sanction was finally revoked by the Imperial Diet in 1707.

"So far, however, the Freemasons were really working stone-masons; but the so-called Cologne Charter (the genuineness seems certain), drawn up in 1535 at a reunion of Freemasons gathered at Cologne to celebrate the opening of the Cathedral Edifice, is signed by Melanchthon, Coligny, and other ill-omened. Nothing certain is known of the Freemasons—now evidently become a sect during the 17th century, except that in 1646 Elias Ashmole, an English-man, founded the Order of Rose Croix, Rosicrucians, or Her-metic Freemasonry, a society which mingled in a fantastic manner the jargon of alchemy and other occult sciences with Pantheism. This Order soon became affiliated to some of the Masonic lodges in Germany, where from the time of the Reformation there was a constant founding of societies, secret or open, which undertook to formulate a philosophy or religion of their own.

"As we know it now, however, Freemasonry first appeared in 1725, when Lord Derwentwater, a supporter of the expelled Stuart Dynasty, introduced the order into France, professing to have his authority from a lodge at Kilwinning, Scotland. This formed the basis of that variety of Freemasonry called the Scotch Rite. Rival organizations soon sprang up. Charters were obtained from a lodge at York, which was said to have been of a very ancient foundation."[1]

From this extract some of our recent writers have thought that "this connection exists just so far as the Templary of our own day clings to its knightly practices, and is true to its Templar Dogmas of the Christian faith and teaching."

The same spirit of Clement V. is here shown by this famous Manning.

From the various high-grade systems which sprang into ex-istence in Europe during the middle and latter part of the 18th century came the Templary on the continent of Europe, for in each system there was to be found the Knight Templar degree. The Ancient and Accepted Rite of Twenty-five degrees, and its suc-cessor, the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," formulated at the close of the last century, are permeated with the Templar spirit.

The principles in all of the several rites wherein is to be found

[1] A Catholic Dictionary containing some "Account of the Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church." By William E. Addis, Secular Priest, sometime Fellow of the University of Ireland, and Thomas Arnold, MA., Fellow of the same university. Second Edition, London. Large 8vo, 1884. *In loco.*

the Templar degree, are dogmatic utterances, and "squared with the words of that Ancient Landmark, God's Holy Word." The lessons of duty found in our modern Templarism are to be applied and practiced in our daily life, and he who follows faithfully all the teaching of our Order will be a "Christian in deed and in truth, and in whom there is no guile."

History says Philip died a few weeks after the martyrdom of De Molay, and Addison fixes the period of the death of the Pope a year and one month afterward, and he also says, "History attests that all those who were foremost in the persecution of the Templars came to an untimely and miserable death."[1]

By the execution of the principal officers of the Templar organization their enemies supposed that the Order was destroyed for all time; "but the Eagle of St. John was merely scorched—not killed. From the ashes of the old Phoenix has arisen another Order, more glorious in all its aspects than the original; and in the latter part of the 19th century, the Knightly Order of the Templars, clad in the Armor of Integrity, and armed with the sword of knowledge, have waged, are still waging, and will ever wage eternal war against the three ancient enemies of the human race—*Falsehood, Fanaticism, Superstition! Dieu le veut*—'The will of God.' "

After the execution of De Molay and the dispersion of the Templars, in all the nations of Europe, their possessions were confiscated and divided among various other Orders; the survivors were compelled to leave their homes, discard their garb of Templars, and mingle again with the world.

If traditions can be relied upon, some preserved their "Order of the Temple at Paris;" and some the "Templars in Scotland," of whom Charles Edward Stuart was chosen Grand Master. Some, it is said, sought refuge in the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in order "that they might there enjoy with impunity the religious dogmas which they had brought with them from the East—the liberal sentiments of the Johannite Christians—the pure doctrines of the primitive Christian Church. Many entered the preceptories of the Knights Hospitalers, after a part of their lands had been granted to them." From this circumstance no doubt the modern degree of Knights of Malta has been incorporated into the Encampments of

[1] "Addison," p. 280.

Knights Templars. The Knights of Malta were never anciently claimed to have been Freemasons. "In 1740 the Grand Master of the Order of Malta caused the bull of Clement XII. to be published in the Island of Malta, and forbade the meetings of Freemasons. On this occasion several Knights and many citizens left the Island." "In 1741 the Inquisition pursued the Freemasons at Malta. The Grand Master proscribed their assemblies under severe penalties, and six knights were banished from the Island, in perpetuity, for having assisted at a meeting."

From tradition, after the death of De Molay. in 1313, the Templars were divided into four parties, viz.:

1. The Templars in Portugal and Italy—known since as Knights of the "Order of Christ."

2. Those who accepted Peter d'Aumont as the successor of De Molay.

3. Those who asserted that John Marc Larmenius was his successor.

4. Those who refused to accept either Larmenius or D'Aumont.

Passing by the first, second, and third classes, our sketch need only to refer to the fourth—as Modern Templarism is supposed to be derived from the fourth class, which may be divided into two classes—the Scotch and English.

Edward having debarred the Templars from taking refuge either in England or Ireland, and who attempted to force them, as he had done their brethren, in those countries to enter the preceptories of the Knights of St. John, they were forced to join Bruce, who gave them ample protection; and it is said by their assistance he was enabled to defeat the forces sent against him by Edward at the battle of Bannockburn. He is said to have created, on June 24, 1314, the Order of St. Andrew du Chardin,[1] to which was afterward united that of Heredom (H. D. M.). He reserved to himself and to his successors forever the title of Grand Master; and founded the Royal Grand Lodge of the Order of H. D. M. at Kilwinning. As our object is, if possible, to trace the origin of our Templar Orders, we must here drop the history of the Royal Order and refer to the General History preceding—Chapter XXIX.—where a full

[1] This order was most probably created by James II. in 1440.—Mackey, in this work, chapter xxix., p. 259 et seq.

statement is made, according to all the light which could possibly be thrown on this difficult problem.

By the death of De Molay, the Order of the Temple was broken up, and the members scattered in all directions, as they had no common head. Those of them who had been leaders in each country were mostly imprisoned for life, or executed, the brethren, persecuted in all directions, and for concealment, wandered about and cast off the clothing of the Order, and again mingled with other men. Addison says: "Papers and certificates were granted to men with long beards, to prevent them from being molested by the officers of justice as suspected Templars."

Their assemblies were forbidden under severe penalties, and at one time six Knights were banished from the island for having been at one of the meetings. There was no ritual of the Order, hence the ritual now used, which is a very beautiful and impressive one, is entirely modern. Gourdin says: "From ignorance of the true causes which forced some of the Templars to enter the Order of Malta has arisen the highly reprehensible practice of dubbing the candidate 'a Knight of the most valiant and magnanimous Order of Knights Templars and Knights of Malta of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.' This ritual was once in force in the United States, and was incorporated in the diploma or patent."

1. The Order of Christ. When the Templars were suppressed in Portugal, their property, of all kinds, was assigned over to the Order of Christ, the equestrian militia, the latter name having been changed to the former. This Order, since its foundation in 1317, has been always protected by the Kings of Portugal, and also by the Popes. They wear "a long and loose *black* mantle, turned up with ermine and thereupon the Crosses." They are called "Christian Militia," which is their motto. Thory says that "A Portuguese Mason founded at Paris, in 1807, in a Lodge, a chapter of this Order; he applied the formulas of reception to those of Freemasonry. It was the Templar system. He pretended to have received from Portugal the power to create Knights."[1] The same Order was in Italy. Pope John XXII. reserved the right of nominating those members called Pontifical Knights.[2]

2. The D'Aumont Templars. They professed the system of

[1] "Acta Latomorum," tome i., p. 299.

[2] "Encyclopedia of Heraldry," vol. i.

"Strict Observance," which its opponents declare to have been organized in Prussia by Baron Hund, who derived his knowledge of the doctrines in the Chapter of Clermont, in Paris, he being a member in 1754.[1] This system is exclusively used in Germany and Sweden. A long list of Grand Masters is produced who succeeded De Molay, the first being D'Aumont, who is said to have been elected on an island of Scotland, December 27, 1313.[2] In Sweden it is said that the Grand Chapter of Stockholm has the last will and testament of De Molay, and that Beaujeau, his nephew, collected his ashes, interred them, and erected his monument with suitable inscriptions.[3]

3. The Larmenius Templars. James de Molay, foreseeing the evils by which the Order was threatened, nominated as his successor John Mark Larmenius, of Jerusalem, and invested him with the Patriarchal and Apostolic power. Larmenius transmitted this power to Brother Thibault of Alexandria in 1324.[4] The Order of Paris claim to have the Charter of transmission signed by Laminius and also the others who succeeded him in Office, down to the present time. They claim also to have the original statutes of the year 587 in manuscript, and several relics which formerly belonged to the martyrs. Some of the Templars were sent out in 1826 to Greece, to fight the Turks.[5]

There has been a difference of opinion among the brethren as to the authenticity of these legends relative to D'Aumont, Beaujeau, and Larmenius, and the relics. Some writers have asserted that De Molay had appointed *four* Grand Chiefs of the Order in Europe: at Edinburgh in the north; Paris in the west; Naples in the south, and Stockholm in the east.[6] According to the rules of the Order at that time it is very doubtful if De Molay appointed anyone as his successor, as the office had, up to that time, been elective, and no one appointed by De Molay or anyone else would have been recognized by the Order at large unless he had been regularly elected; hence we may be sure that De Molay had no successors.

4. The fourth were the Templars, who did not recognize either of

[1] "Acta Latomorum," tome i., pp. 68, 328. "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 45. The system of Ramsay was known in Germany before the Chapter of Clermont. "Orthodoxie Maçonnerie," p. 222.

[2] "Acta Latomorum," tome i., p. 329. "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 13, note 26.

[3] "Acta Latomorum," p. 339.

[4] "Manuel," p. 8.

[5] "Freemasons Magazine," vol. i., p. 170.

[6] "La Maçonnerie," tome i., p. 466.

the three above mentioned who assumed the authority of a Grand Master. Those may be divided into two classes: 1st. The Scotch Templars. These may be sub-divided into two sections: *a*. Those who fought with Robert Bruce; *b*. Those who entered the Order of Knights Hospitalers.

1. The Templars in Scotland, in consequence of the hostility of Edward III., King of England, were forced to join with Bruce, as he had refused to let them take refuge either in England or Ireland, and had endeavored to force them, as he had their brethren in those countries, to enter the preceptories of the Knights of St. John. These Knights having joined Bruce and aided in the victory at Bannockburn, he created, June 24, 1314, the Order of St. Andrew du Chardon, to which was afterward united that of Heredom (H. D. M.).[1] He raised the Lodge of Kilwinning in Scotland, founded at the time of the constitution of the abbey of that name, in 1150, to the rank of Royal Grand Lodge of Heredom. These Scotch Templars are reported to have been expelled in 1324 by Larmenius, who had invented different signs and words to exclude them from the Order of which he was chief, because they had assisted Bruce, and of having joined the order of H. R. D. M. Some writers have conjectured that from this Royal Order had sprung the Ancient and Accepted Rite. The present writer feels confident that the third degree of Symbolic Masonry was originally derived from the H. R. D. M.

"From the General Regulations of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland, it may be inferred that the preservation of a remnant of the Templars in Scotland is chiefly to be attributed to the wars between Robert Bruce and Edward III. of England." It is confidently said that "the 25 degrees of Heredom were practiced at York, in 1784, by the College of Heredom Templars, being No. 1 under the Constitution of the Ancient Lodge at York, south of the river Trent, sitting at York."

In 1785 the Order of H. R. D. M. resumed its functions at Edinburgh, the presiding officer being styled *Wisdom*.[2] The body at Edinburgh established a Chapter at Rouen in 1786.[3] On January 4, 1787, a Chapter of *Harodim* was opened in London,[4] but it is not known whether this was a branch of the Royal Order. About

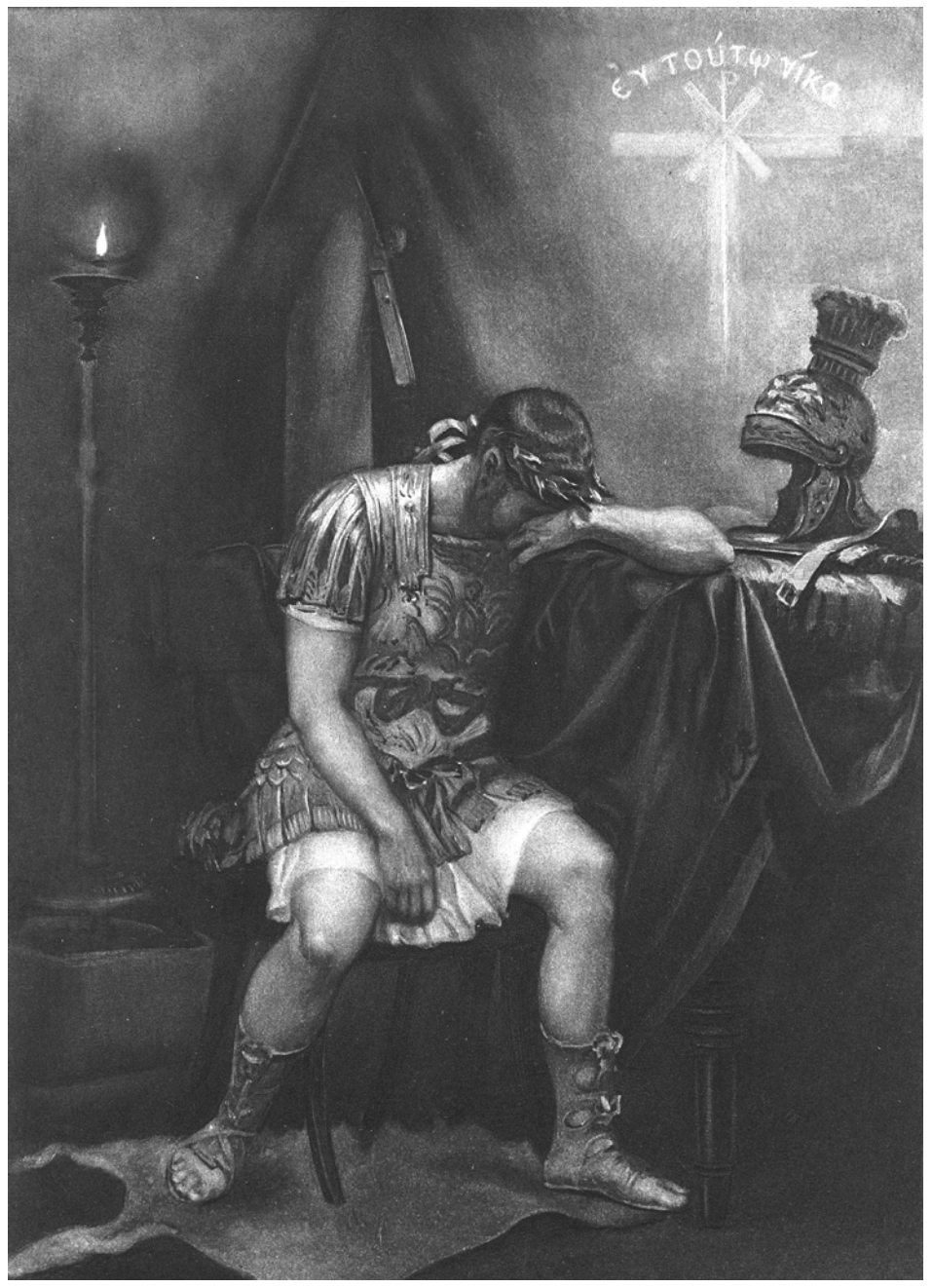
[1] Chapter xix., ante.

[2] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 86.

[3] "Acta Latomorum," tome i., p. 169.

[4] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 86.

DREAM OF CONSTANTINE


ἐν τούτῳ νίκα

the beginning of the present century there was a consistory at Hull and one at Grimsby.[1]

Rebold has it that the Grand Lodge of Heredom of Kilwinning united together with all the subordinates to the St. John Grand Lodge of Edinburgh.[2]

2. Those who entered the Order of Knights Hospitalers. In Scotland, in England and Ireland, many of the Templars' joined the Order of the Knights of St. John. They resided amicably in the same preceptories at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, and continued thus until the Reformation.[3] But they did not, however, hold all their lands in common.[4] Many of these Knights of both Orders embraced Protestantism, and fraternized with the Freemasons. The Preceptor in Scotland, having become a Protestant, resigned the whole prosessions of the Preceptory, of the Hospitalers and Templars, received the same, as Lord Torphichen, from the Crown. Those Knights who remained Roman Catholics united with David Seaton. The Grand Master, Viscount Dundee, was slain at Killiekrankie. Charles Edward Stuart, who had been admitted, September 24, 1745, at Holyrood, became the Grand Master.[5] Mr. Oliphant, of Bachiltar, succeeded him. He died in 1745.[6] From the General Regulations of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland it may be inferred that the Masonic branch of the Order preserved the ceremonies which are used at a reception. The Sterling Ancient Lodge conferred the degree of Royal Arch, Red Cross, or Ark, the Sepulcher, Knights of Malta and Knights Templars, until the beginning of the last century, when two lodges were formed. The Ancient Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, and the new one, called the Royal Arch, in 1759, when another division took place. And these degrees were conferred in an encampment until 1811, when the supreme encampment of Masonic Knights Templars was formed in Scotland.[7] Sev-

[1] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 671, note 16.

[2] "Histoire Generale de la François Maçonnerie," p. 151. Oliver, "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 16.

[3] "General Regulations of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland," Introduction, p. iii.

[4] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 20, note 46.

[5] Gourdin, p. 25.

[6] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 20, note 46. It is presumed that this portion of the Order is not connected with Freemasonry.

[7] "General Regulations of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland," Introduction, pp. ii., iii.

eral encampments in Scotland, however, obtained, about 1795, charters from Ireland with the privilege of conferring the Royal Arch degrees, though the encampments in the latter country were merely private bodies.[1]

3. The English Templars. It is supposed, that with the exception of the Encampment of Observance, all the encampments in the United States and England owe their origin to the three original "Encampments of Baldwin," established at Bristol, Bath, and York.[2] Oliver says: "In England and Ireland, as the Conciliæ Magnæ-Britannicæ show, the Templars were put down, and the Knights compelled to enter the preceptories of their opponents, the Knights of St. John, as dependants."[3] "Their lands were confiscated and given to the latter Order. But in treating of the manner in which a remnant of the Order was preserved in England, I must avail myself of information kindly furnished me by an eminent Brother who resides in Bristol."

"The Order of Knights Templars has existed in Bristol from time immemorial. The Templars held large possessions in this ancient city, and, with their House or Preceptory, and the Men of the Temple, are mentioned in many old charters and documents. The Temple Church and Parish of Temple point out the locality of their residence. About fifty years ago an active and respected member of the Craft, Brother Henry Smith, now deceased, introduced from France three degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, which, with the degree of R. C, long before that time connected with the Knights Templars, were united into an Order or Community, called the Royal Orders of Knighthood. These were the degrees of the Nine Elect, the 9th degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, the Knights Grand Architects of Kilwinning, the 14th degree of that Rite, and the Knights of the East, the Sword and Eagle, answering to the 16th degree, and the Knights R. C. or 18th degree, were, together with the order of the Knights Templars, held and practiced under one authority. In our oldest records the style or title of Knights Templars is given with the addition of K.-H., but that degree was, as far as I know, never given, and even the meaning of the title has fallen into oblivion."

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[1] "General Regulations of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland," Introduction, p. vii.
[2] "Lexicon," p. 265. Temp. chart, p. 47, by J. L. Cross.
[3] "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii., p. 20, note 46.

"A candidate for admission into any one of the five degrees before mentioned must be a Royal Arch Mason. He may, however, take any one of the five degrees first, which may happen to be about to be given, at the time he seeks admission, as one general payment to the fund of the United Orders entitles him to admission to all. An attempt was made to enforce the proper progression through the five degrees, but failed.

"Nothing is known here of the Order of the Temple of Paris, but that is the real source of the present Grand Conclave of England, the late Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, having been created at Paris in that body.

"I will shortly endeavor to explain the difference between the Encampment of Baldwyn and the Grand Conclave.

"The Duke of Sussex, having been installed as Knight Templar at Paris, I believe by Sir Sidney Smith, then Grand Master, was created Grand Master of the Knights Templars in England. From some cause or other, he never would countenance the Christian degrees connected with Masonry, and would not permit a badge of one of these degrees to be worn in a Craft Lodge. In London, of course, he ruled Supreme, and the meetings of Knights Templars there, if they continued at all, were degraded to the mere level of public-house meetings. A true descendant of the Knights of St. John of the Hospital was held, with all circumstances of ribaldry, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and the degrees conferred at a weekly convivial meeting for the sum of 5*s*. On the death of the Duke of Sussex it was resolved to rescue the Order from its degraded position, and the Grand Conclave of England was formed, some of the officers of the Duke of Sussex's original Encampment, which he held once, and I believe once only, being then alive.

"In the mean time, of the three Original Encampments of England, *the genuine representatives of the Old Knights of the Temple,* two had expired, those of Bath and York, leaving *Bristol the sole relic of the Order with the exception of those encampments which had been created in various parts of the country,* not holding under any legitimate authority, but *raised by Knights who had.,* I believe, without exception, *been created in the Encampment of Baldwyn at Bristol.*

"Under these circumstances, the Knights of Baldwin felt that their place was at the head of the Order, and though willing, for the

common good, to submit to the authority of Colonel Tynte, or any duly elected Grand Master, they could not yield precedence to the Encampment of Observance (the Original Encampment of the Duke of Sussex) derived from a foreign and spurious source, the so-called Order of the Temple in Paris, nor could they consent to forego the privileges which they held from an immemorial period, or to permit their ancient and well-established ceremonies, costume, and laws to be revised by persons for whose knowledge and judgment they entertained a very reasonable and well grounded want of respect. The Encampment of Baldwyn, therefore, refused to send representatives to the Grand Conclave of England, or to acknowledge its authority in Bristol, until such time as its claims should be treated with the consideration it is believed they deserve. I am, however, in hope that an arrangement will shortly be effected, and all the Templars in England united under one head."[1]

Gourdin, from whose admirable *Historical Sketch of Knights Templars* we have made many extracts, says, in continuation of the matters referred to in the above letter: "While we approve of the noble conduct of the Encampment of Baldwin, and trust that it may soon attain the eminent position to which it is entitled as the sole surviving preserver of our Ancient Mysteries in England, during many centuries of trial"

Some writers have contended that the Masonry of modern times "originated in the Holy Land during the Crusades, and was instituted by the Knights Templars." Laurie, or Brewster, who it is said wrote the work which bears Laurie's name, embodies the tradition as follows:

"Almost all the secret associations of the Ancients either flourished or originated in Syria and the adjacent countries. It was here that the Dionysian Artists, the Essenes, and the Kassideans arose. From this country also come several members of that trading association of Masons which appeared in Europe during the dark ages; and we are assured that, notwithstanding the unfavorable condition of that Province, there exists at this day, on Mount Libanus, one of these Syrian Fraternities. As the Order of the Templars, therefore, was originally formed in Syria, and existed there for a considerable time, it would be no improbable supposition that they received

[1] Letter of David W. Nash, September 29, 1853, to Theo. S. Gourdin, Charleston, S. C, in his "Historical Sketch," 1855.

their Masonic knowledge from the Lodges in that quarter. But we are fortunately, in this case, not left to conjecture, for we are expressly informed by a foreign author [Adler, de Drusis], who was well acquainted with the history and customs of Syria, that the Knights Templars were actually members of the Syriac fraternities." There is no evidence of Freemasonry in Syria at that period.

It is very certain, from the best histories of the Templar Order, that, in addition to the open ritual for the reception of a candidate for the Order, there was a secret ritual, and no one was admitted within their quarters during the ceremony of reception. This does not, however, prove that, whatever secret ceremonies were used, they were in any manner connected with the Freemasons. Recent examinations by our most advanced Masonic scholars, such as Wm. James Hughan, Robert Freck Gould, and others too numerous to mention who are members of the Lodge Quartuor-Coronati in England, and the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, J. Murry Lyon, that, prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, there was no ritualistic observance in the reception to Masonry. Nor have any indications been found anywhere in the world, that our modern rituals of the various degrees of the Lodge, Chapter, Council, and Templar Order, had any ancient formulas whatever. To the careful student, every one of these ritualistic formulas bears intrinsic evidence of the modern era in Masonry. In the three degrees of the Blue Lodge, the want of congruity and manifest errors as to the facts at the building of King Solomon's Temple, the topography itself of the site of the Temple, and the situation of the City of Jerusalem—all concur in the conclusion that the ceremonies are all symbolic and allegorical, and consequently so much the more valuable to the student of symbolism and the philosophy contained in these degrees—and this can be said also of all the other degrees.

The Knights of Malta being at the present day incorporated in the Order of Knights Templars, we deem it necessary that this sketch should include some important matters connected with that Order, which, from our preceding notices of them, it will be seen succeeded the Knights Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, and so-called Knights of Rhodes.

Pilgrims and traders from the West to Palestine were so numerous and constant, it became requisite to build in the city of

Jerusalem hospitals or places of entertainment during their stay in Jerusalem. In 870 Bernard, a monk, founded in the valley of Jehoshaphat, close to the Church of the Virgin, a hospital, consisting of twelve houses for pilgrims from the West, which held possession of gardens, vineyards, and fields for grain. There was a collection of books given by Charlemagne (in 768 to 800). A market was held in front of this place. When, in the nth century, pilgrimage was greatly increased, a hospital was established in the city of Jerusalem, for the Latin pilgrims, which was erected by Amalfi and the Latin traders, about A.D. 1050. They also erected a church to the Holy Virgin, called St. Mary of the Latins. This hospital was the residence of the Benedictines, who devoted themselves to the necessities of the pilgrims, and contributed to the wants of those who were poor, or had been robbed by the banditti who infested all the roads leading to Jerusalem, and also aided them to pay the taxes required by the Moslems for permits to visit the Holy Places.

The great increase of pilgrims required another hospital which was raised near their church, having a chapel dedicated to St. John Eleemon (Almoner), a canonized Patriarch of Alexandria, who was the son of the King of Cyprus in the 6th century. He was elected Patriarch and founded a Fraternity in Jerusalem, whose object was to attend upon the sick and wounded Christian pilgrims to the Sacred Land. The Greek and also Roman Churches canonized this Archprelate by the name of St. John of Jerusalem.

Gerard, as before mentioned, presided over the Hospital of St. John at the time the Crusaders appeared at Jerusalem. When the city was taken (July 15, 1099), the wounded pilgrims were received, and "Duke Godfrey de Bouillon, some days afterward, visited them, to whom he personally administered aid and consolation, and, to mark his sense of the humane services rendered by the brethren, he endowed the hospital with his own Lordship of Montboire, in Brabant, and all its dependencies. Having enjoyed universal favor, Gerard and his brethren desired to be separated from the Monastery of St. Mary *de Latina* and become independent. There was no opposition to this, and they made a rule for themselves, to which they vowed obedience in the presence of the Patriarch, and assumed a black mantle with a white cross on the breast.

In 1130, from the Bull of Pope Innocent II., we have the first authentic notice of an intention of the Hospitalers to have any con

nection with military affairs. This Bull gives information that the Hospitalers retained, at their own expense, a body of foot-soldiers and horsemen to defend the pilgrims in going to and returning from the Holy Places. The Hospitalers had resolved to add the protecting to the task of relieving pilgrims.

In 1168, the first year of Philip of Nablous as Grand Master of the Templars, the King of Jerusalem and Knights Hospitalers went forth on their memorable and unfortunate expedition to invade Egypt. The Templars refused to join this expedition, as it was in violation of all treaties.

From this period there was an entire change in the Order of the Hospital of St. John, and they became a great military body; their Superior was styled Grand Master, and he led in person the brethren into the field of battle. They, however, still continued their duties as attendants upon the sick and to relieve the indigent.

The Order of the Holy Sepulcher was instituted at the same period as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and for the same causes.

The following is a list of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099 to 1187, from De Vogué:

Diambert
Arnulphe } .....1099 to 1107
Ebremard
Gibelin.....1107 to 1111
Arnulphe .....1111 to 1118
Gormond .....1118 to 1128
Etienne (Stephen).. …… 1128 to 1130
Guillaume (William)……...1130 to 1146
Foulcher ..... 1146 to 1157
Amanry..... 1157 to 1180
Eraclius (Heraclius)……....1180 to 1190

In 1847 the Pope re-established the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the person of Bishop Velerga. He only had authority to confer the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulcher. This was done in the apartment styled the Chapel of the Apparition, where Jesus is said to have appeared to Mary after his resurrection. The Candidate, kneeling before the Patriarch, is asked the traditional questions, and is then girded with the sword and spur of King Godfrey. We have in a former part of this sketch explained the union of the Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine with the Knights Hospitalers and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, so that, when these Orders, after the Crusades had ceased, had been driven

successively from Cyprus and Rhodes and found refuge in the island of Malta, which was tendered to them by Charles V., King of Spain, and when the Order of the Templars was suppressed and many of them found a home with the Order of Malta, the junction of the two Orders was formed. We presume that when the modern Order of Knights Templars was formulated, the ritual of Malta was added to that of Knight Templar, and we consider the association much more consonant with the history of these two Orders than the degree of Knight of the Red Cross of Persia and Syria, which has evidently been mistaken for the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, as before explained.

ORDER OF KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

This Order has been known at different periods by the title of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Hospitalers of St. John, Knights of St. John D'Acre, Knights of Rhodes, and finally Knights of Malta.

In the year 1048 some pious merchant from Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, built a church and monastery at Jerusalem, which they dedicated to St. John the Almoner. The monks were hence called Brothers of St. John, or Hospitalers, and it was their duty to assist those sick and needy pilgrims whom a spirit of piety had led to the Holy Land. They assumed the black habit of the hermits of St. Augustine, distinguished only by a white cross of eight points on the left breast. They rapidly increased in numbers and in weakly and at the beginning of the 12th century were organized as a military order by Raymond du Puy, who added to their original vow of chastity, obedience, and poverty, the obligation of defending the Church against Infidels. Raymond then divided them into three classes: Knights, who alone bore arms; Chaplains, who were regular ecclesiastics; and Servitors, who attended to the sick. After long and bloody contests with the Turks and Saracens, they were finally driven from Palestine in the year 1191. Upon this they attacked and conquered Cyprus, which, however, they lost after eighteen years' occupation. They then established themselves at the island of Rhodes, under the Grand Mastership of Fulk de Villaret, and assumed the title of the Knights of Rhodes.

It was here that the illustrious Villars died in the seventieth year of his age and the fourteenth of his Grand Mastership. In justice to his distinguished merit, the following epitaph was inscribed on his tombstone: "Here lies Virtue victorious over Fortune."

On December 15, 1542, after a tranquil occupation of this island for more than two hundred years, they were finally ejected from all their possessions by the Sultan Soliman the Second.

After this disaster they successively retired to Castro, Messina, and Rome, until the Emperor Charles V., in 1530, bestowed upon them the island of Malta, upon the condition of their defending it from the depredations of the Turks and the Corsairs of Barbary, and of restoring it to Naples, should they ever succeed in recovering Rhodes.

This island was formerly called Melita, from the vast quantities of honey which it produced. The Romans gained possession of it when they conquered Sicily; they were deprived of it by the Arabs in 828, who were expelled by Roger the Norman in 1190. From that period it continued under the dominion of the Kings of Sicily, till it fell, by the conquest of that island, into the hands of the em peror, Charles V.

The Order now took the name of the Knights of Malta, by which title they have ever since been designated. Here the organization of the Order was as follows: The chief of the Order was called "Grand Master of the Holy Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and Guardian of the army of Jesus Christ." He was elected for life, and resided at the city of Valette. He was addressed by foreign powers with the title of "altezza eminentissima," and enjoyed an annual revenue of about one million guilders. The Knights were divided into eight languages, according to their respective nations. The languages were those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, Castile, and England. Upon the extinction of the language of England, that of Anglo-Bavaria was substituted. The Grand Officers were also eight in number, and consisted of the chiefs of the different languages, as follows:

1. The Chief of the language of Provence was Grand Commander.
2. " " Auvergne was Marshal.
3. " " France was Hospitaler.
4. " " Italy was Grand Admiral.

5. The Chief of the language of Aragon was Grand Conservator,
6. " " Germany was Grand Bailiff.
7. " " Castile was Grand Chancellor.
8. " " England was Turcopolier, or Captain-General of the Cavalry.

The Knights, in time of war, wore over their usual garments a scarlet surcoat, embellished before and behind with a broad white cross of eight points. In time of peace, the dress of ceremony was a long black mantle, upon which the same cross of white linen was sewed.

From the time that the island of Malta was bestowed upon the Order, until the year 1724, the Knights were continually at war with the Turks; during which time the latter had expended vast quantities of blood and treasure, and the former had exhibited the most magnanimous examples of patience and undaunted heroism. A peace was at length concluded for twenty years, to be renewed at the expiration of that period, if the parties could agree.

In 1565 the island of Malta was beleaguered by Soliman II., on which occasion the Knights suffered immense loss, from which they never entirely recovered. Of the eight languages, the English became extinct in the 16th century; those of France, Auvergne, and Provence perished in the anarchy of the French Revolution; Castile and Aragon were separated at the peace of Amiens; and the remaining two have been since abolished. The Order, therefore, as respects its ancient constitution, has now ceased to exist.

On June 9, 1798, the island of Malta was taken by the French under Bonaparte. In the same year the Knights chose Paul I., Emperor of Russia, as their Grand Master, who took them under his protection. Upon his death they elected Prince Carriciolo. Upon the reduction of the island by the English in 1800, the chief seat of the Order was transferred to Catanea in Sicily, whence, in 1826, it was removed, by the authority of the Pope, to Ferrara. The last public reception of the Order took place at Sonneburg in 1800, when Leopold, the present King of Belgium, and Prince Ernest, of Hesse Philippsthal Barchfeld, with several other Knights, were created.

In 1841 Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, issued a decree restoring the Order in Italy, and endowing it with a moderate rev-

enue. But the wealth, the power, and the magnificence of the Order have passed away with the age and the spirit of chivalry which gave it birth.

COMMENTARY REMARKS.

In Chapter XXIX. of this work, p. 258 *et seq*., Bro. Mackey reviews the history of the Templars in Scotland, and emphatically denies any claims of the Scottish Modern Templars to be the successors of the Templars who were dispersed after the death of De Molay. We shall not, in this sketch, attempt any defense of their claims or those of the Templars of the present day as to the legitimate succession. However, we must give our readers some extracts from Addison which will demonstrate that there were some reasons why such claims have been set up.

Lawrie, in his *History of Freemasonry in Scotland*, says that before 1153 King David I. introduced the Knights of the Temple into Scotland and established them at the Temple on the Southesk, and was greatly attached to them.

Little is known of the history of the Knights Templars from the time of Alexander II. until the 14th century, except that all their privileges (which we have omitted) were continued to them by succeeding kings, who directed their piety and their bounties toward the religious Orders. The possessions of the Fraternity were so extensive that their lands were scattered "over the whole kingdom of Scotland toward England and over the whole kingdom to the Orchardis."

At the time of the persecution of the Order in other countries correspondently the Templars of Scotland suffered spoliation, but it is to be remarked, to the credit of the people of Scotland, that there is no account of any single member having suffered any personal torture. Their estates were transferred to their rivals the Hospitalers, and like their brethren in England a number very probably entered into that Order.

The Knights of St. John had also been introduced by David I. into Scotland, and Alexander II. had granted a charter to them soon after that granted to the Knights Templars. Their first Preceptory was at Torphicen, in West Lothian, which continued to be their principal residence, and after the acquisitions of the lands of the

Templars and some others, their possessions came to be immense at the date of the Reformation.

A union was effected, at the beginning of the reign of James IV., between the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, and their lands were consolidated. The precise period of this union is not known, but the fact is established by the charter of King James, October 19, 1488, confirming the grants of lands made by his predecessors to these two Orders in Latin, which is thus translated: "To God and the Holy Hospitalers of Jerusalem and to their brethren of the Soldiers of the Temple of Solomon." Both Orders were then united and placed under the charge of the Preceptor of St. John, and there can be no doubt that such an arrangement was political and natural.

It was in Scotland alone that the Knights Templars owned independent property. The ban against them being yet in force throughout Europe, necessarily contracted their sphere of action. The Knights of the Hospital, however, being entirely free of any obstruction, had great wealth and influence, and stood high in the favor of the sovereigns of Europe. Both Orders were represented by the Preceptor of St. John in the Parliament of Scotland, and the union continued down to the Reformation.

From the era of the Reformation these two Orders, combined, appear in Scotland only as a Masonic body; but the late Mr. Deucher averred that so early as 1590 a few of the brethren had become mingled with the Architectural Fraternity, and that a Lodge at Stirling, patronized by King James, had a Chapter of Templars at« tached to it, who were termed cross-legged Masons, and whose initiatory ceremonies were performed, not in a room, but in the old Abbey, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the neighborhood. The first authentic notice we can find on the subject is in M. Thory's excellent *Chronology of Masonry*, wherein it is recorded that about 1728 Sir John Mitchell Ramsay, the well-known author of *Cyrus*, appeared in London with a system of Scottish Masonry, up to that date perfectly unknown in the Metropolis, tracing its origin from the Crusades, and consisting of three degrees, the Ecossais, the Novice, and the Knight Templar. For further notice of this subject we refer our readers to Chapter XXIX., ante.

During the 18th century the Scottish Order can be but faintly traced; though Mr. Deucher had, in 1836, the assurance of well-in

formed Masons that, thirty or forty years previously, they knew old men who had been members of it for sixty years, and it had sunk so low at the time of the French Revolution that the sentence which the Grand Lodge of Scotland fulminated in 1792 against all degrees of Masonry except those of St. John, was expected to put a period to its existence. Soon after this, however, some active individuals revived it, and with the view to obtaining documentary authority for their chapters, as well as avoiding any infringement of the Statutes then recently enacted against secret societies, adopted the precaution of accepting Charters of Constitution from a body of Masonic Templars, named the Early Grand Encampment, in Dublin, of whose origin we can find no account, and whose legitimacy, to say the least, was quite as questionable as their own. Several charters of this description were granted to different Encampments of Templars in Scotland about the beginning of the present century; but these bodies maintained little concert or intercourse with each other, and certainly were not esteemed in the country. Affairs were in this state when, about 1808, Mr. Alexander Deucher was elected Commander or Chief of the Edinburgh Encampment of Templars; and his brother, Major David Deucher, along with other Officers of the Royal Regiment, was initiated into the Order. A General Convocation of all the Templars of Scotland, by representatives, having taken place in Edinburgh, they unanimously resolved to discard the Irish Charters, and to rest their claims, as the representatives of the ancient Knights, on the general belief and traditions of the country.

They further determined to entreat the Duke of Kent, the Chief of the Masonic Templars in England, to become the patron protector of the Order in North Britain, offering to submit themselves to his Royal Highness in that capacity and to accept from him a formal Charter of Constitution. The Duke of Kent lost no time in complying with their request, and his Charter erecting them into a Conclave of "Knights of the Holy Temple and Sepulcher, and of St. John of Jerusalem. H. R. D. M.✠K. D. S. M." bears date June 19, 1811.[1]

By a provision in it Mr. Deucher, who had been nominated by the brethren, was appointed Grand Master for life.[2]

Mills, Southerland, De Magny, Dumas, Burnes, Gregoire, and

[1] "Addison," p. 548.

[2] Ibid., p. 549.

others show that the Order of Knights Templars, although suppressed, was never dissolved in France.

The persecution of the Templars in the 14th century does not close the history of the Order; for though the Knights were spoliated, the Order was not annihilated. In truth, the Cavaliers were not guilty, the brotherhood was not suppressed, and, startling as is the assertion, there has been a succession of Knights Templars from the 12th century even down to these days; the chain of transmission is perfect in all its links. James de Molay, the Grand Master, at the time of the persecution, anticipating his own martyrdom, appointed, as his successor in power and dignity, Johannes Marcus Larmenius of Jerusalem, and from time to time to the present there has been a regular, uninterrupted line of Grand Masters. The Charter of transmission, with the signatures of the various chiefs of the Temple, is preserved at Paris, with the ancient statutes of the Order, the rituals, the records, the seals, the standards, and the early memorials of the early Templars.[1]

The brotherhood has been headed by the bravest Cavaliers in France; by men who, jealous of the dignities of knighthood, would admit no corruption, no base copies of the Orders of Chivalry, and who thought that the shield of their nobility was enriched by the impress of the Templars' Red Cross. Bertrand du Guesclin was the Grand Master from 1357 till his death, 1380, and he was the only French commander who prevailed over the Chivalry of Edward III. of England. From 1478 to 1497 we may mark Robert Lenoncourt. a Cavalier of one of the most ancient and valiant families of Lorraine. Philippe Chabot, a renowned Captain in the reign of Francis I., wielded the staff of power from 1516 to 1543. The illustrious family of Montmorency appears as Knights Templars, and Henry, the first Duke, was chief of the Order from 1574 to 1614. At the close of the 17th century, James Henry de Duras, a Marshal of France, the nephew of Turenne, and one of the most skillful of the soldiers of Louis XIV., was Grand Master. From 1724 to 1776, three princes of the Bourbon family were Grand Masters, viz.: Louis Augustus, Duke of Maine, 1724-1737; Louis Henry Bourbon Condé, 1737-1741; and Louis Francis Bourbon Condé, 1741-1746. Louis Hercules Timoleon, Duke de Cosse Brissac, accepted

[1] "Addison," p. 550.

the office of Grand Master in 1776 and remained in office until he died in the cause of royalty at the commencement of the French Revolution. The Grand Master at that time was Bernardus Fabre Palaprat. There are Colleges in England and in many of the chief cities in Europe.[1]

Grand Master Bernard Raymond died in 1838; he was succeeded in the regency of the Order by Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, until his death in 1840. At that time, among the subjects of Great Britain who were office-bearers were the names of the Duke of Sussex, Grand Prior of England; the Duke of Leinster, Grand Prior of Ireland; the Earl of Durham, Grand Prior of Scotland; the Chevalier Burnes (Grand Master of Scottish Freemasons in India), Grand Preceptor of Southern Asia; the Chevalier Tennyson D'Eyncourt, Grand Prior of Italy; General George Wright, Grand Prior of India, etc. Among the functionaries of France were Prince Alexander de Wirtemberg, Dukes de Choiseul and Montmorency, and Counts Le Peletier, D'Aunay, De Lanjuinais, De Brack, De Chabrillan, De Magny, De Dienne, and others equally distinguished.[2] In consequence of the political changes in France, an institution so much identified with ancient nobility and tradition naturally fell into abeyance; it, however, in 1874, is said by McCoy's Addison to number about thirty British Ministers, most of whom are in the Public Service in India, received by the Grand Preceptor of Southern Asia, under legative powers from the Grand Master, Bernard Raymond, sanctioned by the Duke of Sussex, without whose approval no British subject was admissible.[3]

The history of Sir William Sidney Smith's connection with the Order of Knights Templars is well substantiated, and is brought very near to our period, as will appear in the following extracts from John Barrow's *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith*.[4]

From the end of 1815, Sir Sidney mostly made his residence in Paris, France. It was here, in fact, that he carried on the vast correspondence with the Knights Liberators, and also with another Order of Knighthood, of which he became a member, invested at the fountain-head, in a curious and romantic manner.

The following is Sir Sidney's own account of his obtaining this

[1] "Addison," p. 251. [2] Ibid., p. 551. [3] Ibid., p. 552. [4] London, 1848.

cross, which he wore during his life, and which is now in possession of the Convent of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at Paris. The paper is in Sir Sidney's own handwriting, but has no address, though, judging by the appeal made on a point of conscience and religion, it was probably meant for the English Bishop resident in Paris at that time, viz., Dr. Luscomb.

Sir Sidney wrote a letter to a friend from Paris, dated October 28, 1839, saying:

"I am most anxious to leave Paris before another insurrection; though as Regent of the 'Order of the Orient' and the '*Milice du Temple*,' denominated the Order of the Temple, I must always have a *pied à* terre (foot of ground) here, a *residence* magistral.

"In the exercise of my duty, representing the King in his dignity, as his Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, and being decorated by Sultan Selim with his imperial Aigrette, and with a commission to command his forces by sea and land, on the coast of Syria and Egypt, consequently representing that Sovereign in his authority, in the absence of the Grand Vizier (his highness being the one to exert it, when present), and as the Captain Pasha was expressly put personally under my Orders, I thought it my duty to land at Cyprus, for the purpose of restoring subordination and the hierarchy of authority, on a sudden emergency, which arose from the bursting out of an insurrection of Janissaries, Arnants, and Albanians, in the year 1799, after the raising of the siege of Acre.

"On visiting the Venerable Greek Archbishop afterward at the capital (Nicosia), to prevent him from disgracing himself by a visit to me, which I understood was his intention, his grace met me Outside the city gates. I, of course, dismounted to receive his welcome and animated harangue, at the termination of which he embraced me paternally, and at the same moment adroitly threw the Templar's cross, which he wore as an Episcopal decoration on his breast, *around the neck of his English guest,* saying, 'This belonged to an Englishman formerly, and I now restore it. It belonged to Sr. Richard (Agio Ricardo), surnamed "Cœur-de-Lion," who left it in this church at his departure, and it has been preserved in our treasury ever since. Eighteen archbishops, my predecessors, have signed the receipt thereof, in succession. I now make it over to you, in

token of our gratitude for saving all our lives, the archbishops ecclesiastics, laymen, citizens, and peasantry."[1]

CONCLUSION.

In all writings, sketches, and theses upon any particularly important subject, it is eminently proper to draw conclusions there« upon, that those who read may learn and duly appreciate the value of such examinations upon the subject-matter under consideration.

The old philosophers suggested that upon all valuable questions, or propositions, there should be, first, the affirmation; second, the denial; third, the discussion; fourth, the conclusion. We have, in preceding pages, endeavored, by quotations and deductions from the most approved authors, shown, we think, the true history of the Organization, the progress, triumphal success, decline, and final destruction of the most glorious, chivalric, and magnanimous Order of Knights which the world has ever witnessed.

In the day of their successful and triumphant battles of Truth against Error over their Saracen and Turkish opponents, they excited the wonder of their friends in the West and the highest admiration of their enemies. They were enthused by their zeal for the cause of Christ, as were also the Crusaders of every rank who suffered every inconvenience, toil, dangers, from their human foes, and the more insidious foes found in the climatic conditions of the countries through which they passed and were more than decimated by the peculiar local circumstances which accompanied and surrounded them, in their journeys, marches, and camping-grounds; yet they faltered not, nor ever ceased in their persistent efforts, which many times were so eminently successful in repelling all attacks, and in the forward movements to conquer and possess the strongholds of the Infidels. In the First Crusade, after untold misfortunes due to the special conditions of the country, diseases of the climate, and attacks of their foes, they, with a mere handful compared with the vast numbers with which they crossed the Hellespont, at length conquered and took Jerusalem, and finally, with the aid of the Templars and Hospitalers, succeeded in extending the Kingdom of Jerusalem

[1] "Addison," p. 554.

over the whole country of Palestine. Their success, as is often the case in human affairs, caused their rulers to forget the circumstances of the "Crusade," and, exalting *themselves* above the great CAUSE for which they should be fighting, strove for dominion and empire for themselves, each individual claiming rank and power, for human glory, and not for *Christ's* sake. Human history from time immemorial teaches the scholar this great lesson, that all things are by the direction of a Divine Providence. This is the true philosophy of all history; without that Providence we are driven to the evident conclusion of Fatalism of the Mohammedan, or Fortuity of the Infidel. These three conditions are alone possible. Which shall we choose? The vast majority of the world in all ages have chosen and acted under the "Faith" in a

"Divinity above who shapes our *ends*, rough hew them as we may."

Does history repeat itself? What shall we say of the events at the close of the 19th century, as to the war between Spain and the "Young giant of the West?" Can we perceive any parallel between the 11th, 12th, and 13th century Crusades and that of the 19th? Both have been impelled by a force beyond human conception. History has told us why the Old Crusades were undertaken—viz., for the Salvation, the conservation of the doctrines of Christ, which was for Humanity's sake. Can any deny that the United States, almost unanimously, entered into the War for "Humanity's" sake and not for conquest or aggrandizement?

Our limits will not admit of the many extracts from various writers, in continuation of the history of the Knight Templar Order in France, England, Scotland, and Ireland, which could be made to show that, up to the close of the 18th century, and some years in the present century, the Order was in a measure intact in Europe, and consequently, when Masonry was introduced into the United States, very many of the brethren belonged to the Templar Order, and from them we may surmise that the several encampments which are mentioned in the history of Masonry in this country can trace their origin. This particular matter will engage our attention when we write the history of the Knights Templars in the United States in the appropriate chapter.

LIST OF GRAND MASTERS OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

1. Hugho de Payens, 1118.
2. Robert de Craon, 1136.
3. Everard des Barres or Barri, 1146.
4. Bernard de Tremelay, 1151.
5. Bertrand de Blanquefort, 1154.
6. Philip of Naplous (Native), 1167 to 1170.
7. Odo de St. Amand, 1170.
8. Arnold de Torroge or de Troy, 1180, Chief Preceptor; while St. Amand was a prisoner the Chief Preceptor died at Verona, 1185.
9. Gerard de Riderfort, 1185. Taken captive near Brook Kishon, 1187; surrendered October 2, 1187; seat removed to ancient Tyre, successfully defended against Saladin; Grand Master released, 1188; eleven cities given up as a ransom; Grand Master fell at siege of Acre, October 4, 1189.
10. Brother Walter, 1189. During four years of siege of Acre, 100,000 Christians perished, among them Patriarch Heraclius. Third Crusade, preached by William, Archbishop of Tyre, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Philip Augustus, King of France, arrived in Palestine, 1191.
11. Robert de Sable or Sabloil, 1191. Great battle of Ramlah was gained and city of Gaza taken by Templars, 1191. About this time three encampments were established in England, at Bristol, Bath, and York.[1] Those in Bath and York were in existence in the early part of the present century, the one in Bristol in active operation in 1855. King Richard, in the guise of a Templar, left Palestine October 25, 1192. Bro. Richard John Bridges was the Eminent Commander of this Ancient and Venerable body, probably the oldest Encampment of Knights Templars in the world.
12. Gilbert Horal, or Erail, 1195. Many strong fortifications were built; most celebrated was Pilgrims' Castle, which would hold a garrison of four thousand men.
13. Philip Duplesseis, 1201. King John of England frequently resided at the Temple in London. He was there when he resigned England and Ireland "to his lord Pope Innocent the Third" and signed the "Magna Charta."

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[1] Letter of D. W. Nash, Secretary General H. E. for England and Wales, September 29, 1853. MS.

14. William de Charters became Grand Master. The Grand Master died at siege of Damietta, 1218.
15. Peter de Montague, Grand Preceptor of Spain, the Veteran Warrior, 1218. Damietta was surrendered to the Infidels, together with the prisoners of Tyre and Acre, and he obtained in return "the wood of the true Cross" and the prisoners at Cairo and Damascus; and the Sultan granted a truce for eight years,
16. Herman de Perigord, 1236. In this time a treaty was made with the Infidels to surrender again the Holy City to the Christians, 1242. In 1243 the Templars rebuilt the "formidable Castle of Saphet," In a great battle in 1243, near Gaza, with the Carizmians, a pastoral tribe of Tartars, which continued two days, the Grand Master was slain. Thirty-three Templars and twenty-six Hospitalers alone escaped. Pope Innocent IV. ordered a new crusade to be preached, but very little assistance was obtained.
17. William de Sonnac, "A Veteran Warrior," 1245. The brethren in the West« era Preceptories were summoned to Palestine, The Carizmians, in 1247, were annihilated. The Grand Master presented to Henry III. "a magnificent crystal vase, containing a portion of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1] The Templars, with Louis IX. of France, took Damietta in 1249. Louis was taken captive; afterward released by paying ransom. In 1250, in a battle near the Tanitic branch of the Nile, the Grand Master lost one eye, but was enabled to cut his way through the lines of the enemy with only two knights; however, soon after, on the first Friday in Lent, he lost the other eye and was killed.
18. Reginald de Vichier, Grand Marshal, 1152. King Louis, after his release from captivity, aided in placing Palestine in a defensible condition.
19. Thomas Berard, 1256. The country was in a miserable condition. The Bibars or Benocdar, the Sultan of Egypt, with 30,000 cavalry, had invaded Palestine (1262), The Infidels took all the strongholds with the exception of Pilgrims' Castle and Acre. When the Castle of Saphet capitulated (1266), Benocdar put the whole garrison to death, because of their refusal to become Mahomedans. Edward, afterward Edward I. of England, drove the enemy back to Egypt; a truce lasting ten years was made.
20. William de Beaujeu was elected, May 13, 1273. Lists of Strict Observance give Robert ——, who died in 1277, and then Pierre de Beaujeu.

This closed the Seventh and last Crusade. An effort was made by the Pope to raise another crusade; having, however, died in the meantime, with him all hopes of assistance from Europe died also. In 1291 the city of Tripoli and fortress of Margat were taken by the Infidels, and very soon thereafter, in the third year from recommencement of hostilities, Acre and the Pilgrims' Castle were all that were left to the Christians.

[1] Gourdin. Hist. Sketch, p. 12.

Acre was besieged on April 4th of the same year by Sultan Kahlil with 60,000 horse and 140,000 foot, and Acre had only 12,000 men under the Grand Master, "exclusive of the forces of the Templars and Hospitalers, with 500 foot soldiers and 200 cavalry commanded by the King of Cyprus."

Addison says: "So the garrison, which plainly saw they could not hold out long without a commander that was skilled in the art of war, elected Brother Peter Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Templars, a general of great experience, who had grown old in the command of armies, to be Governor of the place. Necessity of State, the truest interpreter of merit, made them offer the command to him, and it was done even with the consent of the King of Cyprus himself, who on a juncture of such importance and so full of danger was well contented to forget the title, which he had always affected, of King of Jerusalem."[1]

Beaujeu was killed on May 18, 1291, and the three hundred knights who had fought their way to the Temple appointed Theobald de Gaudini Grand Master (Addison fails to give his first name; the Manual calls him Theobaldus Gaudinius).[2]

The Grand Master, however, and a few companions, with the treasure of the Order and ornaments of the Church, May 19th, at night, made their escape through a secret postern, and safely reached Cyprus.[3] The rest of the Knights were buried beneath the ruins of "the Tower of the Master" when it fell, victims to their resolution to protect, at all hazards, the Christian women from insult and violation by the ruthless Infidels, and to their jealous devotion to the religion of the Cross. The power of the Latin Church in the East was extinguished by the destruction of the city of Acre. Limisso, in Cyprus, became the chief seat of the Order. However, from Vertot, we learn that an anonymous writer says that Knight Roger succeeded Beaujeu as Grand Master, and that he established the seat of the Order at Ninove, a town of Cyprus, which belonged to the Order. He also says that Jean de Gaudin succeeded Brother Roger.[4]

James de Molay, Preceptor of England, was elected Grand Master by a general Chapter of the Order in 1297. He is thus described by an enemy of the Order, a French writer: "Molay was the younger brother of one of the most distinguished houses of the 'Comte' of Burgundy. His elder brother possessed, in that country, a large property, and had a higher position. From his youth, Molay had been a member of the Order; in it he had acquired a great reputation. He had passed through all the degrees, and had become a Grand Prior.

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[1] Vertot, vol. i., p. 171, says: "The Sultan tempted the Grand Master with offers of immense sums, to which the Templar made no answer but by showing a just indignation at the Sultan's fancying him capable of listening to him."

[2] "Manual," p. 252, and Lists of Strict Observances.

[3] "Addison," p. 395. Vertot (vol. i., p. 173) says: "Out of five hundred Templars that behaved themselves so bravely in the defense of Acre, only two escaped, who, getting into a boat, landed happily on the coast of Cyprus."

[4] Vertot, vol. i., p. 174. "Histoire de lab. de l'ord. des Templiers," p. 5. In another place he calls Gaudin, Monaqui de Gaudin, p. 24.

He was a lord of true merit; brave, of high intellect, of a mild and amiable character; his morals were pure, and his character without a reproach. He had always appeared with distinction at the Court of France, and had been fortunate enough to merit the favor of the King, who, in 1297, had selected him to hold, at the baptismal font, M. Robert, his fourth son. He was still held in such high esteem, when all the lords of the Court, who were yet ignorant of the hatred of the King, and his fatal determination against the Order, concerning which he preserved the most profound secrecy, aided in the election of Molay, even believing that they were affording a pleasure to that prince."

An endeavor was made by the Grand Master to recover Palestine in 1302, which the Sultan of Egypt defeated, with a loss to the Knights of one hundred and twenty. This closed the efforts for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the usefulness of the Knightly Orders as military organizations ceased. No longer did the people of the several nations in Europe manifest any zeal in the Crusades. The Templars, by many grants, from time to time, had become possessed of large estates, and they were very rich, and consequently very powerful. Instead of Christendom having now any use for these military Orders, who were so prosperous from the donations of the lords and princes, they were jealous of them.

The clergy were also in constant dispute with them, and the Pope had been compelled to intervene. By some means Philip had become manifestly displeased with the Templars, and it is asserted that his need of money, and his own avarice, prompted him to suppress the Order, that he might enjoy the benefits to be derived from the confiscation of their riches and estate.

GRAND MASTERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, RHODES, AND MALTA, A.D. 1099 TO 1799.

1. Gerard Tunc, installed, 1099; died, 1118.
2. Raymond du Puys, installed, 1118 , died, 1160.
3. Otteger Balben, installed, January, 1160.
4. Arnaud de Comps, installed, 1162.
5. Gilbert d'Ossaly (De Sailly), installed, 1163; drowned, 1170.
6. Castus, installed, 1170.
7. Joubert (De Osbert), installed, 1175; died, 1177.
8. Du Moulin (Roger de Moulin), installed, 1177; killed, May 1, 1187.
9. N. Gardiner, installed, 1187; died at Askalon, 1187.
10. Godfrey de Duison, installed, 1192; died, 1201.
11. Alphonso, installed, 1202; abdicated.
12. Godfrey Lo Rath, installed, 1205; died, 1208.
13. Gawen de Montacute, installed, 1208; died, 1231.
14. Bernard de Texis, installed, 1231.
15. Girino, installed, 1232; died, 1236.
16. Bertrand de Comps, installed, 1236; slain in battle, 1241.
17. Peter de Villebride, installed, 1241; slain in battle, 1243.
18. William de Chateau-neuf, installed, 1243; died, 1259.

19. Hugh de Revel, installed, 1259; died, 1278.
20. Nicholas de Lorgne, installed, 1278, died broken-hearted, 1289.
21. John de Villiers, installed, 1289; died, 1297.
22. Otho de Pins, installed, 1298.
23. William Villaret, installed, 1300; died, 1306.
24. Fulk de Villaret, installed, 1307; deposed, 1319.
25. Heiion de Villannoba, installed, 1319; died, 1346.
26. Deodate de Gozon, installed, 1346; died, December, 1353.
27. Peter de Cornillan, installed, 1354; died, 1355.
28. Roger de Pins, installed, 1355.
29. Raymond de Berenger, installed, 1365; died, 1374.
30. Robert de Julliac, installed, 1374; died, 1377.
31. Heredia Castellan d'Emposta, installed, 1377.
32. Richard Caracciolo, installed, 1383; died, 1395.
33. Philip de Naillac, installed, 1396; died, June, 1421.
34. Antony Fluvian, installed, 1421; died, October 26, 1437.
35. John de Lastic, installed, 1437; died, May 19, 1454.
36. James de Milly, installed, 1454; died, August 17, 1461.
37. Peter Raymond Zacosta, installed, 1461; died February 14, 1467.
38. John Orsini, installed, 1467; died, 1476.
39. Peter D'Aubusson, installed, 1476; died, June 30, 1503.
40. Almeric Amboise, installed, 1503; died, November 8, 1512.
41. Guido de Blanchefort, installed, 1512; died, 1512.
42. Fabricius Carretto, installed, 1512; died, January, 1521.
43. Philip Villers de l'Isle Adam, installed, 1521; died, August 22, 1534.
44. A. del Ponte, installed, 1534; died, November, 1535.
45. Desiderio di s. Jalla, installed, 1536; died, September 26, 1536.
46. Homedez, installed, 1536; died, September 6, 1553.
47. Claudius de la Sengle, installed, 1553; died, August, 1557.
48. John de Valetta, installed, 1557; died, August 21, 1568.
49. Peter del Moate, installed, 1568; died, January 20, 1572.
50. Cassiere, installed, 1572.
51. Verdale, died, 1595.
52. Garzes, installed, 1595; died, February, 1601.
53. Wignacourt, installed, 1601; died, 1622.
54. Vasconcellos, installed, 1622.
55. De Paul, installed, 1622; died, 1636.
56. Paul de Lascaris Castellar, installed, 1636; died August 14, 1657.
57. Redin, installed, 1657; died, February 6, 1660.
58. Clermont de Chattes Gessan, installed, 1660; died, June 8, 1660.
59 Raphael Cotoner, installed, 1660; died, 1663.
60. Nicholas Cotoner, installed, 1663; died, April 29, 1680.
61. Caraffa, installed, 1680.
62. Wignacourt, installed, 1690; died, September 4, 1697.
63. Perrellas, installed, 1697; died, February, 1720.
64. Zondadari, installed, 1720; died, 1722.
65. Anthony Manoel de Vilhena, installed, 1722; died, 1742.

66. Pinto de Fonseca, installed, 1742.
67. Ximenes, installed, 1773; died, November, 1776.
68. Rohan, installed, 1776; died, 1797.
69. Hompesch, installed, 1797.

LIST OF RULERS OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF PALESTINE, A.D. 1099-1205.

I. Godfrey de Bouillon, crowned, 1099; died, July 11, 1100.
II. Baldwin I., crowned, 1101; died, 1118,
III. Baldwin II., crowned, 1118; died, 1131.
IV. Foulques (Fulk), Count Anjou, crowned, 1131; died, 1144.
V. Baldwin III., crowned, 1144; died, 1162.
VI. Almeric, crowned, February 18, 1162; died, 1174.
VII. Baldwin IV., crowned, ; abdicated, 1184.
VIII. Baldwin V., crowned, 1184; died, 1186.
IX. Sibylla and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, crowned, 1186, Sibylla died, 1191; Guy abdicated, 1192.
X. Henry, Count of Champagne, crowned, 1192, killed by accident, 1194.
XI. Amauri, King of Cyprus, crowned, 1194; died, 1205.

The following lists of Popes of Rome A.D. 1088 to A.D. 1316, will be found useful for reference. The authority is Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates.*

Urban II., 1088. Promoted the First Crusade from 1096-1099.
Pascal II., 1099. Council of Clermont, 1095.
Gelasius II., 1118.
Calixtus II., 1119.
Honorius II., 1125.
Innocent II., 1130.
Celestine II., 1143.
Lucius IL, 1144.
Eugenius III., 1145. Promoted the Second Crusade, 1146.
Anastasius IV., 1153.
Adrian IV., 1154.
Alexander III., 1159.
Lucius III., 1181.
Urban III., 1185.
Gregory VIII., 1187.
Clement III., 1188. Promoted the Third Crusade, 1188.
Celestine III., 1191. Promoted the Fourth Crusade, 1195-1199.
Innocent III., 1198. Promoted the Fifth Crusade, 1198.
Honorius III., 1216.
Gregory IX., 1227. Promoted the Sixth Crusade.
Celestine IV., 1241.
Innocent IV., 1243. Promoted the Seventh Crusade
Alexander IV., 1254.

Urban IV., 1261.
Clement IV., 1265. The Eighth and last Crusade.[1]
Gregory X., 1271.
Innocent V., 1275.
Adrian V., 1276.
Vicedominus,
John XXI.,
Nicholas III., 1277.
Martin IV., 1281.
Honorius IV., 1285.
Nicholas IV, 1288.
Celestine V., } 1294.
Boniface VIIL, }
Benedict XI., 1303.
Clement V., 1305.
John XXII., 1316.

As a comment upon the chronological confusion of the times we append from Dr. Barclay's *City of the Great King,* a second Table of the Crusades:

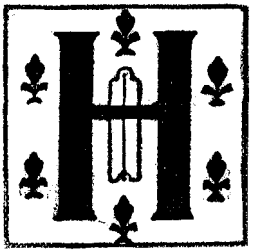
Crusade I., 1096-1099. Capture of Jerusalem.
Crusade II., 1147.
Crusade III., 1189.
Crusade IV., 1202.
Crusade V., 1217.
Crusade VI., 1238.
Crusade VII., 1243.
Crusade VIII., 1270.

Dr. Barclay wisely adds: "The cessation of the Crusades was not produced by any abatement of the love of arms, or of the thirst of glory to the chivalry of Europe. But the union with these martial qualities, of that fanatical enthusiasm which inspired the Christian warriors of the 11th century, had been slowly but almost thoroughly dissolved."

[1] After the Seventh Crusade and the surrender of all the places in Syria, there were several expeditions inaugurated, but the seventh was the last crusade.

CHAPTER LII

THE INTRODUCTION OF KNIGHT TEMPLARISM INTO AMERICA



AVING given in Chapter LI. a short history of the Knights Templars during the Crusades, and the suppression of that magnanimous and Christian Order by the Church of Rome, aided by its wretched and villanous adherents, the various sovereigns of Europe; and having also shown the remnants of the Order down to recent times, in England and France, it becomes a pleasing task to trace, as nearly as possible, the connection between those noble spirits, who gave their fortunes and their lives for the cause of Christianity against the Infidels and Mohammedans of Asia, and our modern Templars, who do not use the material implements of a carnal warfare, but employ the legitimate symbols of the Knightly Armor, to contend against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

All of our recent writers on the Order of the Temple agree, that there can not be found any direct connection between the ancient and present Templar systems; yet, like the sunken rivers found in many parts of the world, where we can trace the waters thereof, after they disappear on one side of a mountain, and discover where these same waters again appear, and proceed onward to the sea; the same flowing spirit which was manifested in the lives of the original Templars, from their origin in the 12th century until they disappeared beneath the obstructions placed in their path by the monarchies of Europe, and the succeeding prejudices of the peoples of each, we can now clearly trace in the Templar rituals of England and the United States the fundamental principles of the ancient Order, of "Fidelity, Zeal, and Obedience," without those superstitions which always have been the accompaniments of the Priestly Orders of the Romish Church. Those superstitions of the early Templars were abolished by them after the close of the Crusades. The Tem-

plars, very soon thereafter having learned the deceptions of priestcraft, failed to pay the required respect and obedience to the hierarchy; and, consequently, were antagonized by the Church, and their existence as an Order soon thereafter terminated. The modern Templars pay due allegiance to, and worship, the risen Saviour, in spirit and in truth, with no unmeaning ceremonies.

We learn from various writers that, in the progress of Freemasonry in the American Colonies, somewhere about the latter half of the 18th century, some officers of an Irish regiment claimed to be possessed of the Knight Templar Order, and through them, several of our own Masons received the several appendant degrees and the Order of Knight Templar. Patents issued to such Knights, bearing dates as early as 1783, are now extant, notably one from Charleston, South Carolina. Toward the close of that century there appeared several appendant degrees, unknown to earlier times, such as Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch Masons. In some of the New England States these degrees were promulgated and conferred under the charters of Blue Lodges; such as the body in the City of Washington in 1794—two record books of which the present writer had the honor of discovering among the old papers in the office of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia in 1875, which no living Mason in the District could give an account of. This body was called the "Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch Encampment." The first book ran from 1795 to 1799; and then the body closed its labors and divided their funds. The second book was commenced in 1804 when the same body, under the charge of Companion Philip P. Eckles, of Baltimore, resumed its labors and continued until August 21, 1808, when the book ends abruptly after the annual election of officers.

A book was published by Companion Joseph K. Wheeler, of Connecticut, which gave an account of similar bodies, bearing the same title, in the State of Connecticut. From these came the first independent particular Royal Arch Chapters, and from which Thos. Smith Webb and John Hanmer, both from Temple Chapter of Albany, New York, formed the first Grand Chapter of New England and New York in 1798, the history of which will be found under Capitular Masonry (Chapter XLIX.). Also under the chapter relating to the history of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite will be

found the writer's views as to what was the reason for these degrees being brought into the Masonry of the Blue Lodge, which we here casually mention as having been part and parcel of the very many appendant degrees communicated to the Brethren who had passed through the curriculum of the twenty-five degrees of the Rite of Perfection, or the Ancient and Accepted Rite of 1762-65, which was, in 1802, at Charleston, enlarged into thirty-three degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite by the Mother Council. It is well known to all well-read and advanced Masonic scholars, that all degrees of Masonry above the third degree, or so-called Master Mason's degree, are the outcome of the "thousand and one degrees" promulgated and sometimes worked in France and Germany from the middle to the close of the 18th century. Until the emperors of the East and West formulated the regular twenty-five degrees of the A.·.A.·.A.·.R.·. in 1762, those various degrees were communicated to all who desired, and were willing to pay for them. Within the regular twenty-five degrees were found the Arch and Templar degrees. Also from two of them the present Red Cross of the Commandery was formulated, which degree has no connection with the primitive Red Cross of "Rome and Constantine," attributed to Constantine the Great.

As to the Templar degree ritual, it is entirely different from the English ritual, as the latter, at the present day, is different from the ritual of the last century at its close and the commencement of the present. We have a certified copy of that ritual made as early as 1801 from an older ritual, which is also a copy from a much older one, which was sent to Brother General Albert Pike, and by him given to the present writer.

The first authentic information that we have of the Templar Order in the United States, is found in the history of St. Andrew's Royal Arch Chapter, which held its first recorded meeting, August 28, 1769, in the Mason's Hall in Boston, under the charter of St. Andrew's Royal Arch Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and the record of that date shows that the degree of Knight Templar was conferred.[1] At that time, and somewhat later, the bodies were termed "Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch Encamp-

[1] Oration of Companion W. Sewall Gardner, at Centennial of St. Andrew's Chapter, pp. 42, 43.

ments," as before stated. The records of that Chapter show that "Brother William Davis came before the Lodge, begging to have and receive the parts belonging to the Royal Arch Masons, which being read, was received, and he unanimously voted in, and was accordingly made by receiving the four steps, that of Excellent, Super-excellent, Royal Arch, and Knight Templar."[1] In all the histories of the chapters in the New England States, the above titles were first used; as also in the Chapter organized in the City of Washington, under the Charter of Federal Lodge. The Red Cross does not appear in any of those old bodies. It has occurred to the writer that after the Templar degree had been dropped by Thos. Smith Webb, when in 1796 the movement had been inaugurated to institute the General Grand Chapter of New England and New York, that some of the Brethren formed a separate body for the Templar Order; and wishing to have the "Red Cross of Constantine" united with the Templar degree, as was the case after the Crusades, they must have mistaken the united degrees of the 15th and 16th for the "Constantine Red Cross." At all events, there is considerable difficulty in accounting for the curious mixture of the Persian Mysteries with the solemn ceremonies of the Christian Order of the Temple. Some writers say that "the records of Kilwinning Lodge, of Ireland, warranted 8, in 1779, show that its Charter was used as the authority for conferring the Royal Arch, Knight Templar, and Rose Croix degrees as early as 1782; but the Red Cross and the Rose Croix are two different degrees, and should not be confounded. It is thought possible that the Irish lodges, having the High Knight Templar degree, communicated it to their American Brothers prior to the Revolution, though there is no evidence of it; on the contrary, the records show that it was conferred first (1769) in America, and afterward in Ireland, 1779."[2]

Bro. Theo. S. Parvin says: "In 1766 there were two Military Lodges stationed at Boston: No. 58 on the register of England, connected with the Fourteenth Regiment, and No. 322, register of Ireland, attached to the Twenty-ninth Regiment. As early as 1762 St. Andrew's Lodge, of Boston, applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, from which it had received its Warrant, for leave to

[1] Oration of Companion W. Sewall Gardner, at Centennial of St. Andrew's Chapter, pp. 42, 43.

[2] Bro. Fred. Speed in "History of Freemasonry," p. 704.

confer the Royal Arch degree; and subsequently, under this War. rant, it conferred both the degrees of Royal Arch and Knight Templar. Even prior to this, as early as 1758, Lodge No. 3, at Philadelphia, working under Warrant as No. 359, granted by the Grand Lodge of All England, also worked as a chapter, and conferred the Royal Arch degree; but, as previously stated, we do not find that this Chapter ever conferred the degree of Knight Templar."[1]

Some writers suppose that it was possible "that the degree of Knight Templar was conferred in Military Lodges and perhaps in other Lodges prior to the Revolutionary War."[2]

From about the years 1776 to 1783, during the War of Independence, but little attention was given to Masonic organization except in the military lodges. After peace had assumed her sway and the country began to thrive in all material interests, and the various Grand Lodges of the separate States were organized, what were termed the "higher degrees," which had been, up to that period, always conferred in the lodges under the sanction of their Warrants, became the subject of a more independent character. We find from the various histories of the Royal Arch Chapters, especially in the New England States, that in various towns and cities independent bodies were organized, wherein the degrees of Royal Arch, Excellent, and Superexcellent Masters were attached to the Templar degree; and in some instances, the Red Cross, whatever ritual of that degree may have been used in its conference, was given.

"Few of these organizations have continued until the present time, and still fewer have left any records of the earlier years of their existence. An occasional discovery of an ancient diploma, or other fragment, has revived previously formed opinions as to which is the elder organization; but for the reason that bodies were self-constituted, and consisted of individuals who, being in possession of a degree, called to their assistance the requisite number of other qualified brethren, and gave the degrees to certain chosen spirits, and then dissolved never to meet again, it is manifest that there can be no gathering together of the facts; and that beyond an occasional hint, received from the meager record of some old lodge-book, as it may be unearthed from its hiding-place, nothing further is to be looked for. As time passed on, and these occasional gatherings became more frequent, when the number of Templars had increased

[1] Bro. Fred. Speed in "History of Freemasonry," p.. 703. [2] Ibid.

sufficiently, and more permanent organizations began to be made, out of these emergency bodies grew permanent ones."[1]

There has been much discussion in the various older jurisdictions as to the first duly organized encampment (commandery), and we do not know if the question has been finally settled. From the Proceedings of the Grand Encampment of 1883 we learn from the Address of Grand Master Dean that there was "Indisputable evidence that the degrees of Knight of the Red Cross and Knight Templar were conferred in Charleston, South Carolina, in a regularly organized body as far back as the year 1782."[2]

"The South Carolina Encampment, No. 1, of Knights Templars and the Appendant Orders was established in 1780, as is evident from the old seal in our archives. But it does not appear from what source our ancestors derived their first Charter, all of our records previous to November 7, 1823, having been lost or consumed by fire. It is clear, however, that this encampment was in active operation in 1803, and continued so until long after the date of our oldest record, for, on December 29, 1824, it was "Resolved that, in consideration of the long and faithful services of our Most Eminent Past Commander, Francis Sylvester Curtis, *who regularly paid his arrears to this Encampment for more than twenty years*, he is considered a life-member of this Encampment, and that his life-membership take date from November, 1823."[3] In a "list of various Masonic degrees," in Cole's *Ahiman Reson*, extracted from a publication in 1816, the Knight of the Red Cross is termed the ninth degree, the *Knight of Malta* the tenth, and the *Knight Templar* the thirteenth; and they are said to be conferred in the Sublime Grand Lodges in Charleston, S. C, in the City of New York, and in Newport, R. I.[4] On November 7, 1823, that encampment, which was then regularly working at Sir Knight Roche's Asylum, under the command of the M. E. Sir Moses Holbrook, M.D., Grand Commander, received "*the authority from the G. G. E.*" to work. At the following meeting (November 15th) Moses Holbrook was re-elected to the office which he then held, John Barker was elected

[1] Fred. Speed, "History of Freemasonry," etc., pp. 703, 704.

[2] Proceedings of the Grand Encampment of the United States, 1883, p. 59, Grand Master Dean's Address.

[3] Gourdin (MS. Records of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1), pp. 29, 30.

[4] "Freemason's Library," p. 317.

an honorary member, January 16, 1824. It was, at this time, the practice to introduce the *candidates separately in both degrees.* On January 18, 1824, James Eyland was created a Templar. The encampment met January 30, 1824, at Sir Knight H. G. Street's Asylum, and the meetings, which had hitherto taken place on *every* Friday evening, were changed, February 15, 1824, to the last Wednesday in each month, and the last Wednesday in November was fixed for the annual election. March 31, 1824, Sir John Barker was voted to be recommended to be Grand Visitor for the Southern States.[1]

June 24, 1824, M. E. and M. W. Henry Fowle, Deputy Gen eral Grand Master of the G. G Encampment of the United States of America, granted a Charter at Boston (S. C), countersigned by John G. Loring, G. G. Recorder, to Benjamin Thomas Elmore, and eleven others, to form, open, and hold *Columbia Encampment,* No. 2. Brother Elmore was appointed the first Grand Commander, E. H. Maxey, Generalissimo, and John Bryce, Captain General. The Charter is in the Archives of Richland Lodge, No. 39, A.·. F.·. M.·. at Columbia, S. C, with some "rough sketches of their meetings," which were held in the hall of that lodge.[2]

The number of members increased to thirty or more, their meetings continued about four years, and from some cause ceased to exist.[3]

There was at that time no Grand Encampment in South Carolina, as we find from the following:

"February 23d, 1825, the Encampment was informed that the three first officers had, in accordance with a previous resolution giving them discretionary power in the matter, recommended *Georgetown Encampment* to the G. G. Encampment for a charter."[4]

As an interesting incident in the history of this encampment, we make the following extract:

"LA FAYETTE.

"The members of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1, were summoned to meet at Sir H. G Street's, on the 16th of March, 1825, to wait on General La Fayette agreeably to a previous

[1] MS. Records of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1. [2] Gourdin, p. 30.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., p. 31.

arrangement with him. The following Officers and Members attended precisely at half-past 2 o'clock."[1]

In consequence of a gap in the minutes from this time until January 26, 1827, no further information could be obtained concerning this very interesting occasion.

September 18, 1826, the Grand Encampment of the State of South Carolina was represented in the G. G Encampment at New York by Sir John Barker, proxy for M. E. Moses Holbrook, Grand Master, and Sir William H. Jones, proxy for the M. E. Sir William E. Lathrop, G. Capt. Gen'ls, and the Committee, to whom were "referred the proceedings of the Officers of the G. G. Encampment since the last Meeting" (September 16, 1819), reported. "That these have been established, with the approbation of the G. G Officers, Grand Encampments in the following States; to wit: New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia."[2]

During the year 1819, Beaufort Encampment of South Carolina, at Beaufort, was established, which continued about four or five years. The records were burned up.[3]

Jos. M'Cosh, who was afterward an Ins. Genl. of the thirty-third degree, resigned November 28, 1827. He was the Recorder, November 7, 1823. During the year 1828, Sir James Eyland was Grand Commander. Many resignations took place.

In 1829, Sir James Eyland, G. Master, represented the Grand Commandery in the G. G Encampment. He was elected that year G. G Capt. General, and in 1832 was elected G. G. Generalissimo.[4]

About this time the meetings of the S. C. Encampment were very poorly attended. May 12, 1830, there was not a quorum, nor in October 11, 1830. The encampment was adjourned to the stated meeting of December. The following note appears:

I certify that no quorum ever after assembled. I met one or two only after the above note of an attempted meeting. Sir J. W. Rouse handed me over the books and papers all for me to deliver up to this Encampment, some time in 1832, with a letter of resigna-

[1] MS. Records of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1, Gourdin, p. 31.

[2] B. B. French. "The Grand Encampment of Knights Templars, and the Appendant Orders, in the State of South Carolina," was incorporated for fourteen years, by A.A. of 20th December, 1826, viii Stats, p. 350.

[3] J. M. Barker.

[4] B. B. French.

tion at the same time. The books and papers of Grand Encampment of S. C. and all were flooded when Sir John May's workshop was burned. I received the remains in 1840.

(Signed) MOSES HOLBROOK,
P. Gr. Commander.

I. W. Rouse died 23 April, 1834 Past Gr. Master of Gr. Encampment of South Carolina. The record of the G. G. Encampment does not show any representation from the G. Encampment of South Carolina subsequent to 1829.[1]

October 14, 1841, seven of the former members of South Carolina Encampment, among them the Grand Commander J. S. Burges, met at Rame's Hall, in Meeting Street, for the purpose of reviving it, after its long nap of eleven years and more.[2]

January 27, 1842, it was Resolved that the degree of Red Cross should be conferred upon Sr. Knight Benjamin Greer, on his paying $5, with the condition of his becoming a member of this encampment, he having received the other degrees before in Europe.[3]

A dispensation was issued to the encampment by Sir Jos. K. Stapleton, D. G. G. Master, May 17, 1843, to continue their labors, the Warrant having been burned up. This dispensation was brought to the notice of the encampment only on October 19, 1843, by Rev. A. Case, the G. Chaplain. In 1844, the G. C, Sir A. Case, represented South Carolina Encampment in the G. G. Encampment, and during this session a charter was ordered to that encampment free of charge, *in consequence of the loss by fire of a former one.* This charter was reported to the meeting, March 15, 1845, as having been received.

February 9, 1853, Joseph Hunter, P. D. G. M. of Savannah, Ga., was made a K. R. C. and K. T., and *in token of respect* his fees were returned to him, and he was elected a life member.

In 1853, M.·.E.·. A. G. Mackey represented the encampment in the G. G Encampment, and was elected G. G Warden.[4]

December 27, 1854, the encampment acted as an escort to the Grand Lodge of South Carolina at the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the formation of a Provisional Grand Lodge.[5]

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[1] B. B. French.

[2] MS. Records of South Carolina Encampment, No. I. The last meeting held was March 9, 1830.

[3] Ibid. [4] B. B. French. [5] MS. Records of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1.

In 1855, South Carolina Encampment was the only one in existence in the State.[1]

Continuing the interesting history of this, one of the oldest organizations of Knights Templars, we refer to the Proceedings of the Grand Encampment of the United States for 1883:

The Grand Master states in his address that "on 8th of December, 1880, I issued a dispensation to South Carolina Commandery, No. 1, to appear in public in full Templar costume on the twenty-ninth day of December, 1880, for the purpose of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of its organization. I also issued dispensations for a like appearance in public, to join in the celebration to Columbia Commandery, No. 2, Georgia Commandery, No. 1, and Palestine Commandery, No. 7."[2]

As the question of when the first encampment in the United States was regularly organized is of great interest, we continue our notice of the introduction of the Templar Order of Knighthood into South Carolina, and show what Brother A. G. Mackey says of it in his *History of Freemasonry in South Carolina*.[3] He quotes from Gourdin what we have already copied, and then continues: "I have been unable to find any reference in the cotemporary journals of the day to the existence of South Carolina Encampment, No. 1, at that early period. I have, however, been more successful in obtaining indisputable evidence that the degrees of Knight of the Red Cross and Knight Templar were conferred in Charleston, in a regularly organized body, as far back as the year 1783, and I have no doubt that the seal with the date 1780, to which Gourdin refers, belonged to that body and afterward came into the possession of South Carolina Encampment.[4]

"The proofs of what I have stated is contained in a small compass but the testimony is irrefutable. I have in my possession a diploma, written in a very neat chirography on parchment, with two seals in wax attached, one in red, of the Royal Arch, and the other in black, of the Knights Templar. The upper part of the diploma contains four devices within four circles, all skillfully executed with the pen. The first device, beginning on the left hand, is a star of seven points, with the ineffable name in the

[1] Gourdin, p. 33.

[2] Proceedings of the Grand Encampment of the United States, 1883, p. 58.

[3] Ibid., p. 58. [4] Ibid., p. 59.

center, and the motto, '*Memento Mori;*' the second is an arch on two pillars, the all-seeing eye on the Key-stone, and a sun beneath the arch, and '*Holiness to the Lord*' for the motto; the third is the cross and brazen serpent, erected on a bridge, and '*Jesus Salvator Hominum'* for the motto; and the fourth is the skull and cross-bones, surmounted by a cross, with the motto, '*In hoc signo vinces.'* The reference of the three last devices is evidently to the Royal Arch, the Red Cross, and Templar degrees. The first is certainly a symbol of the Lodge of Perfection, and hence, connectedly, they show the dependence of the Order of Templarism in the State at that time upon the Ancient and Accepted Rite." In the Proceedings is a heliotyped copy of the diploma, which is here shown. The original was placed in the possession of the Grand Master, Benjamin Dean, by the son of Bro. A. G. Mackey, the Hon. Edw. Mackey, to be presented, in his name, to the Grand Encampment of the United States. The 'expense of this and other plates in the volume was paid for by the Grand Master. As a matter of considerable interest, we subjoin further remarks of the Grand Master in connection with the subject.

"On the 6th of May, 1881, Sir Knight W. J. Pollard, because of a conversation with him in Boston, wrote me a long and interesting letter on the history of Freemasonry in South Carolina and Georgia, in which he says: 'I find in Charleston, from the South Carolina Gazette, that at some period, not clearly defined, there was a Lodge established in West Florida called St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 40, and that it was moved to Charleston about 1783, and was Chartered as a York Lodge in the city of Charleston July, 1783, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.' "

"He also called my attention to the recovery by Sir Knight Jennison of valuable papers relating to the Encampment. Sir Knight Jennison also sent me copies of the papers. . . . A careful examination of the old diploma discovered on the Seal the words 'Lodge No. 40.' These words and figures were not so prominent as the other legends on the Seal, and seemed to have escaped the attention of Brother Albert G. Mackey.

"A careful examination disclosed the remains of two ribbons, under those in sight, showing that there were originally four seals attached to the diploma; one of these ribbons is quite rotten."

From an address delivered December 10, 1878, before the Grand

Holiness to the Lord

We the High Priest, Capt.n Commandant of the Red Cross and Capt.n General of that Most holy and invincible order of Knights Templars of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1. Ancient Masons, held in Charlestown South Carolina Under Charter from the Grand Lodge of the Southern District of North America. Do hereby Certify, that the Bearer our trusty and Well Beloved Broth. Sir Henry Beaumont hath stated the Chair, been raised to the Sublime Degrees of an excellent super Excellent Royal Arch Mason, Knight of the Red Cross and a Knight of that Most holy, Invincible and Magnanimous order of Knights Templars, Knight Hospitlar, Knight of Rhodes and of Malta, which Royal Orders are above Delineated, and he having Conducted himself like a true and faithfull Brother, we affectionately recommend him to all the Fraternity of Ancient Masons round the Globe wherever assembled.

Given under our hands and Seals of our Lodge this 1. day of August Eight thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Three, and of Malta 3517.

G. Cather. Capt.n Gen.l
Ric.d Pathey. 1st King
W.m Nisbett. 2nd King
R.t Hasen. Recorder.

Lodge of South Carolina by M. W. Wilmot G. De Saussure, P. G. M. of South Carolina, we quote "that the Warrant for No. 40 was granted to Brethren formerly of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1, West Florida, and then of Charleston, on the 12th of July, 1783."

Brother Frederick Speed says:

> In summing up the evidence, this writer is compelled to regret the conclusions of *Fratres* Dean and Mackey, that there is "Indisputable evidence that the degrees of Knight of the Red Cross and Knight Templar were conferred in Charleston in a regularly organized body as far back as the year 1783." He then continues: "St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1 was not a Templar body at any time in its history. Like St. Andrew's Lodge of Boston, it was a Master's Lodge and the degrees were conferred, as evidenced from the diploma, under the sanction of its warrant as a Blue Lodge; but it seems to be established beyond a reasonable doubt, by the resolution relating to the membership of Francis Sylvester Curtis, that South Carolina Encampment No. 1 was a regularly organized Templar body as far back as the year 1804, and probably earlier. It was, like all older encampments, self-created, and worked without a charter, until the year 1823, when it was "reopened in conformity with the Constitution" of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, at which time, it appears from the petition—and resolution of the encampment embraced therein—
>
> "That on diligent search being made in the archives, it clearly appears that this encampment was in full operation under the sanction of a warrant of 'Blue' Lodge, No. 40, upwards of thirty years ago, and continued in operation many years subsequent; and has, time out of mind, caused to be made and used a common seal. It also further appears that the said encampment has lain dormant for several years past. . . .
>
> "*Resolved*, That the M.·. E.·. Sir James C. Winters, together with the Recorder, be authorized to forward the necessary documents to prove the existence of this encampment prior to the year 1816, and obtain the desired recognition."
>
> Extract from the minutes. (Signed) JOSEPH MCCOSH,
>
> *Recorder pro tem.*[1]

The question of "Regularity" here presents itself as to the "Validity" of the Templar organizations as it does as to the "Validity" of the Capitular degrees, not only in the United States, but originally in Europe.

From the very first organization of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, all Masons agree that no single individual has any prescriptive right or prerogative to communicate any knowledge of a "Rite" or any part of its *ritual*, unless so authorized by the "Con-

[1] Grand Encampment Proceedings, 1883, p. 172.

stitution "under which said *ritual* is promulgated. The Altar obligations, of all the Rites, provide against any such violation of the "Constitution." In the Section VIII. of the New Regulations of 1738 we find the following as an amendment to the Section VIII. of 1723, viz.:

"VIII. Every Brother concerned in Making Masons clandestinely shall not be allowed to visit any Lodge till he has made due submission, even though the Brother so admitted may be allowed.

"None who make a stated Lodge without the Grand-Master's Warrant shall be admitted into regular Lodges, till they make due submission and obtain Grace.

"If any Brethren form a Lodge without leave, and shall irregularly make Brothers, they shall not be admitted into any regular Lodge, no not as Visitors, till they render a good Reason or make due submission.

"Seeing that some extraneous Brothers have been lately made in a clandestine manner; that is, in no regular Lodge, or by any authority or Dispensation from the Grand Master, and upon small and unworthy considerations to the Dishonour of the Craft:

"The Grand Lodge decreed, that no person so made, nor any concerned in making him, shall be a Grand Officer, nor an officer of any particular Lodge; nor shall any such partake of the General Charity, if they should come to want."

We have here the general principles upon which to base a judgment as to all legitimacy of Masonic work. The *innocent* parties, upon whom Masonic work has been commenced, are to be held blameless, and are to be admitted to fellowship, and those only are to be punished who were guilty of the irregular and *clandestine* work.

In the matter of the various parties, who without competent authority attempted to confer the degrees of the Commandery upon innocent Brethren, it appears, from all that we can learn from recent writers, that the several degrees of Red Cross, Knight Templar, and Knight of Malta were conferred, whatever may have been the several rituals, at that early period, and they were assumed to be correct. These germs, however obtained, came in time to be the veritable means for establishing the bodies, by which finally, and however irregularly conducted, the several State Grand Commanderies were organized. We have seen that from these have grown up, in the United States, a system of Masonic Templarism which is the most exten-

sive and influential body of men anywhere in the world, as we shall be able to demonstrate in the conclusion of this sketch.

We have carefully read and pondered over nearly all, if not quite all, the writings of reliable authors who have, as far as possible, culled from authentic documents and every source of legitimate information every item which could add to our knowledge of the introduction of the Templar and appendant orders into the United States; and we must deal with the subject as we have found it. It is barely possible that the fountain was impure at the beginning; but taking the system, as it is at the very close of the 19th century, where else in the world can we find such a body of United Praters, Masons, distinguished gentlemen, of all the useful professions, arts, sciences, and trades, as compose the Officers, Constituencies, and Members, scattered as they are, in all the States, Territories, cities, towns, and hamlets of this vast country? What is now the true status of Masonic Templary in the United States—with its total membership of 114,540 at the close of 1898?

In the admirable history of the Order by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. B. MacLeod Moore, he is very persistent in challenging the Masonic Templary of the United States. He says: "I may appear to have frequently indulged in fault-finding with the system of *purely Masonic* Templary practiced in the United States of America, and am fully alive to the fact that the popularity of the degrees there among its most enlightened members is an argument stronger than all the criticism that can be brought against it; but in order to explain my objections, it was necessary to refer to the glaring discrepancies and inconsistencies existing, which prove the system to be not only false, but a perversion of the principles of the true Templar Order, from which it derives its name—merely an imitation Military *Masonic* degree—a parody upon the pure doctrines of the Ancient Templars."

Several pages are devoted to his view of these inconsistencies and discrepancies—too lengthy for our columns—and hence must refer our readers to his sketch.[1]

In many things we must, of course, concur with him; but suppose we apply his method of criticism to our Modern Masonry, beginning with the early rituals of 1725 by Anderson and Desaguliers, all the

[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 742 *et seq.*

way through the various Modifications of Martin Clare, Hutchinson, Dunckerley, and Preston, to the very last formed by the union in 1813 of the Modern and Ancient work of Hemmingway, which is the present ritual of the United Grand Lodge of England, —and compare all of the various forms with well-known *facts* as we have them in the sacred writings and history—and where will the ritualism of the three degrees of the Blue Lodge stand? where the ritualism of the Mark degree, where that of the R. A. Chapter?

We say, let the question, as to Orthodoxy of American Templarism, settle itself; all in good time; very, *very* few Templars in the United States know anything whatever of this controversy and

Where ignorance is bliss, 'twere folly to be wise

We have among our Members distinguished Clergymen of all our Christian denominations, but we are not aware of a single descendant of Jacob who is a Knight Templar. Our ceremonies all conduce to the idea of a pure Christianity. Let us therefore be content to let matters remain as they are; that each individual Member shall for himself interpret the ceremonies, and apply himself to the consideration of Christianity as his instructions in Christianity have dictated, according to his "FAITH."

It appears from all accounts of the introduction of the Order of Knights Templars into the United States, prior to the period of the War of Independence, that where there was any attempt to confer the Order, the same was mingled with the "Excellent, Superexcellent, and Royal Arch," the Templar degree following the Royal Arch. We have concluded that the Templar Order with appendant degrees of Red Cross, St. John's of Jerusalem, and Knights of Malta, were as legitimately conferred, and by the same authority, as were the degrees now constituting "Capitular" Masonry,

We will endeavor, in our list of Commanderiez, which were subsequently organized as such in the different jurisdictions, to give authentically the first efforts to establish the Encampment degrees chronologically, until the firm establishment of State Grand Commanderies (Encampments) and the General Grand Encampment in 1816. We may make some errors, but trust that in the main we shall be found quite accurate in dates. In the pre-

ceding pages of this chapter, we have quoted various writers as to the workings of the Order in the different States; but there have been vagueness and uncertainty as to the dates given.

M. E. William B. Hubbard, General Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, said:

"It is to be regretted that we have no authentic and reliable history of the first formation of the first Encampments, with the governmental rituals, as we now have them. For these, if I may be allowed the expression, are somewhat *Americanized.* I suppose that we owe the origin of the introduction of Templar Masonry into the United States to a distinguished Sov.·.Ins.·. of the Scottish Rite."[1]

The first notice of the Templar degree being conferred is found in the history of St. Andrew's Chapter of Boston, and the dates given are August 28th and September 17th, 1769, by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Wm. Sewall Gardner, in his oration at the centennial celebration of that chapter, September 29th, A. L. 5869.

We will now give the dates referred to in the preceding pages, in Chapters LI. and LII., and the States wherein the Templar degree was conferred.

1769.	Massachusetts—authority, Wm. Sewall Gardner.
1780. 1783.	South Carolina, Patent.
1785.	New York, McCoy.
1790.	Maryland.
1793.	Pennsylvania, Creigh.
1793.	District of Columbia. Ceased in 1799, renewed in 1804, ceased in 1898.
1796.	Connecticut.
1797.	Pennsylvania first Grand Encampment.
1802.	Pennsylvania.
1802.	Rhode Island, St. John's Encampment, No, 1.
1812. 1814.	Pennsylvania.
1816.	Organization of General Grand Encampment at New York

[1] MS. Letter, March 16, 1855 (from Gourdin, p. 29, Note A).

CHAPTER LIII

THE GENERAL GRAND ENCAMPMENT OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN THE UNITED STATES

HE true origin of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the United States is involved in some uncertainty. In the first volume of the "Proceedings" of the Grand Encampment of the United States, from the Preface we learn that from its formation in 1816 the proceedings, and also those of the Second Conclave in 1819, were not printed until 1859; and at that session the Grand Recorder, Sir Knight Benj. B. French, presented the following paper:

"I have found it impossible to obtain a single set of the printed proceedings of this Grand Body from its origin. By the aid of our respected and distinguished former General Grand Recorder, Sir Charles Gilman, I succeeded in obtaining *two printed copies* of the proceedings of 1826, and more or less of these of each year up to 1847. By writing out from the original records the proceedings of 1816 and 1819, I succeeded in making two perfect copies of the proceedings up to and including those of 1856. One of these I sent to our M. E. Grand Master and the other I retained myself. These are, probably, the only perfect copies of our proceedings in existence, except the original written records in the office of the Grand Recorder. I respectfully suggest the propriety of having the proceedings up to and including 1856 reprinted. There are now no copies of the proceedings in my office anterior to 1847; only two of 1847, twenty-six copies of 1850, one hundred and four copies of 1853, and one hundred and thirty copies of 1856."

In pursuance of instructions given to the General Grand Re-

corder, "What purport to be the Minutes of the 'Formation of the General Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the United States,' was printed and distributed among the members of the Grand Body." The statements published were accepted as authentic, until within very recent years, when great doubts arose as to the correctness of the statements made as to those who constituted the membership of the Convention in 1816.

At the conclave in 1889, Past Grand Master James H. Hopkins presented a paper, showing the result of his examination as to the origin of the General Grand Encampment. This paper was ordered to be printed in the "Proceedings," and that, in a reprint of the older "Proceedings," the history of the formation should be corrected, in accordance with his statement. The committee, however, who had charge of the reprint, deemed it advisable to print the "Formation," as it was first printed, and as it appears in manuscript in the Minute Book of the General Grand Recorder, and to publish in the Preface the facts as discovered in the paper referred to. This report was signed by James PL Hopkins, W. P. Innis, and Wm. B. Isaacs, names well known and highly honored, as worthy of all credence, by every true and valiant Knight Templar.

We subjoin a few extracts from Knight Hopkins's paper, for a better understanding of the "Formation of the General Grand Encampment." That record states that "at a convention holden at Mason's Hall in the City of New York on the 20th and 21st June, 1816, consisting of Delegates or Knights Companions from eight Councils and Encampments of Knights Templars and Appendant Orders, viz.:[1]

"Boston Encampment, Boston; St. John's Encampment, Providence; Ancient Encampment, New York; Temple Encampment, Albany; Montgomery Encampment, Newport; Darius Council, Portland, the following Constitution was formed, adopted, and ratified."

"Anyone investigating the history of the Order in this country, without any other information than this, would be bound to believe that this official record was entirely accurate and to be accepted as absolute verity. It can scarcely be doubted that those who, in

[1] Proceedings of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, 1891, Preface, pp. 3, 4.

1859, caused the first 'proceeding' to be disseminated, had implicit faith in the correctness of the statements." . . .

"I have recently had occasion to look more fully and deeply into the facts connected with the early history of the Order in this country, and with the formation of the Grand Encampment, and I submit some of the results of that investigation. None but the weak, or worse, will hesitate to make a frank admission of error of opinion, when discovered, rather than obstinately adhere to a position proved to be untenable."

. . . . . .

"The Minutes of the Convention which formed this Grand Encampment, as first published in 1859, are a correct transcript from the manuscript on file in the Office of our Grand Recorder. How or why this entry was made, no living man can tell. That it is wholly inaccurate is perfectly demonstrable.

"The Official Minutes declare that the delegates from eight different Councils and Encampments, therein specified, met in New York on June 20 and 21, 1816, and formed the Grand Encampment.

"I have caused diligent search to be made for the records of the different subordinates mentioned. Some of them can not be found of a date early enough to throw any light on the subject; and of those still preserved there is no mention of any appointment of any delegates for the purpose named, nor any action indicating that the Council or Encampment had any part in the Work. The absence of any positive, affirmative Minute in matter of such importance is strong evidence that no such participation was had. But there exists not only negative proof that the subordinate sent no delegates to the Convention, but direct evidence that they did not.

"The Minutes of the Boston Encampment (Commandery), show that on May 28, 1816, the Treasurer was authorized to lend to the Grand Encampment (Commandery), the money in his hands to pay the expenses of the delegates from said Grand Encampment (Commandery) to the Convention referred to. Saint John's Encampment (Commandery), of Providence, by a vote, declined to make a loan to the Grand Encampment for the same purpose. Here is evidence on the records of two of the Commanderies that they did not, but that the Grand Commandery of that jurisdiction

did, send delegates to the Convention. Of the other Subordinates of Massachusetts and Rhode Island mentioned as participating, the Minutes of the one at Newburyport can not be found; those of Newport and Portland are silent.

"Then we have the positive testimony of the Minutes of the Grand Commandery of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, wherein it appears that on May 15, 1816, three delegates were appointed to confer with delegates from other Grand Encampments (Commanderies) upon the subject of a general Union of all under one head. On June 25, 1816, there is the report of these delegates and the action of the Grand Encampment (Commandery) of Massachusetts and Rhode Island approving of their action and changing the local Constitution so as to bring it into harmony with that of the General Grand Body.

"Although this official record is of no greater weight than that of our Grand Encampment, the corroborating and circumstantial evidence renders it conclusive that our record is wrong and that of Massachusetts and Rhode Island is correct.

"In addition to the Minutes referred to, more conclusive evidence has been discovered amongst the papers of Thomas Smith Webb. These papers were examined by our late Grand Master, W. Sewell Gardner, and by him vouched for as authentic and in Webb's handwriting. They consist of the Credentials of the delegates appointed by the Grand Bodies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania, to represent them at a Convention in Philadelphia, a Minute of adjournment to New York with a copy of the Constitution there adopted.

"The Encampments (Commanderies) of New York which are reported to have had representatives in the Convention which formed this Grand Encampment were Ancient Encampment, New York; Temple Encampment, Albany; Montgomery Encampment, Stillwater.

"None of the early records of these bodies can be found, and the history of two of them is mainly traditional. It is quite certain, however, that neither of them belonged to the Grand Commandery of New York in 1816."

The truth of history requires of us to mention some things which may prove of interest, yet it will be found not to be very agreeable; yet like very much of the Ancient history of Masonry

in all its branches, we will find great irregularities, according to our present ideas of how Masonic bodies should be organized.

"In 1802, Boston Encampment was organized by ten Knights of the Red Cross without a Warrant from any competent power.

"In the same year St. John's Encampment, of Providence, was formed without authority from any source by six Sir Knights.

"Darius Council of Portland was organized by three Knights of the Red Cross in 1805, when after admitting two more members, they applied to Massachusetts for recognition."

In 1795 at Newburyport an Encampment was organized without any authority. In Newport, several Royal Arch Masons deputed Companion Shaw to visit New York, where the Orders of Knighthood with other degrees were conferred upon him. The Consistory there gave him a Warrant authorizing him to confer the Orders. Joseph Cerneau presided over the Consistory which he had organized in 1807, without any authority whatever. The only authority ever produced to show that he was more than a Master Mason is the following well-authenticated patent from Mathew Dupotet, which, it will be perceived, emanated from an Inspector-General of the A.·.A.·.A.·.R.·. on the Island of Cuba, viz.:

[TRANSLATION.]

TO THE GLORY OF THE GR: ARCH: OF THE UNIV:

Lux ex Tenebris.

From the Orient of the Very Great and Very Puissant Council of the Sublime Princes (of the Royal Secret), Chiefs of Masonry, under the C: C: of the Zenith (which responds) to the 20° 25' N: Lat:

To our Ill: and Very Valiant Knights and Princes, Masons of all the Degrees, over the surface of the two Hemispheres:

HEALTH!

We, Antoine Mathieu Dupotet, Grand Master of all the Lodges, Colleges, Chapters, Councils, Chapters and Consistories, of the higher degrees of Masonry, Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Pennsylvania, in the United States of America; and of the Grand Lodge and Sovereign Provincial Grand Chapter of Heredom of Kilwinning, of Edinburgh, for America, under the distinctive title of the Holy Ghost, Grand Provincial of San Domingo in the Ancient

Rite, Grand Commander or Sovereign President of the Th: Puissant Grand Council of the Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, established at Port au Prince, Island of San Domingo, by constitutive patent of 16 January and 19 April, 1801, under the distinctive title of The Triple Unity; transferred to Baracoa, Island of Cuba, on account of the events of war,

Do declare, in the name of the Sublime and Th: Puissant Grand Council, do certify and attest, that the Very Resp: Gr: Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle, Joseph Cerneau, Ancient Dignitary of the Lodge No. 47, Orient of Port au Prince Grand Warden of the Provincial Lodge, same Orient, Venerable founder of the Lodge of the Ancient Constitution of York, No. 103, under the distinctive title of the Theological Virtues, Orient of the Habana, Island of Cuba, has been regularly initiated in all the Degrees of the Sublime Masonry,

from that of Secret Master to, and including that of Grand Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle; and wishing to give the strongest proofs of our sincere friendship for our said Very Dear Bro: Joseph Cerneau, in recognition of the services which he has rendered to the Royal Art, and which he is rendering daily, we have initiated him in the highest, in the most eminent and final Degree of Masonry; we create him our Deputy Grand Inspector, for the Northern part of the Island of Cuba, with all the powers that are attached thereto, giving him full and entire power to initiate the Bros: Masons, whom he may judge (Worthy?), to promote them to the Sublime Degrees, from the 4th up to and including the 24th; provided however, that these Masons shall have been officers of a Lodge regularly constituted and recognized, and in place only, where there may not be found Sacred and Sublime and regularly constituted Asyla; from which Bros: he will receive the obligation required and the authentic submission to the Degrees of the Sublime Princes; consulting, however, and calling to his aid the B: B: whom he shall know to be decorated with the Sublime Degrees; we give him full and entire power to confer in the name of our aforesaid Grand Council, the highest Degree of Masonry on a Kt: Prince Mason, one only each year, whose virtues he shall recognize, and the qualities required to deserve this favor; and to the end that our dear Bro: Joseph Cerneau, so decorated, may enjoy, in this quality, the honours, rights and prerogatives, which he has justly deserved, by his arduous labors in the Royal Art, we have delivered to him these presents, in the margin whereof he has placed his signature, that it may avail him everywhere, and be useful to him alone.

We pray our Resp: BB: regularly constituted, spread over the two Hemispheres, with whatever Degree they may be decorated, whether in Lodge, Ch:,

Col:, Sovereign Council . . . . . Sublime, to recognize and receive

our dear Bro:, the Very Illustrious Sov: and Subi: Prince, Joseph Cerneau, in all the Degrees above mentioned; promising to pay the same attention to those who, in our Orients shall present themselves at the doors of our Sacred Asyla, furnished with like authentic titles.

Given by us, S: Sublime Princes, G: C: G: I: G'al: of our aforesaid Grand and Perfect Council, under our Mysterious Seal, and the Grand Seal of the Princes of Masonry, in a place where are deposited the greatest treasures, the sight whereof fills us with consolation, joy and gratitude for all that is great and good.

At Baracoa, Island of Cuba anno 5806, under the sign of the Lion, the 15th day of the 5th month called Ab, 7806, of the Creation 5566, and according to the Common Style the 15th July, 1806.

Signed, MATHIEU DUPOTET,
President, Sov: . . . . .G'al:

[A true copy:] Signed MATHIEU DUPOTET,
President, S: G: I: G'al:

I certify that what is transmitted above and the other portions are conformable to my Register.

TIPHAINE,
S: P: R: S:, D: I: Gal: G: Comm:

The foregoing translation of the ancient copy in French has been correctly and faithfully made by me.

ALBERT PIKE.

March 20, 1882.

The Grand Commandery of New York was organized in the following manner, as ascertained from the Official Proceedings. On January 22, 1814, the Sovereign Grand Consistory, Joseph Cerneau's body, decreed the establishment of a Grand Encampment of Sir Knights Templars and appendant Orders for the State of New York, and immediately proceeded to its formation by choosing the Grand Officers thereof[1] who were all members of said Consistory. This was done solely by the action of the Consistory, without the concurrence of any Commandery, nor of any Knights Templars. This body, which it has often since been proved to have had no legal Masonic authority for its existence, as a Consistory, having been established by Joseph Cerneau alone, in 1807, a few months only after his patent from Mathieu Dupotet had been issued to him which gave him permission to confer one degree, the 25th of the A.·. A.·. A.·. R.·. upon one person only each year, who was qualified by having received all the lower degrees of that Rite, in Cuba only, made his appearance in New York, and finding a total ignorance on the part of all Masons in New York as to the "Rite of Perfection," induced a large number to receive, at his hands, degrees which he had no authority to give. From this beginning, he organized his

[1] Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of New York, 1860, pp. 5, 6, from the paper by Sir Knight James H. Hopkins.

Consistory. In 1816, Columbian Commandery in New York received a Warrant; and a Warrant on the same day was issued to a new commandery in New Orleans. These two were the only Commanderies who recognized the Grand Encampment of New York. All the other encampments in the State refused to recognize the Grand Body, and remained independent for many years.

It is not certain that any of those members, who formed this Grand Commandery of New York, had ever received the degrees of the Commandery in a regular body of Knights Templars, but that they assumed the degrees of the Consistory as being the same as those in the Commandery. There is no evidence whatever that Cerneau, who went from Port Republican in San Domingo to Cuba, and from Cuba to New York, in 1807, ever saw a regular Knight Templar Mason, or ever was anywhere in the vicinity of a Commandery; hence we draw a fair inference, that the Knight of the Red Cross, and also of the Temple, were derived from the rituals of the 15th and 16th and 24th degrees of the A.·. A.·. A.˙. R.·. The ritual of the Templar degree in the United States differs so essentially from the old ritual of England of 1801, now in the possession of the writer, and also from the present English one, that we can presume that it was invented in the United States by those who took the degree from the possession of the Lodges and constituted the semblance of Commanderies (Encampments).

A Grand Convention of Knights Templars was held in the Masonic Hall in the city of Philadelphia, Tuesday, February 15, 1814, for the purpose of forming a Grand Encampment of Knights Templars in Pennsylvania, with jurisdiction belonging thereto, and also over all such Encampments in other States as may agree to come under the jurisdiction of the same. Sir Knight John Sellers, of Wilmington, Del., was called to the Chair, and Sir Knight Henry G. Keatinge, of Baltimore, Md., was appointed Secretary.

It was "*Resolved,* That the Delegates and Proxies from the Several Encampments to be represented in the Convention from the respective States be called over. The following named Sir Knights produced their Credentials under Seals of their respective Encampments as Delegates and Proxies, and were admitted to take their seats in the Convention: Encampment No. 1, Philadelphia.

Delegates, Sir William M. Coxkill, Sir Alphonso C. Ireland, Sir Nathaniel Dilhorn.

"Encampment, City of New York, Proxies, Sir Thomas Black, Sir James Humes.

"Rising-Sun Encampment, City of New York, Delegate, Sir James M'Donald; Proxies from same, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Sir Anthony Fannen.

"Encampment No. 1, Wilmington, Del., Delegates, Sir John Sellers, Sir Archibald Hamilton, Sir John Patterson.

"Encampment No. 1, Baltimore, Md., Delegate, Sir Henry G. Keatinge. The Grand Convention being duly organized, proceeded to form a Constitution which was agreed to February 16, 1814, and signed by the Delegates and Proxies as above named. Also the Grand Officers were elected and installed.

"The Most Eminent Sir William McCorkle, of Philadelphia, *General Grand Master.*

"Most Eminent Sir Archibald Hamilton, of Wilmington, Del., *Grand Generalissimo.*

"Most Eminent Sir Peter Dobb, of New York, *Grand Captain-General.* Right Eminent George A., Baker, of Philadelphia, *Grand Recorder*."

The foregoing account of the formation of this *Freemasons* Grand Encampment in Philadelphia is taken from *The Freemason s Library and General Ahiman Rezon,* by Samuel Cole, P.M., Edition of 1826, and we do not find any notice whatever of the Convention held in June, 1816, by those celebrities, viz.: Thomas Smith Webb, Henry Fowle, and John Snowe, who went to Philadelphia to confer with the above-mentioned Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, "upon the subject of a general Union of all the Encampments in the United States under one head and general form of government," pursuant to the resolution of the "Grand Encampment of the United States," Massachusetts and Rhode Island Encampment being known as such. Having failed in their mission to Philadelphia, they repaired to New York and being there joined by Thomas Lowndes, who had been appointed by the Grand Encampment of New York as its delegate to represent that body at a Convention of Knights Templars from different States of the Union, to be held in the City of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, June nth, on the 20th and 21st of June, at Masons' Hall, held "a Convention."

The records of this quartette's proceedings describe them as "delegates from eight Councils and Encampments," all of which we have mentioned on page 1386 of this chapter.

GRAND MASTERS.

CONCLAVE.	YEAR.	NAME.	WHERE PROM.	REMARKS.
I.	1816	De Witt Clinton	New York, N. Y.	Died in office February 11, 1828.
II.	1819	De Witt Clinton	New York, N. Y.	
III.	1826	De Witt Clinton	New York, N. Y.	
IV.	1829	Rev. Jonathan Nye	Claremont, N. H.	
V.	1832	Rev. Jonathan Nye	Claremont, N. H.	Died April 1, 1843.
VI.	1835	James Madison Allen	Cayuga, N. Y.	
VII.	1838	James Madison Allen	Cayuga, N. Y.	
VIII.	1841	James Madison Allen	Cayuga, N. Y.	Died unknown (?)
IX.	1844	Archibald Bull	Troy, N. Y.	Died December 22, 1865.
X.	1847	Wm. Blackstone Hubbard	Columbus, Ohio.	
XI.	1850	Wm. Blackstone Hubbard	Columbus, Ohio.	
XII.	1853	Wm. Blackstone Hubbard	Columbus, Ohio.	
XIII.	1856	Wm. Blackstone Hubbard	Columbus, Ohio.	Died January 5, 1866.
XIV.	1859	Benj. Brown French	Washington, D. C.	
XV.	1862	Benj. Brown French	Washington, D. C.	Died August 12, 1870.
XVI.	1865	Henry L. Palmer	Milwaukee, Wis.	
XVII.	1868	Wm. Sewall Gardner	Newton, Mass.	Died April 14, 1888.
XVIII.	1871	J. Q. A. Fellows	New Orleans, La.	Died November 28, 1887
XIX.	1874	James Herron Hopkins	Washington, D. C.	
XX.	1877	Vincent Lombard Hurlbut	Chicago, Ill.	Died July 24, 1896.
XXI.	1880	Benjamin Dean	Boston, Mass.	Died April 9, 1897.
XXII.	1883	Robert Enoch Withers	Wytheville, Va.	
XXIII.	1886	Charles Roome	New York, N. Y.	Died June 28, 1890.
XXIV.	1889	John P. S. Cobin	Lebanon, Pa.	
XXV.	1892	Hugh McCurdy	Corunna, Mich.	
XXVI.	1895	Warren La Rue Thomas	Baltimore, Md.	
XXVII.	1898	Reuben Hedley Lloyd	San Francisco, Cal.	

CHAPTER LIV

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY INTO EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The First Lodges and the Grand Lodges.

HE Institution, in its modern system of Speculative Masonry, having been established in Great Britain first, and then upon the Continent of Europe, early in the 18th century, we may well assume that among the various colonists from Europe who made their homes in the Western Hemisphere, there must have been many Operative Masons who had been initiated prior to their emigration.

From the various writers on this subject which we have consulted, we learn it is recorded that as early as 1680 there came to South Carolina one John Moore, a native of England, who before the close of the century removed to Philadelphia and in 1703 was commissioned by the King as Collector of the Port. In a letter written by him in 1715 he mentions having spent "a few evenings in festivity with my Masonic Brethren." This is perhaps the earliest mention we have of there being members of the Craft residing in Pennsylvania or elsewhere in the Colonies.

We must bear in mind that this was several years prior to the organization of the Mother Grand Lodge of Speculative Masonry, which occurred June 24, 1717.

Roger Lacy's deputation of 1735, given by Lord Weymouth. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, was the second American lodge on the English Roll.

Gould's *History of Freemasonry*[1] says of this lodge: "The Charity of the Society was solicited in the Grand Lodge of England, December 31, 1733, to enable the trustees of the new Colony to send Distressed Brethren to Georgia, where they may be comfortably provided for." In 1735 a Deputation to Mr. Roger Lacy

[1] Gould, vol. vi., p. 456.

Ao. Dom: 1731

℞ Contra Cr:

		£	s	d
June 24th	to Wm Button Late maglr.		2	
	to Thomas Hart farmer		2	6
	to Samll nicholas		2	6
	to Thos: Hart Late wardn		2	6
	to Henry Pratt	2	2	7
		£ 2	12	1
	To Jno: Lurton amercement of		2	0
July 5	To Wm allen Esqr: for absence this day 1 fb 2 Quota to Stock		6	
	To Samll nicholas for Do La: 1 fb			
	To Thos Hart farmer Do 1 = 6			
	To Henry Pratt Do 1 = 6			
	To Thos: Rodman Do 1 = 6			
	£ 7 = 6	£	7	6
		£ 3	1	7
August 2	Cr. to his Book when blank which now is paid for out of Stock		18	0
	to William allen Esqr to Cash rec. of this day		2	6
	To Christopher Tomson Letter		3	6
	to Thos Hart in town Late wardn		3	0
	to Samll nicholas		4	6

Facsimile page from Ledger of St. John's Lodge,

to John Emerson			5	6
to Thomas Hart farmer				6
to thomas Rowe			3	0
to wm Pringle			3	0
to Benj: Franklin	£	2	3	7
to Henry Pratt	£	2	4	7
to mark Joyce			10	8
to Thomas Redman			2	6
to John Hobart			3	6
to Thomas whitemarsh	£	2	04	10
this is the whole Sume of money Paid in to this Stock viz:	£	8	11	8
of S: John Lodge to this 2d day of aug: 1731 viz:			16	
out of which S: £8: 11: 8 the sume of this book is Stationary				
So that this 2d day of August 1731 Remains in the Stock viz:	£	7	15	8
Septemb: 6th Paide to Stock for monthly Dorotas this day				6
viz: by Christopher Tompson				6
John Hobart				6
Thomas whitemarsh				6
mark Joyce				6
wm Pringle for two months			1	0
Benj: Franklin for one month				6
Thomas Hart Late warden				6
So that the whole Stock is this 6th day of Septemb: ~~[illegible]~~	£	7	19	8

for constituting a lodge (No. 139) at Savannah was granted by Lord Weymouth. It was doubtless the body referred to by Whitfield in his diary, where he records, "June 24, 1738 (Savannah), was enabled to read prayer and preach with power before the Freemasons, with whom I afterwards dined."

Brother Wm. S. Rockwell, of Georgia, has said that a lodge organized by Roger Lacy existed earlier than 1735, possibly 1730. No certain evidence has been discovered confirming this statement

Hayden, in his *Washington and His Masonic Compeers,* says: "King Solomon's Lodge at Savannah, which had commenced its work under an old oak tree in 1733, when the first settlement in Georgia began, had belonged to the branch of Masons denominated Moderns, but in February, 1785, it was proposed by Major Jackson, who was then one of its members, that they form themselves into a Lodge of Ancients. The proposition was referred to a Committee, and was subsequently agreed to, and the brethren were duly constituted, by the usual ceremonies, a Lodge of Ancient York Masons."[1] The Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" never warranted any lodges in the State of Georgia.

There was a tradition that this old lodge was instituted by General James E. Oglethorpe.

With this short introduction we shall now proceed to present the histories of the first Lodges and of the Grand Lodges in the several States and Territories of the United States. We commence with Pennsylvania for the reason that the evidence is conclusive that St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia was the first lodge duly organized of which there is any record, and we may, with some degree of assurance, say that Masonry in an organized form existed in Pennsylvania some time prior to 1730, because, as shown in the plate opposite this page, the fac-simile copy of "Liber B" indicates very conclusively that there must have been a prior Liber A.

Pennsylvania.

Up to the discovery of "Liber B," by Bro. Clifford P. McCalla, in 1884, of this original lodge, dated June, 1731, everyone had accepted as a fact that Henry Price, of Boston, was the first commissioned officer in charge of Freemasonry in the Colonies, and that St. John's Lodge, in Boston, was the first regularly constituted lodge

[1] Hayden, p. 348.

in any of the Colonies. Our Brethren of Massachusetts yet contend that the lodge in Boston was the first *duly* constituted lodge by the authority of the deputation to Henry Price (and they refer with much force to the correspondence which occurred between Benjamin Franklin and Henry Price).

Bro. John Dove, in his reprint of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, in his "Introduction" claims the first lodge "derived directly from the Mother Grand Lodge of England, was No. 172, the Royal Exchange in the Borough of Norfolk, Virginia, Dec. 1733." He also says:

"During the above period, dating from 1733 and extending to 1792, the Masons of Massachusetts worked under the authority of Provincial Grand Masters appointed by, and deriving their authority from, the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland in 1733, at which period Henry Price was first appointed, by the Grand Lodge of England, Grand Master of the St. John's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in 1734, and upon petition, his authority was extended to all North America, and under his power, thus extended, Benj. Franklin applied for and obtained a Charter for a Lodge at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania."

From all that we can gather in the various sketches of this formation period in the history of Freemasonry in the Colonies, it appears to us that the weight of testimony is in favor of the working of Masonry, first in Philadelphia, secondly in Massachusetts by secondary constituted authority, and thirdly in Norfolk, Va., by direct charter, emanating from the Grand Lodge itself.

At the period of the working of St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia, the Brethren exercised their prescriptive privilege to open a lodge without a charter, because there was no Grand Lodge to issue one so far as they knew. The lodge may have existed some considerable time prior to 1731, which latter date, it must be remembered, was only eight years after the publication of the Anderson *Book of Constitutions,* and eight years was a short period in which to fill up a "Liber A."

From all the historical data now available our conclusion is that we must give Pennsylvania the preference, by placing that colony foremost, as having started Freemasonry in an original prescriptive, organic form; followed by Massachusetts, as second, in a lodge, chartered by constituted authority of a Provincial Grand Master;

and thirdly, by giving to Virginia the first lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge itself; each of these being authoritative, according to the circumstances governing those who instituted the proceedings.

Thus, in Pennsylvania, Freemasonry is presented as having been organized in an original prescriptive lodge, with proper officers, working for some indefinite time prior to June, 1731, as shown by their ledger.

The present records of the Grand Lodge commence July 29, 1779, and have continued up to the present time. It is thought that during the Revolutionary War, as Philadelphia was a great center of the troubles during that war, all the records and papers of the Grand Lodge were either lost or destroyed, and tradition only gives any idea of the transactions up to the above date. The oldest minute-book now known is of Lodge No. 3, which goes back to November 19, 1767, and comes up to the present time; and it refers to an older book.

December 28, 1778, the Grand Lodge, with the Brethren, about three hundred, celebrated St. John's Day, and Brother William Smith, D.D., preached a sermon. General Washington was present on that occasion. Bro. Rev. Wm. Smith, having abridged and digested the Ahiman Rezon, it was adopted by the Grand Lodge, November 22, 1781. At the quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, September 25, 1786, steps were taken to sever the official relations between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of England, by the following:

> Resolved, That this Grand Lodge is and ought to be, a Grand Lodge independent of Great Britain or any other authority whatever, and that they are not under any ties to any Grand Lodge except those of brotherly love and affection, which they will always be happy to cultivate and preserve with all lodges throughout the globe.

The Grand Lodge having, up to this time, been under a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, was closed finally. A convention was held the next day, September 26, 1786. Thirteen different lodges under warrants of the preceding Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania having full power from their constituent members, therefor:

> Resolved, That the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, lately held under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England,

Will, and do now, form themselves into a Grand Lodge, to be called the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and Masonic jurisdiction thereunto belonging, to be held in Philadelphia; and that the late Grand Officers continue to be the Grand Officers of Pennsylvania, invested with all the powers, jurisdictions, preëminence, and authority thereunto belonging, till the usual time of the next election; and that the Grand Lodge and particular Lodges govern themselves by the Rules and Regulations heretofore established, till other rules and regulations shall be Adopted.

June 24, 1834, the Grand Lodge celebrated "the Centennial anniversary of the establishment of the first lodge in Pennsylvania, of which Lodge Brother Benjamin Franklin was the first Master." This antedated the claim made by Massachusetts of the first lodge having been established by Price in 1733. The date was evidently mistaken, as the "Liber B," since having been discovered, shows the date of June, 1731.

On June 24, 1734, Franklin was elected Grand Master, and it was in November of that year his letter to Price was written, asking for a copy of his deputation as Provincial Grand Master, etc.

December 4, 1843, the change was permanently made whereby all the business of the lodge, also the opening and closing of the lodge, must be in the Master's degree. It was at this time also that under the lodge Warrant, those possessing the higher degrees could confer them. Several of the lodges, as many as four, worked the Royal Arch degree. In 1849, Franklin Lodge, No. 134, was authorized to loan its Warrant to confer the Order of the Temple on Encampment No. 2, in Philadelphia. Also Union Lodge, No. 121, was authorized to loan its Warrant to organize Union Encampment, No. 6. This resolution of the Grand Lodge was rescinded on February 15, 1857.

Massachusetts.

In consequence of an application from several Brethren, residing in New England, Free and Accepted Masons, to the Right Honorable and Most Worshipful Anthony, Lord Viscount Montague, Grand Master of Masons in England, he was pleased, in the year 1733, to constitute and appoint Right Worshipful Henry Price Provincial Grand Master of New England aforesaid.

Upon the receipt of this commission, the Brethren assembled July 30th; and the Charter of Constitution being read, and the Right Worshipful Grand Master duly invested and congratulated, a

Grand Lodge was formed under the title and designation of "St. John's Grand Lodge," and the following officers chosen and installed:

Right Worshipful Andrew Belcher, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful Thomas Kennelly, Senior Grand Warden; Right Worshipful John Quann, Junior Grand Warden pro tempore.

A petition was then presented by several worthy Brethren residing in Boston, praying to be constituted into a regular lodge, and it was voted that the same be granted.

Thus was Masonry founded in Massachusetts.

The anniversary of St. John the Baptist was celebrated June 24, 1734, in ample form.

A petition being presented from Benjamin Franklin and several Brethren residing in Philadelphia for a constitution holding a lodge there, the Right Worshipful Grand Master, having this year received orders from the Grand Lodge in England to establish Masonry in all North America, was pleased to grant the prayer of the petitioners, and to send them a deputation appointing the Right Worshipful Benj. Franklin their first Master.

A petition from the Brethren resident in Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, for the erection of a lodge there was also granted.

At the usual celebration of the festival of St John the Evangelist, December 27, 1735, the Right Worshipful Grand Master appointed the Right Worshipful James Gordon his Deputy.

About this time sundry Brethren going hence to South Carolina, and meeting with Masons there, formed a lodge at Charleston; from whence sprung Masonry in those parts, December 27, 1736. At the celebration usual on this day, the Right Worshipful Robert Tomlinson was appointed Deputy Grand Master; all the other officers were continued in their respective trusts.[1]

The Right Worshipful Robert Tomlinson having received a commission from the Right Honorable and Right Worshipful John Earl of Loudon, Grand Master of England, appointing him Provincial Grand Master of North America in the stead of the Right Worshipful Grand Master Henry Price, resigned, he was properly installed and invested, and duly congratulated, April 20, 1737.

At the usual celebration, on June 24th following, he was pleased

[1] "Constitutions, History, and General Regulations of Massachusetts," by Rev. T Mason Harris, 1798.

to nominate and appoint the Right Worshipful Hugh McDaniel his Deputy. On the next December festival, the Right Worshipful James Gordon was re-chosen Deputy Grand Master.

In the year 1738 the Right Worshipful Grand Master went to England via Antigua, where, finding some old Boston Masons, he formed them into a lodge, giving them a Charter of incorporation; and initiated the Governor, and several gentlemen of distinction there, into the Society.

The Right Worshipful Lodge of Masters, in Boston, was founded January 2, 1739. In the year 1740, the Right Worshipful Grand Master granted a deputation, at the petition of several Brethren, for holding a lodge at Annapolis in Nova Scotia; and appointed the Right Worshipful Erasmus James Phillips Deputy Grand Master there, who afterward erected a lodge at Halifax, and appointed his Excellency Edward Cornwallis their first Master.

The Right Worshipful Thomas Oxnard having received a deputation dated London, September 23, 1743, from the Right Honorable and Most Worshipful John, Lord Ward, Baron of Birmingham in the County of Warwick, and Grand Master of Masons in England, appointing him Provincial Grand Master in the room of the Right Worshipful Grand Master Tomlinson, deceased; which being communicated March 6, 1744, he was properly acknowledged, invested, installed, and congratulated. He then proceeded to nominate and appoint:

The Right Worshipful Hugh McDaniel, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful Thomas Kelby, Senior Grand Warden; Right Worshipful John Box, Junior Grand Warden; Charles Pelham, Grand Secretary.

The following Grand Officers were chosen and installed at the festival of St. John the Evangelist, holden December 27, 1744:

Right Worshipful Hugh McDaniel, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful Benj. Hallowell, Senior Grand Warden; Right Worshipful John Box, Junior Grand Warden; Charles Pelham, Grand Secretary.

The petition of several Brethren in Newfoundland, for constituting a lodge there, was granted December 24, 1746, and a Charter transmitted.

December 27, 1749, a Charter was granted to a lodge in Newport, R. I. The Right Worshipful Grand Master, assisted by his

Grand Officers, February 15, 1750, constituted and consecrated "A Second Lodge" in Boston; March 7th following, he also constituted and consecrated "The Third Lodge in Boston."

At the Quarterly Communication in August, 1750, he granted a Charter for a lodge at Annapolis, Md., and also a Charter for "Hiram Lodge" at New Haven, Conn.

At the festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1750, the Brethren attended divine service in Christ's Church, Boston, where Rev. Brother Charles Brockwell delivered a sermon, which was afterward printed in Boston and reprinted and passed through several editions in England, and was added to the *Pocket Companion and History of Freemasonry*, London, 1754.

Lord Colvill having been appointed Deputy Grand Master, summoned the Brethren to attend him at the Grey Hound Tavern in Roxbury, January 24, 1752, where he held a Grand Lodge in due form, and the day was celebrated as usual, and Grand Officers were duly chosen.[1]

Lord Colvill having returned to England, October 30th, R. W. Hugh McDaniel was again appointed Deputy Grand Master.

A dispensation was granted to erect a lodge at New London, in Connecticut, January 12, 1753.

A Grand Lodge was held at Graton's, in Roxbury, June 26, 1754, "but by reason of the death of Worshipful Grand Master Thomas Oxnard, this morning at 11 o'clock, the celebration was rather sorrowful than joyous."

"In honor of their Right Worshipful Grand Master, whose loss was sincerely lamented by all who had the pleasure and honor of his acquaintance, and more especially by the Society over which he had for eleven years presided with dignity, they voted to attend his funeral, in mourning, with the honors of Masonry; and to invite the several Lodges in Boston to assist on this mournful occasion."

October 11, 1754, at the Quarterly Communication, the Brethren petitioned the Right Honorable and Right Worshipful Grand

[1] A year or two since, a clergyman of the Church of England, who is probably more conversant with that church in America than any other individual living, politely furnished us with a document wherein it appeared that the first *regular* Lodge of Freemasons in America was holden in King's Chapel, Boston, by a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of England, somewhere about the year 1720. It produced great excitement at the time, and the Brethren considered it prudent to discontinue these meetings.—"Masonic Mirror and Mechanics' Intelligencer," by Bro. Chas. W. Moore, January 27, 1827.

Master of Masons in England, for a new deputation to fill King Solomon's Chair, vacant by the death of their late Grand Master; and recommended the Right Worshipful Jeremy Gridley to him for that important and honorable trust.

June 24, 1755, the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master summoned the Brethren to attend him at Graton's Tavern, in Roxbury, to observe the Festival of St. John the Baptist. The Grand Officers were chosen and present August 21st. At a special meeting the Right Worshipful Jeremy Gridley informed the Brethren that the Right Honorable and Right Worshipful Grand Master James Brydges, Marquis of Caernavon, Grand Master of Masons in England, had sent a deputation appointing him Provincial Grand Master of North America, where no Grand Master is appointed.

In 1767, Jeremy Gridley, the Provincial Grand Master of North America, died on September 10th; his funeral took place on the 12th, and the members of St. Andrew's Lodge, sixty-four in number (Joseph Warren being the Senior Warden), walked in the procession. After this, however, when every generous effort on the part of St. Andrew's had completely failed, and when it became evident that no "Union of Love and Friendship could be effected," the members of that lodge changed their ground. Men like Warren, Revere, Hancock, and others of illustrious name, felt their patience exhausted, and determined not to quietly submit to be any longer denounced as clandestine Masons and imposters. The early proceedings of St. Andrew's were indeed as irregular as it is possible to conceive. Originating in the Association of Nine Masons who had been made clandestinely, it was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1756, and then numbered twenty-one members, exclusive of the original nine, who had left Boston in the interval. Its Charter did not arrive until 1760, at which time the lodge had been increased by eighteen additional members, so that in all thirty-one candidates were initiated before the lodge received its Charter.

At a conference held April 28, 1766, between committees of St. John's Grand Lodge and St. Andrew's Lodge (Richard Gridley being a member of one and Joseph Warren of the other), the representatives of the latter fully admitted the illegality of their early proceedings, but contended that it was in the power of the Grand Lodge of Scotland to "make irregular Masons regular." Against

this the other committee formulated their belief "that the language of the Constitution for irregularities was submission."

We have quoted this circumstance to show the fallacy of those who refer to the facts connected with the irregularity of the formation of St. Andrew's Lodge.

We have brought the history of Masonry in Massachusetts from its commencement in 1733 to the beginning of the political troubles which finally ended in the independence of the Colonies. Soon thereafter Masonry resumed its wonted character, and after some years of struggle the various warring interests of the Brethren of the different constitutions on March 5, 1792, were united by the organization of but one Grand Lodge, which has continued with prosperity and wonderful success until the present time.

The following copies of two letters from Benjamin Franklin to Henry Price, in which we find acknowledgments of the relative Masonic positions of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, will be found interesting.

Right Worshipful Grand Master and Most Worthy and Dear Brethren, We acknowledge your favor of the 23d of October past, and rejoice that the Grand Master (whom God bless) hath so happily recovered from his late indisposition; and we now, glass in hand, drink to the establishment of his health, and the prosperity of your whole Lodge.

We have seen in the Boston prints an article of news from London importing that at a Grand Lodge held there in August last, Mr. Price's deputation and power was extended over all America, which advice we hope is true, and we heartily congratulate him thereupon, and though this has not been as yet regularly signified to us by you yet, giving credit thereto, we think it our duty to lay before your Lodge what we apprehend needful to be done for us, in order to promote and strengthen the interest of Masonry in this Province (which seems to want the sanction of some authority derived from home, to give the proceedings and determinations of our Lodge their due weight), to wit, a Deputation or Charter granted by the Right Worshipful Mr. Price, by virtue of his Commission from Britain, confirming the Brethren of Pennsylvania in the privileges they at present enjoy of holding annually their Grand Lodge, choosing their Grand Master, Wardens and other officers, who may manage all affairs relating to the Brethren here with full power and authority, according to the customs and usages of Masons, the said Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the Grand Master of all America shall be in place. This, if it seems good and reasonable to you to grant, will not only be extremely agreeable to us, but will also, we are confident, conduce much to the welfare, establishment, and reputation of Masonry in these parts. We therefore submit it for your consideration, and we hope our request will be complied with; we desire

that it may be done as soon as possible, and also accompanied with a copy of the Right Worshipful Grand Master's first Deputation, and of the instrument by which it appears to be enlarged as above mentioned, witnessed by your Ward« ens and signed by the Secretary; for which favors this Lodge doubt not of being able to behave as not to be thought ungrateful.

We are, Right Worshipful Grand Master and Most Worthy Brethren,

Your affectionate Brethren and obliged humble Serv'ts,

Signed at the request of the Lodge,

B. FRANKLIN, G. M.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1734.

DEAR BROTHER PRICE: I am glad to hear of your recovery. I hoped to have seen you this fall, agreeable to the expectation you were so good as to give me; but since sickness has prevented your coming, while the weather was moderate, I have no room to flatter myself with a visit from you before the spring, when a deputation of the Brethren here will have an opportunity of showing how much they esteem you. I beg leave to recommend their request to you, and to inform you that some false and rebel Brethren, who are foreigners, being about to set up a distinct Lodge in opposition to the old and true Brethren here, pretending to make Masons for a bowl of punch, and the Craft is like to come into disesteem among us, unless the true Brethren are countenanced and distinguished by some such special authority as herein desired. I entreat, therefore, that whatever you shall think proper to do therein may be sent by the next post, if possible, or the next following.

I am Your Affectionate Brother & humble Serv't,

B. FRANKLIN, G. M.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1734. *Pennsylvania.*

P. S. If more of the Constitutions are wanted among you, please hint it to me.

These letters were addressed as follows:

To Mr. HENRY PRICE,

At the Brazen Head, Boston, N. E.

Georgia,

Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, received a Warrant for Savannah in 1735; a Warrant for Unity Lodge, No. 2, was issued in 1774, and a Warrant was issued for Grenadier's, No. 386, in 1775. All of these were granted by the Grand Lodge of England.

Roger Lacy's deputation of 1735, given by Lord Weymouth, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, was the second lodge on the English Roll for America. On October 29, 1784, a lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for Savannah.

On December 16, 1786, the Grand Lodge of Georgia was organized in that city, when the permanent appointments made by the

Grand Master of England were solemnly relinquished by the Right Worshipful Samuel Elbert, Grand Master, and the other officers of the Grand Lodge; and regulations were adopted by which the Grand Officers were to be elected annually. Then the last Provincial Grand Master resigned his position, and William Stephens was elected the first Grand Master under the new and present formation. A notable event occurred March 21, 1824. The cornerstone of the monuments to Greene and Pulaski were laid, General Lafayette acting as Grand Master for the occasion.

As there are those still interested in the search for the origin of Masonry in Georgia, and who believe that a lodge existed there prior to 1735, the date of the Warrant of Solomon's Lodge, which has been lost, it is well to note the following, for reference, as coming from the records: In England a Grand Lodge was holden "by virtue and in pursuance of the right of succession legally derived from the most noble and Most Worshipful Thomas Thyne. Lord Viscount Weymouth, Grand Master of England, 1735, by his Warrant directed to the Right Worshipful Roger Lacy; and by the renewal of the said power by Sholto Charles Douglas, Lord Aberdour, Grand Master of Scotland for the year 1755-56 and Grand Master of England for the years 1757-58; as will appear in his Warrant directed to the Right Worshipful Grey Elliot."[1]

Masonry was somewhat prosperous in Savannah, yet in the county outside of the city generally, Masonry had nearly disappeared by the year 1820. The Grand Lodge in that year adopted a new constitution; and the quarterly meetings of March and June were to be held in Savannah, and those of September and December were to be held at Milledgeville, the State Capital. This change was designed to accommodate the wishes of the conflicting parties of the two parts of the State, North and South.

In December, 1826, a convention was held which adopted a new constitution dispensing with the quarterly meetings, and made Milledgeville the permanent place of meeting. The Grand Lodge

[1] The lodges which formed the Grand Lodge were Solomon's, No. 139 (1735), at Savannah; Unity, No. 2 (1774), Savannah (371, English Register); Grenadier's, No. 386, (English Register), (1775), Savannah. Solomon's Lodge was reorganized October 29 1784, Savannah.

Grenadier's Lodge and Solomon's Lodge ceased working, leaving no record.

however, which met at Savannah at the usual time, March, 1827, refused to concur with the alteration and chose their Grand Officers.

The Milledgeville body met on December 3, 1827, and elected their Grand Officers. As this was a very interesting period in the history of Masonry in Georgia, we must give the final result of this division. The New Grand Lodge appointed committees to possess themselves of the property of the Savannah or old body, and they declared the election held in March of no effect; and all the members of the lodges adhering to the Old Grand Lodge were expelled. Lodge No. 8, one of the Savannah lodges, held to the Milledgeville body; all the others in Savannah held to that body. Union No. 3 of these lodges was the first lodge which adopted Royal Arch Masonry. In the hall of this lodge, the Grand Lodge of Savannah met. Finally, all the lodges in Savannah left the Grand Lodge except Solomon's Lodge, and united with the new body at Milledgeville. January 5, 1837, efforts were made for a reconciliation, which ended at the Grand Communication held November 6, 1839. Solomon's Lodge was admitted to the Grand Lodge by her representatives, and Masonry resumed a united front.

Prosperity followed, which was only checked by the Civil War from 1861 to 1865. Since 1866 prosperity has again visited that jurisdiction, and no Grand Lodge in the country can boast of a greater increase proportionally than Georgia.

New Hampshire.

On February 5, 1736, a petition (the original of which has been preserved) was addressed by six Brethren at Portsmouth, N. H., to Henry Price, whom they styled "Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons held in Boston." The petitioners described themselves as "of the holy and exquisite Lodge of St. John," and for power to form a lodge "According to order as is and has been granted to faithful Brothers in all parts of the World," and they declared that they had their "Constitution both in print and Manuscript as good and ancient as any that England can afford." The favor was asked because they had heard there is a "Superiour Lodge held in Boston." Be it noted this was early in 1736, when no lodge had been warranted in Portsmouth; and as the Brethren stated they possessed "Constitutions" in manuscript—which it is hardly possible could have been anything else than a copy of the

"Old Charges"—as well as in print, the evidence is consistent with the supposition that, while at the date named the lodge must have been some years in existence, its origin may have reached back even to the 17th century.

I am anxious not to lay too much stress on the precise meaning attached by me to the mention of manuscript constitution; nevertheless, I think the petition may be taken as fair evidence that in 1736 there were Brethren in New Hampshire (meeting as Masons in a lodge) who possessed a copy (or print) of the English Constitutions published in 1723, as well as a version of an older set of laws in MS., thus pointing to the possible existence of the lodge at even an earlier period than the Grand Lodge era of 1716-17.

The granting of the authority, which was a written instrument, was, in connection with that granted to Philadelphia, the first written Masonic authority known to have been issued by a Provincial Grand Lodge.[1]

It will be observed that, in like manner, as Grand Master, Henry Price issued authority to warrant a lodge to the eighteen Masons in Boston who petitioned in behalf of themselves and "other Brethren;" therefore the Brethren had been meeting as a lodge anterior thereto and discharging Masonic duties: convening and working as Masons without other authority than that of ancient immemorial right, which the Craft had many decades before exercised, of meeting when and where circumstances permitted or required, and choosing their own temporary Master; it is probable that thus many of the old Masons in America had been admitted to the Mystic Rites.

Portsmouth was the first settlement by Europeans in New Hampshire (1623). Several lodges were many years afterward constituted within that territory by authority of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

In a letter from Joseph Webb, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in reply to one received from William Smith, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, dated Boston, September 4, 1780, occurs this paragraph:

"I have granted a dispensation to New Hampshire, till they shall appoint a Grand Master of their own, which I suppose will not be very soon, as there is but one Lodge in that State."

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[1] C. McCIenachan.

A "convention" of delegates from two or more lodges was called at Dartmouth in 1787, but the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was not organized until July 8, 1789. It was in the last of the three years' service of General John Sullivan as Governor of the State that he was elected the first Grand Master of the independent Grand Lodge. It is true there were but five lodges in the State, and but one, St. John's of Portsmouth, that antedated the Revolution; of this General Sullivan was the Master. In October, 1790, the Grand Master, from ill health, was compelled to decline re-election, and Dr. Hall Jackson was elected Grand Master in his stead.

The title assumed by the Grand Body is "The Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New Hampshire."

South Carolina.

A Warrant was granted in 1735 by Lord Weymouth, Grand Master of England, for the establishment of a lodge in the city of Charleston, which was organized on October 28, 1736, by the name of Solomon's Lodge.

Brother Sidney Hayden, in *Washington and his Masonic Compeers,*[1] states that Grand Master Henry Price of Massachusetts, having received an extension of his authority in 1734, from the Grand Master of England, giving him jurisdiction over all North America, granted a Warrant on December 27, 1735, for a lodge at Charleston, S. C.

The St. John's Grand Lodge of Boston, Mass., warranted a lodge in Charleston, S. C, in 1738; this was followed by a grant from the Grand Lodge of England establishing Prince George's Lodge at Winyaw, in 1743; and Union Lodge, by the same authority, at Charleston, May 3, 1755, and, again, a "Master's Lodge" at the same place, on March 22, 1756, and a lodge at Beaufort on September 15th of the same year.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland then appeared in the Province, and warranted Union Lodge, No. 98, in 1760.

St. Mark's Lodge was warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1763.

With regard to powers delegated to Provincial Grand Masters,

[1] Hayden, p. 240.

we have first of record, John Hammerton, appointed by the Earl of Loudoun in 1736.

A second Provincial Grand Lodge was established by a deputation of the Marquis of Carnarvon to Chief Justice Leigh in 1754. Dr. Mackey, in his Encyclopædia, says upon this subject that, in 1777, this Grand Lodge, deputized by the Marquis of Carnarvon, assumed independence and became the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons," Barnard Elliott being the first Grand Master. As early as 1783 the Athol or "Ancient" Masons invaded the jurisdiction of South Carolina, and in 1787 there being then five lodges of the Ancients in the State, they held a convention, and on March 24th organized the "Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons." Between the Moderns and the Ancient Grand Lodges there was always a very hostile feeling until the year 1808, when a union was effected, which was but temporary, for a disruption took place in the following year. However, the Union was permanently established in 1817, when the two Grand Lodges were merged into one, under the name of the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons."

New York.

From the quotations of authorities herein following, it will be evident that Freemasonry must have existed in the Province of New York prior to the year 1737. The advertising notices and newspaper squibs are convincing that secret communications were being held either among the residents or the sojourning soldiery. By what authority these assemblies were held we are not yet able to disclose; whether under powers granted by Daniel Coxe, by reason of the deputation held by him from June 5, 1730, until the expiration of his personal investment, to wit, until June 24, 1732, or those of his successors, who were to be elected every other year on the feast of St. John the Baptist, when the Provincial Grand Master was to be installed. No testimony has been found of the exercise by Bro. Daniel Coxe of his delegated powers; perhaps no action was had by him; yet "it was a rare thing for any reports to be made by the Provincial Grand Masters abroad of their doings." We incline to the belief that no power was exercised by Brother Coxe pending the period during which he was deputized.

It is not impossible that warranted power existed among the soldiery who were or had been stationed in the Province; nor is it

an impossibility that there was an immemorial Charter, or even an inherent or self-born power of constitution the exercise of which would not have been masonically illegal when we consider the condition of the Society, the period, the locality, and Masonic custom, or at least in following the precedent in other lands and of former days.

THE FIVE MASONIC DEPUTATIONS GRANTED TO PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTERS FOR NEW YORK BY THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

1.	Colonel Daniel Coxe,	June 5, 1730.	Time of service,	2	years.
2.	Captain Richard Riggs,	November 15, 1737.	"	14	"
3.	Francis Goelet,	1751.	"	2	"
4.	George Harrison,	June 9, 1753.	"	18	"
5.	Sir John Johnson,	1781.	"	10	"

The date of transition of the Grand Lodge from a Provincial to an independent State Masonic organization might be a subject of difference of opinion: herein the date of the summary retirement of the Grand Master and most of the other Grand Officers with the King's troops is assured as a data, to wit, September 19 and October 1, 1783. It might be urged with considerable force that as a definite date, June 6, 1787, should be given, inasmuch as on that date the Grand Lodge accepted and confirmed the Athol Warrant, and declared its establishment under it.

RATIFICATION OF THE GRAND WARRANT, SEPTEMBER 5, 1781.

The Grand Lodge "Resolved, that next Grand Lodge be appointed for all the Lodges in the State to give in their Respective Warrants or Constitutions, or copies of them properly authenticated, that the Rank and Precedency of the whole may be then determined."

A more direct resolution from St. John's Lodge, No. 2, proceeded further to question the Grand Warrant under which the Grand Lodge existed. This was referred to next Grand Lodge.

Accordingly, on March 7, 1787, "The Resolution of St. John's Lodge, No. 2, referred for consideration to this evening, was read, and debates arising, it was resolved, on motion of Worshipful Brother Malcom, that a Committee be appointed to consider the propriety of holding the Grand Lodge under the present Warrant;

and the proper measures to effect a change if it should be thought constitutional and expedient, and report their opinion, with the reasons on which it is founded, to the Grand Lodge, at their next Quarterly Communication."

The committee on June 6, 1787, reported their consideration of the propriety of holding the Grand Lodge under the present Warrant. The report was read, accepted, and confirmed.

The subject of the Grand Warrant being disposed of, the Grand Lodge, on the following September 5, 1787, adopted this recommendation:

"That as soon as the Committee appointed to establish the precedency of Rank of the Lodges of this City do report, that then all the Lodges in the State be required to take out new warrants and deliver up the old ones, the dues to the Grand Lodge being previously paid."

The report on lodge precedency and the determination of this subject was finally made June 3, 1789.[1]

Rhode Island.

In Rhode Island, as in other localities, we find traces of a prehistoric age of Freemasonry. The earliest date when, according to tradition, the Masonic system was known and practiced within the limits of Rhode Island and Providence plantations goes far back of authentic records. There are hints and intimations, with plenty of unverified legends, pointing to a 17th century expression of Freemasonry in Newport, R. I.; but the documents and records which ardent explorers have searched for, to support the theory that Freemasonry was planted in Rhode Island before the Institution was known either in Philadelphia or Boston, have not been found. As the case now stands, there is only a supposition that such may have been the fact.[2]

The organic life of Freemasonry in Rhode Island, as we trace its existence by historic records, goes back to the warranting of St. John's Lodge, Newport, December 27, 1749. This lodge was authorized by St. John's Provincial Grand Lodge of Boston, Mass.,

[1] At the meeting of the Grand Lodge, held June 3, 1789, this subject was duly taken up and the several lodges presented their warrants, and were duly assigned their numbers, according to dates of charters. St. John's Lodge (1757), No. 2, was given No. I.

[2] Memorial, by Henry W. Rugg, D.D.

Thomas Oxnard, Grand Master. Caleb Phillips was the first Master of the lodge thus authorized. Some unpleasantness having been caused by the Master's withholding from the lodge the dispensation thus granted, a second Warrant was issued dated May 14, 1753. Under these warrants the Newport Brethren were only authorized to confer the first two degrees of Masonry. They did not recognize the limitation, however, and proceeded to confer the Master's degree as supplementing the degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-craft. On being called to account for thus extending the authority granted them, they made so good an explanation of the causes that had led them to transcend their powers, that the Grand Lodge confirmed them in the exercise of such powers by granting them a Charter to hold a Master's Lodge.

This lodge—the first organized in Rhode Island—was given additional powers, and we may assume that the ordinary lodge, having control over the degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-craft, was united with or merged into the Master's Lodge, so that two separate organizations were not maintained.

As throwing some light upon the misapprehension pertaining to the conferring of degrees by St. John's Lodge of Newport, during this first period of its history, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the third degree was not then, as now, closely united with and expected to follow the two preceding degrees. Candidates for Freemasonry often went no further than the degree of Fellow-craft; those who did advance to the Master's grade were required to pay an additional fee.

A little more than two years before the granting of the confirmation Charter to the Brethren of Newport, a Masonic lodge had been organized in Providence, also taking the name of St. John's. A Warrant for this lodge was issued by the same authority that created the body established at Newport.

By the terms of this Charter the Providence Brethren were required to observe the constitution, make returns to the Grand Lodge, and annually keep or cause to be kept the feast of St. John the Baptist, and to dine together on that day, or as near that day as shall be most convenient, and that they send to the Grand Lodge in Boston contributions for poor Brethren.

The Charter of St. John's Lodge in Providence was one of sixteen similar authorizations which, up to that time, had been granted

by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Massachusetts to sixteen lodges in eleven different provinces or colonies.

The Charter was issued by the direct authority of the eminent and patriotic Jeremy Gridley, then Provincial Grand Master of North America. He was a lawyer of excellent reputation and a devoted member of the Masonic Fraternity.

Freemasonry in Rhode Island at the close of the War of the Revolution was represented by St. John's Lodge in Providence and King David's Lodge in Newport. The first lodge (St. John's) in Newport was inactive, as it had been for a long time. The lodge in Providence, after its revival, had greatly prospered under the efficient leadership of Bro. Jabez Bowen, its Worshipful Master from 1778 to 1790, and had received among its new members a large accession of influential citizens. One of these, William Barton, initiated in 1779, is deservedly remembered and honored for his heroic exploit in making a prisoner of the British General, William Prescott, on the island of Rhode Island, and for other patriotic services. Another, John Carlile, initiated in 1783, served the Craft with exceptional skill in many important offices for a long term of years.

On Monday, June 27, 1791, "being the day affixed on for the celebration of the Feast of St. John the Baptist" (St. John's Day having occurred on the previous Friday), a number of Brethren representing the two lodges met in the State House at Newport and proceeded to organize a Grand Lodge in accordance with the plan that had been approved. The Right Worshipful Moses Seixas presided and installed the officers who had been previously designated for the several stations. When the organization had been completed, the newly installed officers, with members of Grand Lodge and visiting Brethren, marched in procession to Trinity Church, where a discourse, having appropriateness to the occasion, was delivered by the Rector, Rev. Wm. Smith, and a collection was taken amounting to £11 9s. 4d. which sum it was ordered "should be invested in wood and distributed to the poor of this town during the ensuing winter."

By attending as a body on divine service, and making their offering in the house of worship for a benevolent purpose, the Brethren who formed the Grand Lodge of this State, and those masonically associated with them at that time, plainly signified their respect for religion and for that practical charity so much emphasized by the teachings of Freemasonry.

Maryland.

Masonry was introduced into Maryland, during the Colonial period, from three sources, viz.: by the Grand Lodge (Moderns) of Massachusetts, Grand Lodge (Moderns) of England, and the Grand Lodge (Ancients) of Pennsylvania. Traditions indicate that it was also introduced here from Scotland and Germany.

The earliest lodge of which we have any reliable evidence in Maryland, was held at Annapolis. It was chartered by Thomas Oxnard, Provincial Grand Master of the St. John's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and Provincial Grand Master of North America. There are no records of this lodge known to be in existence, and the only reference to it, on the records of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, is the following, courteously furnished by Brother Sereno D. Nickerson, Grand Secretary:[1]

"1750, Aug. 12. At the Petition of sundry Brethren at Annapolis in Maryland, Our Rt. Wors'l Grand Master, Bro. Thos. Oxnard, Esqr. Granted a Constitution for a Lodge to be held there, and appointed The Rt. Wors'l —— first Mas'r.

"Fryday, July the 13th, 1750. For the Lodge at Maryland, Bro. McDaniel, D. G M. app'd & pd. for their Constit'n £13.9.

"In the lists, the Lodge is sometimes described as 'Maryland Lodge' and sometimes as 'the Lodge at Annapolis.' "

Among the archives of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, fortunately preserved, are the books of three of the old Colonial lodges, viz.: one located at "Leonardtown, St. Mary's County," in 1759; one at "Joppa, Harford, then Baltimore County," in 1765, and at "Queenstown, Queen Anne's County."

The records of the Leonardtown Lodge extend over a period of three years, and although they appear to be the full and complete minutes of the lodge for that period, there is not the slightest mention by which can be discovered the authority under which it was held, or from whence it emanated.

Upon one of the calendars of the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England, there is the following entry: "Lodge No. 198, Chartered in foreign parts, June 6th, 1759." As this date corresponds exactly

[1] From History of Maryland, by E. T. Schultz. We are indebted to Bro. Schultz for all the information we have in that jurisdiction.

with the date of the first meeting of the Leonardtown Lodge, it is probable that the entry refers to it. It may, however, have been a branch of the lodge at Annapolis. It was not an unusual thing in this country in the early days for one lodge to have branch lodges in other towns or districts. Forty years subsequently a branch lodge was held at this same town.

The records of the Leonardtown Lodge, with one exception, those of the St. John's Lodge, Boston, are the oldest original lodge proceedings discovered in this country, the old ledger of St. John's Lodge, Philadelphia, recently discovered, being simply the secretary's account with the members.

On June 17, 1783, two months after Congress had issued the peace proclamation, we find the lodges on the "Eastern Shore" convened at Talbot Court-house, for the purpose of organizing a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the State of Maryland. There were five lodges represented by deputies, one lodge more than participated in the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717.

There were present at this convention, as a deputy from Lodge No. 7, of Chestertown, the Rev. William Smith, who was at the time Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, although residing in this State; and Bro. Dr. John Coates, Past Deputy Grand Master of Pennsylvania, a member of Lodge No. 3 of Philadelphia, but then a resident of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. It was unanimously Resolved, "That the several Lodges on the Eastern Shore of Maryland consider it is a matter of right, and that they ought to form a Grand Lodge independent of the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia." When the convention prepared to go into an election of officers for a Grand Lodge, Bro. Smith, Deputy from No. 7, stated that "he was not authorized to elect such officers." Whereupon the convention adjourned until the 31st day of July following. "The Rev. Bro. Smith was asked and promised to prepare a sermon against their next meeting."

It was determined to petition the Grand Lodge in Philadelphia for a Warrant for a Grand Lodge to be held on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

The convention re-assembled at Talbot Court-house on July 31, 1783, agreeably to adjournment, the Rev. Dr. Smith, being a Grand Officer, took the Chair. The same lodges were in attendance as at

the former session, with the exception of No. 37 of Somerset County, which was not represented, but No. 6 of Georgetown (Eastern Shore) was in attendance, and was represented, as were all the other lodges, by their Masters and Wardens, and not by deputies, as at the former session.

The resolution adopted at the previous session, regarding the right to form a Grand Lodge, independent of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, was unanimously reaffirmed. It was further determined that the Grand Lodge should be a moving lodge: "that is to say, it shall sit at different places at different times; also that said Grand Lodge shall have quarterly communications."

A vote of thanks was then given to Bro. Dr. Smith "for the Sermon preached this day," and a copy asked for publication. They then proceeded to ballot for Grand Officers, when Bro. Coates was elected Grand Master, and Charles Gardner, Grand Secretary, Other officers were elected, and the convention adjourned, to assemble again at Chestertown, on December 18th following, (1783).

The Grand Lodge assembled according to adjournment, December 18th, but on account of the severe weather a number of the Brethren were prevented from attending, and the meeting was not organized until next day.

"From accident and other causes" there was no meeting on that day, nor was there any meeting held, as far as the records show, until nearly three years subsequent. The subordinate lodges, however, maintained their organization, and doubtless considered their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania severed, as they were not thenceforth represented in that body.

Connecticut.

Masonry in Connecticut derived its organic life from the Grand Lodge in Massachusetts, the St. John's of which Paul Revere was subsequently Grand Master, but also Massachusetts Grand Lodge.

The charters granted by St John's were:

August 12, 1750, Hiram, at New Haven, David Wooster as Master,

January 12, 1753, at New London, ceased before 1789.

February 4, 1754, St. John's, Middletown.

April 28, 1762, St. John's, Hartford.

April 28 1709, Compass, Wallingford.

July 10, 1771, St. Alban's, Guilford; became dormant in 1776: revived May 17, 1787.

March 23, 1780, Union, Danbury.

Provincial Grand Master of New York (Geo.) Harrison, under Grand Lodge of England, granted a Charter to "St. John's," in Fairfield, and afterward Bridgeport, in 1762; "St. John's," in Norwalk, May 23, 1765; "Union," at Greenwich, November 18, 1764; and "St. John's," at Stratford, April 22, 1766.

The Massachusetts Grand Lodge (Scotland) granted a Charter to "Wooster," in Colchester, January 12, 1781; "St. Paul's," at Litchfield, May 27, 1781; the Charter dated June 21, 1781; "King Hiram," at Derby, January 3, 1781; "Montgomery," at Salisbury, March 5, 1783 (no record of the Charter to this lodge being granted).

"Columbia," at Norwich, June 24, 1785; and "Frelleich," at Farmington, September 18, 1787—seventeen lodges.

The Army Lodge, "American Union," chartered by St. John's Grand Lodge at Boston, February 13, 1776, and attached to a Connecticut regiment, frequently met in the State.

It is said that these lodges, chartered by different Grand Lodges, continued to be harmonious as far as was possible.

A convention of lodges met April 29, 1783, in pursuance to the action of a convention held March 13th preceding; thirteen lodges were represented; the formation of a Grand Lodge was duly discussed, and on January 14, 1784, a Grand Master and other officers were chosen, but no progress was made until May 14, 1789, when another convention was called, and this adjourned until July 8, 1789; a constitution was then adopted, officers elected, and the present Grand Lodge of Connecticut was duly organized.

Twelve lodges were then represented, which are all existing at the present date and were at the centennial of the Grand Lodge. 1889.

When the Grand Lodge was organized, Stamford, Norwalk, Derby, New London, Guilford, and Waterbury were not represented; Norwalk, Derby, and Stamford, however, were subsequently connected with the Grand Lodge.

The new Grand Lodge chartered the first lodge at Windham, viz.: Norwich, No. 13, October 18, 1790, which is at work at the present time.

The growth of the Fraternity and its popularity are shown in the fact that to the year 1800 the lodges had increased to forty-four, with three thousand members. About this time one Joash Hall established clandestine lodges, one in Middletown, one in New London, and one in Wallingford. These, however, soon died out.

When the proposition to establish a Supreme Grand Lodge was started among the various Grand Lodges, Connecticut deemed the project inexpedient.

This Grand Lodge granted two charters to form new lodges in Ohio, viz.: "Erie," No. 47, now "Old Erie," No. 3, at Warren; the other "New England," No. 45, afterward New England, No. 4, at Worthington, and now belonging to the spurious and clandestine body calling itself a Grand Lodge in Ohio, and the names of all the bodies which constituted that affair have been published by the Grand Lodge of Ohio in 1898. The above two lodges, with "American Union," the Army Lodge, mentioned above, assisted in forming the Grand Lodge of Ohio in 1808. Jeremy L. Cross was appointed Grand Lecturer in 1816 for the State of Connecticut.

In 1821 an act of incorporation was passed by the Legislature. In 1823 the Grand Lodge refused to divide the State into Masonic districts. The Grand Lodge made an appropriation, in 1826, of $500 for a monument to Brother George Washington.

At this period the anti-Masonic movements had reached Connecticut, the Brethren generally neglected to attend their lodges, and many charters were surrendered and revoked; and such was the condition of the Craft at the annual session of 1831, that all the officers of the Grand Lodge, except the Grand Treasurer, resigned their offices, and new officers, except the Grand Treasurer, were chosen. Yet at the next annual session only the Grand Master and Grand Treasurer were present; at that time they adopted the "Declaration of Masonic Principles," and this, in some measure, allayed the anti-Masonic sentiments. Twenty-five lodges were represented at the session in 1841. There was an improvement up to 1845, and to the present time Masonry, in that jurisdiction, has kept even pace with all the other States in New England.

The Civil War was the cause of several applications for army lodges. June 6, 1861, a dispensation was issued to twelve Brethren of the 4th Connecticut Regiment for a lodge to be named "Connecticut Union," No. 90.

Another dispensation was asked for "Ensign" Lodge, No. 91, in the 5th Connecticut Regiment, but was refused.

Several years since (1887) quite a difficulty occurred between Hiram Lodge, No. 1, and the Grand Lodge, in consequence of the Grand Lodge having by statute changed the mode of giving the due-guard of the third degree, which resulted in the arrest of the Charter of the lodge and expulsion of several of the officers. After some time better counsel prevailed, and the members, being satisfied that they were wrong in their action, they made all proper acknowledgments, and matters were duly arranged and the Charter was restored, and the utmost harmony has prevailed ever since.

Virginia.

From the *Freemason's Pocket Companion,* by Auld and Smellie, published in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1765, appears "An Exact List of Regular English Lodges;" therein we find "No. 172, The Royal Exchange in the Borough of Norfolk, in Virginia; 1st Thursday Dec, 1733;" "No. 204 in York-Town, Virginia; 1st and 3d Wednesday, Aug. 1, 1755." This is corroborated by the *Pocket Companion* published in London, England, in 1759, by John Scott, under the head of "Lodges in Foreign Parts;" "Norfolk, in Virginia, 1st Thursday; York-Town, Virginia, 1st and 3d Wednesday."[1]

The date of 1733 is challenged by several of our recent writers as being a misprint, and they say it should have been 1753. We have seen no cogent reason for this correction, but must submit to the weight of authority as we have no corroborative evidence to sustain the earlier date of Bro. John Dove, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, who was very sure that it was correct, and in the first volume of his *History of the Grand Lodge of Virginia* says: "Thus it will be seen from reliable data, that Masonry was practised in Virginia under chartered privileges in 1733, derived from the Mother Grand Lodge of England." Very soon after these two lodges were chartered, eight other charters were applied for and obtained from the several Grand Lodges existing in Great Britain in the following localities: Norfolk Lodge, No. 1, in the Borough of Norfolk; Port Royal, No. 2, in Caroline County; Blandford, No. 3, Petersburg; Fredericksburg, No. 4, Fredericks

[1] John Dove's "History of the Grand Lodge of Virginia."

burg; St. Tammany, No. 5, Hampton; Williamsburg, No. 6, Williamsburg; Botetourt, No. 7, Gloucester Court-house; Cabin Point, No. 8, Prince George Court-house; York Town, No. 9, York Town.

The work of these lodges was continued legally and masonically under their independent charters, until the course of time and the eventful period of the Revolutionary War caused them to organize a convention, which was called to meet at the request of Williamsburg Lodge, No. 6, at Williamsburg, May 6, 1777, and which resulted in the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, October 13, 1778, at Williamsburg, by the election of John Blair as the first Most Worshipful Grand Master of Ancient York Masons in America. He was at that time Past Master of Williamsburg Lodge, No. 6. This Grand Lodge was held in Williamsburg until 1784, when it was removed to Richmond.[1]

Charters were continuously granted to new lodges, until their numerical denomination, being derived from various sources, had become too complicated for discrimination; at the meeting in October, 1786, a resolution was adopted that a committee be appointed to regulate the rank of the several lodges then under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Virginia. We make the following table for future reference:

No.	Name of Lodge.	Constitution under which Chartered.	Date of Charter.	
1	Royal Exchange 172	England .	5733	Norfolk.
2	Norfolk (old number 142)		June 1, 5741	
3	Kilwinning Cross	Scotland .	December 1, 5755	Caroline County.
	Blanford.....	Scotland .	September 9, 5757	Petersburg.
4	Fredericksburg	Scotland .	1757 July 21, 5758	Fredericksburg.
5	Tammany.....		February 2, 5759.....	Hampton.
6	Williamsburg.....		November 6, 5773	Williamsburg.
7	Betetourt.....		November 6, 5773	Gloucester Court-house.
8	Cabin Point Royal Arch		April 15, 5775	Prince George Court-house.
9	Swan (204).....	Scotland .	July 1. 1755 February 22, 5780	York Town.
10	Richmond.....		December 28, 5780.....	Richmond.
11	Northampton.....		July 8, 5785	Eastville, N. H. Co.
12	Kempsville.....		October 1, 5785.....	Princess Ann Co.
13	Staunton.....		February 6, 5786.....	Staunton.
14	Manchester.....		February 28, 5786.....	Manchester.
15	Petersberg		May 6, 5786.....	Petersburg.
16	Portsmouth Wisdom[1] La Sagasse	G. Orient, France	June 15, 5876.....	Portsmouth.
17	Charlotte.....	Virginia..	July 6, 5786	Charlotte.
18	Smithfield Union.....	Virginia..	October 29, 5787.....	Richmond.
19	Richmond Randolph.....	Virginia..	October 29, 5787.....	Richmond.

[1] Removed from Port Republican, Island of San Domingo, when insurrection of blacks occurred.

[1] The capital of the State having been changed from Williamsburg to Richmond.

By reference to the *Pocket Companion* before mentioned, it will be seen that York Lodge, No. 204, was chartered for York Town, Va., August 1, 1755. The conclusion is that it became dormant (and was revived in 1780), as was probably the case with Royal Exchange, No. 172 of date December, 1733, which became No. 1 of June, 1741. Although it is evident from authentic history that the Masons of Virginia had the right to open and hold a Provincial Grand Lodge under and by authority of Cornelius Harnett as Provincial Grand Master by right of his deputation as such, yet it was deemed by them more in accordance with Masonic law to obtain their charters from the Grand Lodge itself. The Masons of Norfolk petitioned for and obtained the Charter for the Royal Exchange, as we firmly believe with Brother Dove, in 1733. The records of Virginia show that a second lodge was chartered for the same place as Norfolk Lodge June 1, 1741, and held their meetings the same night every month; we therefore think that Royal Exchange had ceased to exist, and Norfolk Lodge took its place and was represented in Williamsburg at the conventions held May 6, 1777, and October 13, 1778.

In the autumn of 1784, Lafayette came to America, and visited Washington at Mount Vernon. Of all the generals of the Revolution he had been the most beloved by Washington; and both to him and to his wife in France had the hospitalities of Mount Vernon been often tendered by Mr. and Mrs. Washington. Madame Lafayette had wrought with her own hands in France a beautiful Masonic apron of white satin groundwork, with the emblems of Masonry delicately delineated with needle-work of colored silk; and this, with some other Masonic ornaments, was placed in a highly finished rosewood box, also beautified with Masonic emblems, and brought to Washington on this occasion as a present by Lafayette. It was a compliment to Washington and to Masonry delicately paid, and remained among the treasures of Mount Vernon till long after its recipient's death, when the apron was presented by his legatees to the Washington Benevolent Society, and by them to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in whose possession the apron now is, while the box that contained it is in possession of the lodge at Alexandria. The apron presented to Washington by Messrs. Watson & Cassoul two years before, and which is still in Dossession of Lodge No. 22 at Alexandria, has been often mistaken

for this; but the two aprons may be easily identified, by the Watson & Cassoul apron being wrought with gold and silver tissue, with the American and French flags combined upon it, while the Lafayette apron is wrought with silk, and has for its design on the frontlet the Mark Master's circle, and mystic letters, with a beehive as its mark in the center. The same device is beautifully inlaid on the lid of the box in which it was originally presented to Washington; and as this box is also in possession of Lodge No. 22 at Alexandria, and kept with the Watson & Cassoul apron, it has by many been supposed that this was the apron presented in 1784 by Lafayette. This mistake has also, perhaps, been perpetuated by a statement, that when Lafayette visited this lodge during his visit to America in 1824, he was furnished with the apron now in possession of Lodge No. 22, and in the box in which he had in 1784 presented one to Washington, to wear on the occasion; and that he there alluded to it as the one he had in former years presented to his distinguished American Brother. Even were this statement true, a lapse of forty years might have misled him in the identity of the apron, particularly as it was handed to him for the occasion in the well-remembered box in which he had, in his early Masonic life, presented one to Washington. The historic descriptions of the aprons leave no doubt as to the identity of each, and both are among the valued memorials of Washington's Masonic history. The Watson & Cassoul sash and apron, and also the Masonic box in which the Lafayette apron was presented to Washington, were presented to Lodge No. 22 at Alexandria, June 3, 1812, by Major Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington, in behalf of his son, Master Lorenzo Lewis.[1]

North Carolina.

The first organization of Masons in this colony was a lodge warranted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) "at Wilmington, in Cape Fear River, in the Province of North Carolina, March, 1754 (Calendar says 1755); but was not Listed until 1756, although the Constitution was paid for June 27, 1754."[2]

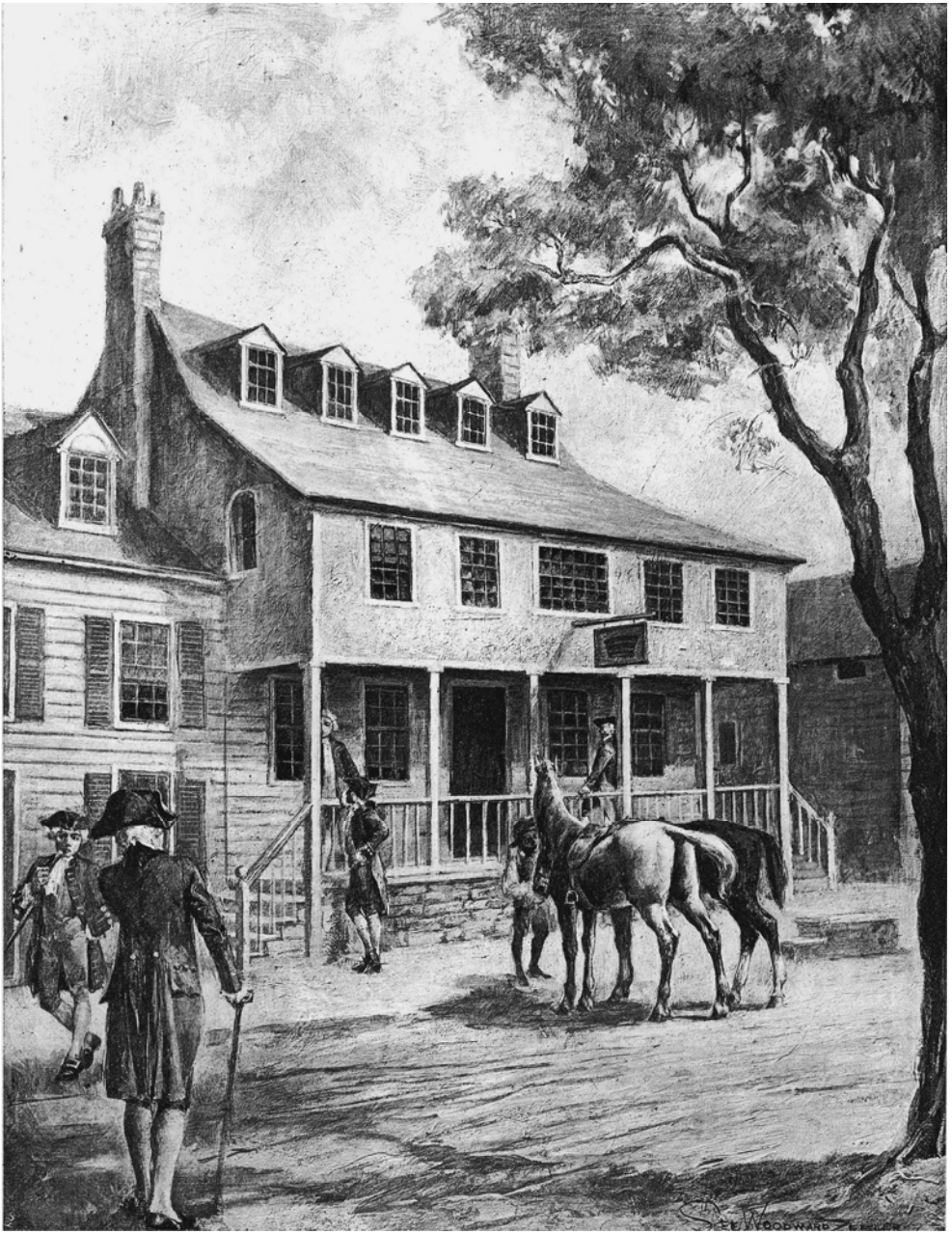
The Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 338, English Register, was warranted for Halifax, N. C, August 21, 1767. It was retained

[1] Hayden's Washington, etc.

[2] John Lane's "Masonic Records," p. 67,

THE OLD TUN TAVERN, PHILADELPHIA

The earliest known meeting place of Freemasons in Pennsylvania



on the register until 1813. The first is known as St. John's, No. 1, and the second retains its original name of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2.[1]

In the transaction of the St. John's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts a record states that on October 2, 1767, that body granted a deputation to Thomas Cooper, Master of Pitt County Lodge, as Deputy Grand Master of the Province.

In 1771, a lodge now known as St. John's, No. 3, was established at New Berne.

Judge Martin, in a discourse delivered on June 24, 1789, says that Joseph Montford was appointed, toward the year 1769, as Provincial Grand Master by the Duke of Beaufort, and in 1771 he constituted St John's Lodge, above mentioned as No. 3; that this was probably the true date of the Provincial Grand Lodge of North Carolina, for on December 16, 1787, we find nine lodges in the territory; and that a convention was held at Tarborough and organized "The Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina."[2]

In 1771, a Grand Lodge was organized, which met at Newbern and Edenton. The records were destroyed by the English during the War of the Revolution.

December 9, 1787, an effort was made to reorganize the Grand Lodge by the representatives of the following lodges: Unanimity; St. John's, No. 2; Royal Edwin, No. 4; Royal White Hart, No. 403; Royal William, No. 8; Union at Fayetteville, Blandford, Bute, and Old Cone.

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge held June 25, 1791, the lodges were all renumbered and new charters were issued to them.

The General Assembly of North Carolina incorporated the Grand Lodge in 1797. Some of the lodges were also incorporated.

In 1856, St John's College was established at Oxford, the present writer having furnished a design for the building. During the war, from 1861 to 1865, the college was vacated by the students. After the war the Grand Lodge converted the building and grounds into an orphans' home, and with varied success it has at last become permanently one of the best orphans' homes in the country. Several additions have been made to the original buildings. This Grand

[1] John Lane's "Masonic Records," p. 108.
[2] Mackey's "Encyclopædia," p. 536.

Lodge stands among the first of the Southern States for its prosperity in all essential features.

Maine.

The first Masonic lodge organized in Maine was located at Falmouth, which was subsequently called Portland.

Jeremy Gridley, Provincial Grand Master for Massachusetts (St. John's Grand Lodge), granted authority to Alexander Ross to constitute this lodge. We learn that this "Constitution" was not acted upon. Ross died November 24, 1768, and a petition was signed by eleven Brethren, and sent to John Rowe, who succeeded Gridley, and on March 30, 1769, he granted a new Charter, deputizing William Tyng to act as Master. The first meeting was held May 8th of that year. It seems that the two rituals, viz., the "Modern" and "Ancient," were in conflict in this lodge, and in 1772 the lodge resolved for harmony's sake to use these rituals on alternate evenings.

June 5, 1778, an application, which did not have a sufficient number of signers, was made to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (acting under the Grand Lodge of Scotland), to be called Warren Lodge, to be located at Machias. This petition was returned, and when properly signed, September 4, 1778, the Grand Lodge granted a Warrant, September 10, 1778.

A lodge was warranted by the United Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, June 1, 1792, to be named Lincoln Lodge. The same Grand Lodge issued a Warrant for another lodge in Portland in 1806.

Maine was admitted into the Union of the States in 1819, whereupon Simon Greenleaf issued a call for a convention to be held October 14, 1819, for the purpose of organizing a Grand Lodge for that State. There were then thirty-one lodges in that State all warranted by Grand Lodges in Massachusetts. Twenty-nine of these unanimously agreed to constitute a Grand Lodge in Maine.

The committee appointed by this convention, in consequence of the determination of the late "Massachusetts Grand Lodge, in 1781, "that all charters granted without the limits of this (Massachusetts) State shall be understood to remain in force until a Grand Lodge is formed in the government where such lodges are held;" requested that the connection with the Grand Lodge of Massa-

chusetts should be dissolved, etc., which was finally granted, donating $1,000 as a foundation for a charity fund, and the District Deputy Grand Masters in Maine were directed to pay what funds they might have in hand belonging to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts to the new Grand Lodge.

What a commentary this is upon the conduct of very many Grand Lodges, who fought frightfully against the organization of new Grand Lodges in territory where they held lodges under their obedience. The generosity and Masonic bearing of this grand old Commonwealth commend the Brethren thereof to our praise and admiration. We have had occasion in another place to mention this historical circumstance.

June 1, 1820, twenty-four bodies were represented and chose their Grand Officers. William King, the Governor of the State, was elected the first Grand Master.

The Grand Lodge, through the Grand Officers, was incorporated by the Legislature of Maine, June 24, 1824. The Grand Officers were installed, at the meeting-house of Rev. Mr. Payson, by the Grand Master of New Hampshire.

Simon Greenleaf succeeded William King as Grand Master.

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge, July 10, 1820, the following was proposed:

"To consider whether a person, who is conscientiously scrupulous against taking an oath, can be admitted to the benefits of Masonry by solemn affirmation."

This was fully considered, and on January 8, 1824, the following report of the committee was received and adopted by the Grand Lodge:

"Your committee deem this a question of no little importance as it bears on the interests of the Craft. On the one hand, if decided in the negative, there will be necessarily excluded from a participation of all the Mysteries, and very many of the benefits and advantages of Masonry a large class of Men, among the most respectable of our citizens, on account of their integrity, their conscientious regard for all those great moral principles which dignify human nature, and certainly not among the most backward in deeds of mercy and charity. On the other hand, if decided in the affirmative, it would seem at last to sanction a departure from what, for ages, has been deemed a form of sacred words, and what has

not hitherto failed to bind the consciences of otherwise the most hardened offenders. It is impossible that your committee should not examine with mistrust a principle which should shut out from the Masonic Fraternity such men as Clarkson; and they can not close their eyes to the bad effect which sanctioning such principles must have on the moral sense of the Community. On the whole, your Committee conceive that no Masonic principle is violated in adapting the form of the Obligations to consciences of Men equally good and true, but on the contrary, that serious hurt would grow to the Institution of Masonry, by an adherence to the technical form of words, heretofore used, for the purpose of securing that fidelity on the Crafts Men which have never yet been violated, even when all other principles have been wrecked, in the vortex of unhallowed appetites, or the whirlwind of ungoverned passions."

The Grand Lodges of the United States commented upon this action. Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Delaware, Virginia, and Pennsylvania protested, and the last passed the following resolutions:

"That the Grand Lodge of Maine be respectfully requested to reconsider the resolution adopted by them on the 8th January, 1834, proposing a new mode in which the degrees of Masonry can be conferred.

"That this Grand Lodge feel themselves bound to refuse to recognize any person, as a Mason, known to be initiated in the Mode proposed by the Grand Lodge of Maine."

Soon after this the so-called "Morgan excitement" prevailed to such an extent over all the Northeastern States, that it had the same depressing effect as in New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1829 there were fifty-eight lodges. A large number of these suspended their labors.

At the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1837, the oldest lodge at Portland was the only one represented. In 1844, sixteen lodges were represented. In 1849, Mount Hope was organized, the only one in twenty years. In 1860, there were ninety-six lodges, having four thousand three hundred and nineteen members. In ten years (1870) there were one hundred and fifty-four lodges with fourteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-six members.

New Jersey.

This colony was the home of the first Provincial Grand Master appointed by the Grand Lodge of England for any Province in America, to wit, that of Daniel Coxe, who received a deputation in 1729. Anderson mentions the issuing of this Masonic instrument in his *History of Masonry*. It was dated contemporaneously with one to Lower Saxony, and one to Bengal, India. Daniel Coxe appears never to have exercised any Masonic power in New Jersey. He was a resident of Burlington, and represented Gloucester County, N. J., in the Assembly of 1716, at which he was elected Speaker.

On May 13, 1761, a constitutional number of Master Masons in and about the town of Newark petitioned for and received from the hands of George Harrison, Provincial Grand Master of the Province of New York, a Warrant of Dispensation, Directed to William Tukey as Master, and others as officers, to meet and operate as a lodge, the first meeting-place being Rising Sun Tavern; after that the communications were held at the residences of the respective members. The lodge was called St. John's Lodge, No. 1, and preserves its original minutes to the present day.

"This Lodge observed Washington's Birthday as a Masonic Festival as early as 1792; and that venerable Lodge has, from that time to the present, yearly convened on that festive day to commemorate the Masonic Virtues of Washington."[1]

On June 24, 1762, Jeremy Gridley, Grand Master of Masons of the Province of Massachusetts, granted a deputation to Jonathan Hampton, Esq., to constitute a lodge by the name of Temple Lodge, No. 1, to be located in Elizabethtown, N. J.

On June 20, 1764, as set forth in an original document in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, the Grand Lodge of London (Ancients), Thomas Erskine, Grand Master, appointed Wm. Ball, Esq., Grand Master of Masons for the Province of Pennsylvania and the territories thereunto belonging: by virtue of this authority, three lodges were instituted in New Jersey, in the years 1767, 1779, and 1781.

In 1779 the headquarters of General George Washington were at Morristown, N. J. Numerous military lodges were organized in the American Army; and on December 27th of that year a festival

[1] Sidney Hayden's "Washington," etc.

was held by the "American Union Lodge" at Morristown, at which Bro. George Washington was present. The Minutes of the Proceedings of American Union Lodge are at the present time in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Connecticut.

On February 7, 1780, a convention lodge held at Morristown, in accordance with a previous understanding, December 27, 1779, favored a Grand Lodge of America. This movement, Pennsylvania also endorsed in 1780. New Jersey subsequently withdrew its assent.

A convention of Master Masons was held on December, 18, 1786, for the preparatory consideration of, and to mark out the course to be adopted for, the formation of a Grand Lodge for the State. This resulted in the adoption of the constitution on April 2, 1787, from which period the Grand Lodge dates.

Michigan.

No written history of Masonic events prior to 1826 have as yet been discovered. From the "Historical Sketch," by Brother Foster Pratt, M.D., Past Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, of Michigan, we are enabled to glean all the well-established facts as to the early introduction of Masonry into that State: "From 1764 to 1844, historical material accumulated around our Mystic Temple, not in consecutive records, nor in permanent forms, but in fragmentary papers, and varying traditions; and it has required no little research and labor to dig up from 'the rubbish' and to establish beyond question, exact dates, historical landmarks, and the true order of Masonic events."

There has been no written history of Masonry in Michigan prior to 1844. Three Grand Lodges have been organized in that State. The first was in 1826. The first lodge, "named Zion," was formed by a Warrant from Provincial Grand Master George Harrison, of New York, under the date of April 27, A.D. 1764, which was No. 448 Register of England, and No. 1 of Detroit. It is most likely that the military and citizens of Detroit were combined in this lodge.

When the British troops at a later date were serving in Michigan, there were probably three military lodges—which were noticed in an English Masonic Register as No, 289 at Detroit in 1773; No. 320 at Detroit in 1783; and St. John's Lodge, No. 373, at

Mackinaw in 1785. These were undoubtedly military lodges. The registry shows that their warrants came direct from England.

These lodges left no trace in Michigan, but they all went with their respective regiments, in 1796, when Michigan was surrendered to the United States.

The SECOND MASONIC PERIOD commenced in 1794. From the peculiar conditions of the country and the times it seems no records were preserved; yet there was some evidence that during a portion of that time, for thirty years, Zion Lodge maintained life and performed some labor. So long as Great Britain claimed Michigan as a part of Upper Canada, which was until 1796, the Masonic jurisdiction was therefore in the Grand Lodge of Canada, which had already been organized. On September 7, 1794, a Warrant was issued to Brethren in Detroit from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada, called Zion Lodge, No. 10. This lodge was instituted December 19, 1794, James Donaldson, Worshipful Master. In 1796 American troops planted the flag and institutions of the United States at Detroit.

The THIRD MASONIC PERIOD, A.D. 1806, New York jurisdiction.—The records of the Grand Lodge of New York show that September 3, 1806, a Charter was granted by DeWitt Clinton, Grand Master, to the Brethren of Detroit, by which Zion Lodge was reformed and recorded as "No. 1 at Detroit." With their petition they surrendered to the Grand Lodge of New York the original Warrant of 1764. This lodge was "installed" July 6, 1807. We find no other records of interest.

The FOURTH MASONIC PERIOD, A.D. 1812-20, second war with England.—Until October 5, 1813, when the battle of the Thames occurred, there were no meetings, as the country was occupied by the British forces. In October, General Lewis Cass became Governor, and the American flag again waved at Detroit, the lodge having forfeited its Charter by the events of the war. Upon petition of its members the Grand Lodge of New York, March 14, 1816, granted a Charter to Zion Lodge, No. 62, instead of former No. I. By a new arrangement of numbers in 1819, according to the original charters, this lodge became No. 3.

The FIFTH MASONIC PERIOD, First Grand Lodge.—A dispensation was granted by the Grand Lodge of New York in 1821, and instituted December 26, 1821, by the name of Detroit Lodge, No. 337.

March 7, 1822, in the town of Pontiac, County of Oakland, by the name and style of Oakland Lodge, No. 343, which had been previously organized under dispensation.

A Warrant was issued September 1, 1824, a dispensation having been issued on June 12, 1824, to form a lodge in Green Bay, in the county of Brown, by the name of Minomanie, No. 374, which is in Wisconsin at this time, as then it was in the territory of Michigan. December 1, 1824, at the town of Monroe, in the county of Monroe, territory of Michigan, by the name of Monroe Lodge, No. 375.

The *Grand Lodge was Organized in 1826.*—The convention met June 24, 1826. Were present by their representatives Lodges No. 3, No. 337, No. 374, and No. 375, all chartered by the Grand Lodge of New York. No. 343 of Pontiac was not present at this meeting, but appeared later and joined in its action. June 28th a constitution was adopted. July 31st Grand Officers were elected and installed. This new Grand Lodge was duly recognized by the Mother Grand Lodge of New York by suitable and fraternal resolutions, June 11, 1827. At the Institution of the Grand Lodge, General Lewis Cass was installed Grand Master. Four lodges were soon thereafter organized, viz.: Stony Creek, Western Star, St. Cloud, and Friendship. These made nine lodges in its jurisdiction. The meager official records of its proceedings have been published, yet all that the Grand Lodge accomplished soon came to naught.

The principal importance that attaches to the matter arises from the fact that it became the cause of four years of Masonic confusion, after eleven years of silence. The exact date of the suspension of life is not known, and the manner of it was unique; "and when dead it did not rest in peace."

As a Masonic curiosity, the dispensation granted by Grand Master Lewis Cass to Stony Creek Lodge, January 9, 1828, is yet in existence, which is the only lodge which maintained its existence during the dark days of the anti-Masonic excitement.

The SIXTH MASONIC PERIOD, A.D. 1840-44, Reconstruction.—Michigan attained to Statehood in 1837. The population increased from 1829, when Masonic labor ceased, with only about 30,000, to nearly 250,000 in 1840. The increase of population being mainly from States where Masonry had resumed its labors after the recent anti-Masonic crusade, the Institution began to revive

in 1840, and on November 15th of that year a convention was held at Mt. Clemens. Nothing definite was accomplished and it adjourned to May 5, 1841. The history of the proceedings of the Brethren during the four years between 1840 and 1844 is very interesting but entirely too lengthy for our limits, and we refer our leaders to the local history of the Grand Lodges of Michigan.[1]

On September 17, 1844, the Grand Lodge of Michigan was constitutionally organized and elected the Grand Officers—which Grand Lodge continues to the present time and has grown and prospered and is among the leading Grand Lodges of the United States.

Delaware.

There appears to be some uncertainty concerning the first lodge instituted in Delaware. It is said that the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1764 warranted Union Lodge No. 121, at Middletown, for General Majoribank's Regiment. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted warrants to Lodge No. 5, at Cantwell's Bridge on June 24, 1765, and renewed March 5, 1798, and was surrendered, January 30, 1815, in order to unite in forming the Grand Lodge of Delaware. Hyneman's *World's Masonic Register* says: "The Grand Lodge of Delaware was organized June 6, 1806." Here is a difference of ten years in the date of organization of the Grand Lodge.

A Charter to Lodge No. 13, at Christiana Ferry, afterward Wilmington, was granted, December 27, 1769; surrendered and renewed, January 22, 1789; was vacated, September 15, 1806, for un-Masonic proceedings in the establishment of the pretended Grand Lodge of Delaware (Hyneman, *ante*); to Lodge No. 18 at Dover, Kent County, granted, August 26, 1775; surrendered and renewed, May 31, 1787; to Lodge No. 33, at New Castle and at Christiana Bridge, one year at one place and the ensuing year at the other, granted, April 3, 1780; surrendered and renewed, March 1, 1790; vacated, September 15, 1806, for un-Masonic conduct in the formation of the pretended Grand Lodge of Maryland; to Lodge No. 44, at Duck Creek Cross Roads; granted, June 24, 1785; surrendered and renewed, September 6, 1790; has ceased long since; to Lodge No. 63, at Lewistown; granted, May

[1] "Historical Sketch of Early Masonry in Michigan," by Foster Pratt, p. 42 *et seq.*

28, 1794; vacated, April 7, 1806; to Lodge No. 96, the Delaware Hiram Lodge at Newark; granted, December 6, 1802; vacated, September 15, 1806, for un-Masonic conduct in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Delaware.

The Grand Lodge of Maryland granted a Warrant to St. John's Lodge in Laureltown, Sussex County, on September 18, 1792. It became delinquent to the Grand Lodge and its Warrant was forfeited, June 13, 1800. June 6, 1806, it petitioned to be revised but was refused. Grand Lodge warranted a new lodge named "Hope" at the same time and place. Nine Brethren, said to represent Lodge No. 31, Grand Lodge of Maryland, Nos. 33, 96, and 14, Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, met at the town hall in Wilmington, and resolved that, as a matter of right, and for the general benefit of Masonry, they ought to form a Grand Lodge within said State, and did then proceed to form the Grand Lodge of Delaware. A committee of five was appointed to prepare a set of regulations. The meeting adjourned to June 7, 1806, when twelve Brethren were present. They proceeded to the appointment of Grand Officers, *pro tempore*, and thereupon, without any previous installation, opened the Grand Lodge of Delaware. Warrants were granted without any charge except the secretary's fees for executing them, etc. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, to whom the proceedings had been referred, refused to recognize them, that five lodges at least were indispensably necessary to form a Grand Lodge (there were only five lodges at the formation of the pretended Grand Lodge), and that three of the lodges were indebted to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for fees and dues. Accordingly, these warrants were vacated. The Grand Lodge of Maryland also refused to recognize the new Grand Lodge, and in 1808, the Charter of Hope was annulled. The action taken by Pennsylvania and Maryland did not seem to affect the new Grand Lodge, and in 1816 the Lodge No. 5, Cantwell's Bridge, under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, joined the new Grand Lodge by permission of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, thus making five.

Vermont.

In 1778, some of the towns in New Hampshire, near the Connecticut River, put themselves under the control of Vermont. The attention of the citizens was directed to this circumstance, and

a petition from sixteen towns, including Hanover and some others, east of Connecticut River, was presented to the Legislature of Vermont, at the first session in March, 1778, with the request to receive them into Union and Confederation. At the next session of the Legislature an act was passed to authorize these towns to elect and send members to the Legislature at their next session. At the session of the General Assembly, in October, 1778, delegates from at least eight towns of New Hampshire took their seats in the Assembly.[1]

We have stated this much of the political history of that early period, to account for circumstances in the Masonic history, which would not be otherwise understood, viz.: that the original petition for a Charter for a Vermont lodge was dated at "Cornish, Vermont," and why the lodge met at Charlestown, N. H., in place of Springfield, Vt., which town was named in the Charter. Again: Ira Allen's History says that, "On the meeting of the Legislature of Vermont at Windsor, February 12, 1779, to get rid of a connection which had occasioned so much trouble and danger, the Assembly passed an Act dissolving the Union of the sixteen towns in New Hampshire."[2]

For a period of four years ending February, 1782, both sides of the Connecticut River were to some extent common territory.[3]

November 8, 1781, a petition from Cornish, Vt., was presented to St. Andrew's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and a Charter was ordered to be issued November 10, 1881, the lodge to be located at Springfield, Vt.

This lodge, instead of meeting at Springfield, Vt., held the meetings in Charlestown, N. H. May 17, 1787, the lodge was in some doubt as to the propriety of their meeting in Charlestown, N. H.

A Charter was applied for, to St. Andrew's Grand Lodge, for a lodge at Charlestown, named Faithful, which was granted, February 2, 1788. The Vermont lodge was removed to its proper place at Springfield. On May 14, 1795, upon petition to the Grand Lodge, the said lodge was moved to Windsor, Vt., and the lodge met there until September 19, 1831, when it suspended its meetings, in consequence of the anti-Masonic or Morgan excitement. On January 10, 1850,

[1] Ira Allen's History, in George F. Koon's "Freemasonry in Vermont."
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

upon petition, the present Charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of Vermont. The second lodge established in Vermont was chartered by St. Andrew's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, January 20, 1785, and was named North Star, in Manchester, Bennington County, and was constituted, February 3, 1785.

Dorchester Lodge was the third lodge constituted in Vermont previous to the formation of a Grand Lodge in Vermont. This lodge was chartered by Sir John Johnson, May 5, 1791, Grand Master of the Province of Quebec.

Temple Lodge, at Bennington, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, May 18, 1793.

Union Lodge, at Middlebury, was the last lodge chartered prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge of Vermont. The Charter was issued by the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, May 15, 1794.

A convention was held at Manchester, August 5, 1794, and the following lodges were represented, viz.: North Star, Dorchester, and Temple. After appointing committees for several purposes, preliminary to a permanent establishment of a Grand Lodge, the convention adjourned, to meet at Rutland, October 14, 1794, at which time the Grand Lodge adopted the constitution. There were present, by representatives, the following lodges, viz.: North Star, Vermont Lodge, Dorchester, Temple, and Union. The Grand Officers were elected, Brother Noah Smith being Grand Master.

The Grand Lodge continued to hold the annual communications until during the anti-Masonic excitement in 1826. From 1828 to 1836 many of the lodges failed to be represented, and to pay their annual dues to the Grand Lodge. At the Annual Communication, October 11, 1831, a resolution, recommending an unqualified surrender by the Grand Lodge of the charters of the several secular lodges was dismissed by a vote of ayes 99 to noes 19.

Without dwelling upon the history of that time, which tried the souls and patience of all good Masons, we extract from the proceedings of the Grand Lodge held October 7, 1834.

At the session of October 7, 1834, the following transaction took place:

On motion of Bro. Joel Winch, a committee of three was appointed to examine the communications received from secular lodges and present the views of the Grand Lodge at this time. N.

B. Haswell, Joel Winch, and Solomon Mason were appointed, who made the following report:

Whereas, The Grand Lodge of the State of Vermont has witnessed with regrets the assembling in different counties of the State of Masons called together by a notice or authority new and unknown to the usages of the craft and in opposition to the constitution of the order; therefore

Resolved, That the Grand Lodge deem the assemblage of Masons in the manner above alluded to to be unmasonic and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That the resolution adopted by the Grand Lodge at its last session (whereby permission was given to the secular Lodges to surrender their charters and records, giving to said Lodges authority to retain and dispose of their property and funds as they see fit) was a measure calculated to relieve [all] who wished to retire from Masonry.

Resolved, That the Grand Lodge do hereby receive, and they instruct their Secretary to receive hereafter, such charters and records as may be surrendered by virtue of the resolution aforesaid, and they order the same whenever surrendered to be deposited among its archives.

Resolved, That this Grand Lodge feel it a duty they owe themselves as well as the whole Masonic fraternity to declare, that while its individual members are left to the free and unmolested enjoyment of their sentiments upon the various subjects connected with religion and politics, and the right to judge of men and their actions, they hereby most solemnly declare that Masonic bodies have not the right to connect the institution with the sectarian or party views of either; that any attempt thereat is a gross innovation upon those principles which among good and correct Masons are universally acknowledged, and should be universally practised upon.

Resolved, That the Grand Lodge do at this time as they have hitherto done, declare to the world that the object of their association, and motives for continuing therein, are founded upon the principles of brotherly love, relief, and truth. They disclaim the right of Masons to inflict corporeal punishment and acknowledge no other right to enforce obedience from its members but reprimand, suspension and expulsion.

Resolved, That the Grand Lodge recommend to those brethren who incline still to adhere to the institution of Masonry, to continue to cultivate a spirit of good will towards those who may differ from them respecting the origin and continuance of Free Masonry; and while we are ready to forgive those whose fidelity has been shaken by one of those popular commotions incident to our free institutions, we are also ready to judge with candor the motives by which they have been governed.

In presenting the foregoing resolutions, your committee will close their report in the language of one of the late officers of this Grand Lodge whose labors on earth are finished; we ask you to gaze with us upon the ominous gathering, which to no eye can be viewless; we ask you to contemplate its swelling aspect, its various phases, and its multiform ramifications; listen to its busy notes of preparation and anticipate its maturity of strength, and then imagine its con-

summation to have taken place; then cast your eye around and see how many have quaked and quailed, how many have failed, how many have surrendered at discretion, and how many have renounced their faith and armed to batter us down; then complete the picture, and when you find the smoke and din of the conflict is passed, and the light streaming in upon us once more, not a heart flinching, not a hand palsied, but each and every one still invincible in defence of the mighty truth.

If Free Masonry falls, her monument will not crumble, nor her epitaph fade. It is erected upon the everlasting hills, it is firmly planted in the deepest vallies. The widow's prayer of joy, the orphan's tear of gratitude as they ascend, like the dew before the solar influence, bear with them its eulogy and its praise. So long as there remains a fragment of the temples of antiquity; so long as one stone of the edifices it has consecrated shall rest upon another; so long as brotherly love, relief, and truth obtain among men, so long will its mausoleum endure. The waves of popular prejudice may beat against it, the shouts of popular clamor may be thrown back in echoes from its base, the winds and weathers of time may press upon it, but still it will endure, glory will encircle it, honor will be yielded to it, and veneration will be felt for the hallowed recollections it quickens into action; and hereafter when he casts his eyes over the galaxy of social institutions among men, the philanthropist will involuntarily associate with his subject that other and celestial galaxy, and realize as now from the fiat that has effected the one, so then from the economy that controlled the other, that he will soon have to mourn for a lost Pleiad which can never more be visible in the moral constellation.

NATHAN B. HASWELL,

For Committee.

NOTE.—When we see the present status of Masonry at the end of the 19th century, how true a prophet was Brother Haswell!

The few faithful Brethren in Vermont never surrendered their Masonry, but continued to hold their communications of the Grand Lodge, and adjourned from year to year, until all the excitement had died out, when the politicians discovered that they could no longer impose upon the people.

Many of the Brethren wished again to resume the work of Masonry in Vermont, and thought it desirable that it should be done under the old organization, as they had made provision for keeping it up to the then present date. Bro. Grand Master Nathan B. Haswell, who had held the Grand Lodge together for so many years (blessed be his memory), called a meeting of the Officers of the Grand Lodge, to be held at Mason's Hall, in Burlington, January 14, 1846, at which time and place the Grand Officers met and the Grand Lodge of Vermont resumed its legitimate

functions and prestige, and has continued to do so ever since; and, notwithstanding the great trials and persecutions inflicted upon Masonry as an institution, and upon individuals, the Grand Lodge of Vermont stands to-day upon a higher pinnacle than ever before.

The "Green Mountain Boys" will ever maintain the honor and glory of their great antecedents.

Florida.

Originally, after the discovery by Ponce de Leon in 1513, Florida belonged to the Kingdom of Spain. The country was settled by Huguenots in 1562, and permanently occupied by Spaniards in 1565, at St. Augustine. It was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, again to Spain in 1783, and finally to the United States in 1819, and admitted to the Union in 1845.

The origin of Masonry in Florida is somewhat vague, and the writers on the history of Masonry do not agree as to when it was first introduced into that country. In 1768, the Grand Lodge of Scotland erected a lodge, No. 143, at East Florida and appointed Governor James Grant Prov. G. M. for North America, southern district.[1]

A "memorial from the Brethren of St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 1, late of West Florida, now of Charlestown, South Carolina, with sundry papers relative thereto," was presented to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, July 8, 1783. Of this lodge nothing more is known. When the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania responded to the memorial and a Charter was issued, it was forwarded to the W. Master of another lodge with instructions to ascertain if the W. Master and members of the said lodge were of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity, and consented to be under that jurisdiction, In 1768, the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted a Charter to a lodge in East Florida.

There is no trace whatever of such a lodge.

Brother Mackey indicates that Lodge No. 30, chartered by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina (Ancients), at St. Augustine, East Florida, became "extinct in consequence of a decree of the King of Spain." No. 56, at Pensacola, was chartered by the Grand

[1] Gould, vol. vi., p. 403.

Lodge of South Carolina (date is unknown). It also became extinct The same Grand Lodge, June 30, 1820, chartered Floridian Virtues Lodge, at St. Augustine, in place of No. 30, and which also ceased to work in 1827. June 29, 1821, that Grand Lodge revived No. 56 at Pensacola, by the name of Good Intention Lodge, No. 17, which became extinct in 1825. January 3, 1824, that Grand Lodge issued a Charter to La Esperanza Lodge, No. 47, at St. Augustine, which is supposed to be a revival of No. 30.

From the reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Florida, the committee on the reprint say that the first lodge in East Florida was St. Fernando, at St. Augustine, warranted by the Grand Lodge of Georgia, about 1806. As South Carolina had issued a Charter as early as 1804, consequently this one could not have been the first.

Jackson Lodge, at Tallahassee, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Alabama, December 19, 1825. On December 15, 1827, it was suspended and the Charter was forfeited, December 8, 1829; it was, however, placed in good standing on the payment of its arrearages of dues.

Washington Lodge, at Quincy, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Georgia, December 2, 1828; also the same Grand Lodge chartered Harmony Lodge, at Marianna, December 8, 1829. July 5, 1830, these three lodges met and framed and adopted a constitution, July 6th, and the Grand Officers were elected and installed. With the exception of the Territory of Michigan, this was the first Territorial Grand Lodge; and as the first one in Michigan did not continue very long, Florida Grand Lodge, now existing, may claim to be the first formed in a Territory.

Kentucky.

Kentucky being originally a part of Virginia, up to 1792, jurisdiction over it was exercised by that State.

November 17, 1788, Lexington Lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Virginia. The following lodges also derived their authority from the same Grand Lodge, viz.: November 25, 1791. Paris Lodge was chartered; Georgetown Lodge received a dispensation, January 9, 1796, and a Charter, November 29, 1796; a dispensation was issued to Hiram Lodge, September 20, 1799, and a

Charter was granted, December 11, 1799; a dispensation was issued to Abraham's Lodge, at Shelbyville, in the latter part of 1799 or commencement of 1800.

Representatives from these five lodges met September 8, 1800, at Lexington, and determined that it was expedient, necessary, and agreeable to Masonic constitution, that a Grand Lodge should be established for that State. The convention then issued a call for a second convention for October 16, 1800.

This convention, composed of the above five lodges by their representatives, met, and after organization, elected their Grand Officers, who were then installed.

District of Columbia.

This district, containing originally one hundred square miles, was set apart by Act of Congress, approved July 16, 1790, for the capital of the United States: being partly in the State of Maryland, on the north and east side of the Potomac River, and on the south and west side of that river, in the State of Virginia.

Prior to that date a lodge had been organized by the Grand Lodge of Maryland, in the town of Georgetown, situated on the west bank of Rock Creek, April 12, 1789, by the name of Potomac Lodge, No. 9. For some reasons, now unknown, this lodge ceased to work. October 23, 1795, the Grand Lodge of Maryland granted a Warrant to another body of Masons (probably many of them had been members of No. 9), which was named Columbia, No. 19. This lodge also ceased its labors, and another lodge was warranted by the Grand Lodge of Maryland, by the name of Potomac Lodge, No. 43, which last lodge continued with the name and number as stated, until the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia was constituted, February 11, 1811, when the same name being continued, the number was changed to 5, and is the same at the present time.

Federal Lodge, No. 15, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Maryland, September 12, 1793. By Act of Congress, the District of Columbia having been laid out and the public buildings for the several departments being under construction, especially the Capitol of the United States, the city of Washington having also been laid out, many private residences were being constructed, and the population was greatly increased.

EPISODE.

The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid September 18, 1793, with Masonic ceremonies, conducted by the President, Brother George Washington, who came up from Alexandria, accompanied by Alexandria Lodge, No. 39, and was joined by Potomac Lodge, No. 9. Federal Lodge, No. 15, although its Warrant had been issued a few days previous to this occasion, and in consequence of its not having been duly instituted, could not join in the ceremonies, although the Brethren were present as spectators. The gavel used on that occasion, made by one of the workmen, of a piece of marble similar to that used in the building, was presented to General Washington; after the ceremonies it was given by him to the Worshipful Master of Potomac Lodge, No. 9, and is in the possession of that lodge at the present time.

Brooke Lodge, No. 47, being located in Alexandria, Va., after the formation of the Federal District, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Virginia.

Alexandria Lodge, No. 29, also located in the city of Alexandria, was originally chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, February 23, 1783, but soon after the institution of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, October 13, 1778, this lodge withdrew from her allegiance to the Mother Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, by her consent, and received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, under the name of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, dated April 28, 1788, with George Washington, Esquire, late Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United States of America, as Worshipful Master.

Columbia Lodge, No. 35, in Washington City, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Maryland, November 8, 1803; Washington Naval Lodge, No. 40, also in Washington City, was also chartered by the Grand Lodge of Maryland, May 14, 1805.

December 11, 1810, a convention was held by the five lodges above mentioned, viz.: Federal, No. 15; Brooke, No. 47; Columbia, No. 35; Washington Naval, No. 40; and Potomac, No. 43. Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, declined to join in this movement and was sustained by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, and quietly acquiesced in by the Brethren in the District of Columbia. This convention adjourned to January 8th, and again to February 11, 1811, when the organiza-

tion of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia was fully completed. The several lodges surrendered their charters to their Mother Grand Lodges, and charters were issued to them by their own Grand Lodge, their numbers being changed to 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, according to original dates. Of these five lodges, all are in existence and are in a flourishing condition, except Brooke Lodge, No. 2, of Alexandria, which returned to the Grand Lodge of Virginia when that part of the District of Columbia was retroceded to the State of Virginia, and soon thereafter ceased to labor.

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., *33°*.

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, *33°*.

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC

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CHAPTER LV

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY INTO EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The First Lodges and the Grand Lodges (*Continued*).

Ohio.

HE introduction of Masonry into Ohio is due to the fact that soon after the close of the War of the Revolution, the Master, Jonathan Heart, and some of the members of American Union Lodge settled near Marietta. The Charter of that lodge, which had been granted by the St. John's Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, February 15, 1776, by John Rowe, Grand Master (in the Connecticut Line of the Army),[1] was held by the Master, and he claimed that it was a lodge at large and not under the jurisdiction of any Grand Lodge, and in fact "it was invested with every power necessary to constitute, rule, and govern" Masonry in the Territories. It had been recognized "by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, as a constituent of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts." This lodge worked for several years until its Charter was burned; a revival of it was asked for from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which was declined, "except as one of its constituent." Application to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was made, which authorized the lodge to resume work under a copy of the original Charter, "with the express provision that the charter should be of force only until a Grand Lodge should be formed in the territory in which it was located."

The Grand Lodge of Ohio was organized January 7, 1808.

[1] Shortly after, the lodge having removed to New York, asked for a Confirmation of their Charter, from the D. G. M., Dr. Middleton; but a new Warrant was granted under the name of Military Union, No. I.—Gould's "History," vol. vi., p. 415.

The lodges represented were American Union, No. 1, at Marietta; Cincinnati, No. 13, warranted by the Grand Lodge of New Jersey as Nova Cesaræa, No. 10, now known as N. C. Harmony, No. 21; Sciota, No. 2, and Chillicothe, warranted by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1805, now known as No. 6; Erie, No. 47, at Warren, warranted by the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, March 16, 1804, now known as Old Erie, No. 3; and Amity, No. 105, at Zanesville, warranted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1804, now No. 5.

January 4, 1808, a preliminary convention of the delegates from all the lodges then in Ohio—six in number—was held in Chillicothe to deliberate upon the propriety of forming a Grand Lodge, and to inaugurate measures for the organization of such a body. The convention continued its deliberations four consecutive days, which resulted in the unanimous adoption of a resolution proposed by Brother Lewis Cass, viz.: "that it is expedient to form a Grand Lodge of the State of Ohio."[1]

A few rules, couched as resolutions, were adopted for the formation of a Grand Lodge, and appointed the first Monday in January, 1809, as the time, and Chillicothe as the place for holding the first Grand Communication of said Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge met at Chillicothe, January 2, 1809, and duly organized with representatives from four lodges.

In consequence of the absence of the representatives of American Union Lodge, No. 1, there being but four lodges represented, it was thought that a Grand Lodge could not be legally organized. The Grand Lodge adjourned from day to day, and, finally, on January 5th, it adopted *pro tempore* the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, having decided that under their peculiar circumstances it would be right and proper to organize a Grand Lodge with only four lodges represented.

Brother Rufus Putnam, who had been chosen Grand Master at the convention held in 1808, wrote a letter to the Grand Lodge declining the office, on account of his great age, which was accepted, and Bro. Samuel Huntington was duly elected Grand Master.

Previous to the reception of this letter all the other Grand Officers elected the last year had been installed, and upon the election of the Grand Master he also was immediately installed, and all the

[1] Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ohio.

other Grand Officers who had just been elected at the same time with the Grand Master.

The Grand Lodge closed its sessions on January 7, 1709, having completed all things necessary to its proper work in Masonry.

Louisiana.

The introduction of Freemasonry in the Territory of Louisiana is principally due to the political condition of that Territory and the circumstances connected with the affairs in San Domingo, both countries at that period being somewhat, if not exclusively, settled by the Latin race and their negro slaves. Masonry had been introduced upon the Island of San Domingo from the Grand Orient of France, also by charters from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. When the insurrection occurred in San Domingo, in 1791, the white refugees spread themselves in many of the cities in the United States; a very large number settled in New Orleans, and among them were many Masons, and in 1793 several of these residing in New Orleans organized into a lodge and received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of South Carolina by the name of "Parfaite Union, No. 29," the officers being installed in the York Rite on March 30, 1794. In the same year several Brethren of the French, or Modern Rite, formed themselves into a lodge called "Etoile Polaire" (Polar Star), and applied for a Charter from the Grand Orient of France. The Grand Orient having suspended its labors, in consequence of the political condition of France, could not issue a Charter. The Brethren, however, obtained a provisional Charter or dispensation from the Provincial Lodge *La Parfaite Sincerite* at Marseilles in 1796, and intrusted the same to Dominique Mayronne, with authority to constitute the new lodge and install the officers, which was done under the French Rite, December 27, 1798.

When the Grand Orient resumed labor in 1803, a Charter was issued to Polar Star Lodge, No. 4263, in 1804, and Ch. Tessier was deputed to deliver the Charter and heal their work, which was done, and officers were installed, November 11, 1804, by A. Pinard and A. Marmillion.

The early records of "Perfect Union" and "Polar Star" can not be found, but the above information has been obtained by Brother James H. Scot, the historian of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, from the "Manuel Maçonnique," a very rare work, published in

New Orleans in 1828. It is very probable that these lodges were formed about the same time, "but in the absence of the original records it is impossible to decide the question."[1]

It is thought that the Brethren who formed these two lodges were from the Island of Guadaloupe, which was involved in the horrors of the negro insurrection of 1791. In consequence of political differences among the French inhabitants in Louisiana, growing out of the French Revolution, difficulties arose which resulted in the refusal of the members of these two lodges to hold any Masonic intercourse with each other.

Some of the former members of "Candor Lodge, No. 12," in Charleston, S. C, which was extinct, having settled in New Orleans, applied to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and obtained a Charter, dated May 18, 1801,as Candor Lodge, No. 90. It is possible that this lodge did not survive very long, if it ever was duly constituted, as on March 1, 1802, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted a Charter to Charity Lodge, No. 93, having the name of N. Definieto, W. M., who was the W. M. of Candor, No. 90. This Charter was not received until 1804, and on May 13th of that year the lodge was duly constituted and the officers were installed in the York Rite. On October 1, 1800, by treaty, Spain retroceded the whole of the territory of Louisiana to France, which held an actual possession of only twenty days, as on December 20, 1803, the United States flag was raised in New Orleans, France having sold the whole territory to the United States. This change in the political condition made equally a change in Masonic affairs, and from that date on, viz., 1804, Masonry assumed quite a different attitude in Louisiana.

A change also in the Island of San Domingo caused a very large number of the refugees of 1791 to return to their old homes, and the French contingent among the Masons in New Orleans was greatly reduced. The American element, which had in Masonic matters been much in the minority, began to increase and soon prevailed.

A duplicate Charter from the Grand Orient of France was received, July 20, 1807, bearing date of February 17, 1806, by the Lodge "La Union Desirée," No. 3013, which had been under the auspices of the Grand Orient of France, at Port au Prince, April 16, 1783. During the revolution of 1791 the Charter,

[1] James H. Scot, "History of Masonry in Louisiana."

archives, etc., had been destroyed. The members who had fled to New Orleans in 1791, and had returned to San Domingo in 1802, had been again compelled to flee to New Orleans the second time. In 1806 Masons from the Northern part of the United States applied for and obtained a Charter from the Grand Lodge of New York, on September 2, 1807, now Louisiana Lodge, No. 2. In the "Manuel Maçonnique" it is No. 101, which is an error of the author. This was the first lodge in New Orleans that worked in the English language, and its first W. M. was the celebrated jurist Edward Livingstone.

Polar Star Lodge, No. 4263, applied to the Grand Orient of France and obtained a Charter to hold a Chapter of Rose Croix, which was constituted and officers installed, May 24, 1807, as "La Vertu Récompensée, No. 5001."

On September 15, 1808, a York Rite Charter was issued to some of the members of Lodge La Réunion Desirée, No. 3829, by the same name but numbered 112, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. This lodge dissolved March 23, 1812.

This much of the early history in Louisiana must suffice, as to continue a specific notice of all the lodges chartered and the various contests which grew out of the various rites in use, and the "Cumulation" thereof, would utilize our entire remaining pages of this chapter, hence must proceed to the organization of the Grand Lodge.

It appears from the records that twelve lodges had received charters in New Orleans prior to the organization of a Grand Lodge, as will appear in the following table:

NAME OF LODGE.	No.	BY WHOM CHARTERED.	DATE OF CHARTER.
Perfect Union …….	29	Grand Lodge of South Carolina …….	March 30, 1794.
Polar Star……	4263	Pro. Lodge Sincereité …….	December 27, 1798.
		Reconstructed by Grand Oriental of France……	November 11, 1804.
Candor.....	90	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	May 18, 1801.
Charity	93	Grand lode of Pennsylvania……	March 1, 1802.
Réunion Desirée…….	3829	Grand Lodge of France ……..	February 17, 1807.
Louisiana……	1	Grand Lodge of New York ……	September 2, 1807.
Réunion Desirée	112	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	September 15, 1808.
Concord …….	117	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	October 7, 1810.
Perseverance……...	118	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	October 7, 1810.
Harmony ……	122	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	November 19, 1810.
Polar Star……	129	Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ……	June 3, 1811.
Bienfaisance ……..	1	Grand Consistory of Jamaica ……	June 22, 1811.

Of these lodges, Candor, No. 90, York Rite, was perhaps never organized; Réunion Desirée, No. 3829, French Rite, ceased to work, November 27, 1808; Polar Star, No. 4293, French Rite, adjourned *sine die*, October 13, 1811; Réunion Desirée, No. 112, York Rite, dissolved, March 23, 1812; and Bienfaisance, No. 1, Scottish Rite, affiliated with Concord, No. 117, May 27, 1812, leaving seven lodges in full activity and all working the York Rite, viz.: Numbers 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, in the above table.

Louisiana was admitted as a State by Act of Congress, April 8, 1812, to take effect after April 30th. This change politically had a corresponding result masonically.

Perfect Union Lodge, No. 29, had the honor of taking initiatory steps toward the organization of a Grand Lodge, which resulted in a meeting, April 18, 1812, of the delegates of Perfect Union Lodge, No. 29; Charity Lodge, No. 93; Louisiana Lodge, No. 1; Concord Lodge, No. 117; Perseverance Lodge, No. 118; Harmony Lodge, No. 122; and Polar Star Lodge, No. 129. These delegates organized themselves into a "General Committee of the State of Louisiana to provide for the establishment of a Grand Lodge in the City of New Orleans." P. F. Dubourg was the first President.

On May 16th following a second meeting was held, Charity Lodge, No. 93, not being represented; and a communication was received from Louisiana Lodge, No. 1, saying that in their opinion "it would be inexpedient at present" to join in the proposed formation of a Grand Lodge; whereupon a resolution was passed requesting the W. Master of the Senior of the regular lodges in the State, Perfect Union, No. 29, to issue his summons[1] to the Masters, Past Masters, and Officers of the several Ancient and regularly constituted lodges in the State to meet in convention to take into consideration the interests of the true Craft, and to deliberate on the necessity of establishing a Grand Lodge in the State, which was accordingly done, and the convention met June 13, 1812, and the following representatives were present, viz.: Perfect Union, No. 29; Charity, No. 93; Concord, No. 117; Perseverance, No. 118; Polar Star, No. 129. As soon as the convention was organized the President, Brother Dubourg, stated that he had received a communication from Harmony Lodge, No. 122, which had withdrawn from the convention. The convention adjourned to meet June 20th next. June 20, 1812, the Grand Convention then met and elected the Grand Officers; P. F. Dubourg being elected Grand Master, who was duly installed after the election of the Grand Officers, and by a resolution adopted, the Grand Master installed all the other Grand Officers on July nth following.

At a communication held August 15, 1812, the committee appointed for that purpose reported a draft of a Constitution which was adopted.

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[1] Ancient term for *Notification.*

At a quarterly communication held March 27, 1813, the Grand Master announced that a Grand Royal Arch Chapter had been organized and attached to the Grand Lodge of Louisiana. The Grand Chapter had been organized, March 8, 1813, by Concord and Perseverance R.·. A.·. Chapter, working under charters from the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania and attached to the lodges of the same name. On March 13th the Grand Officers were elected and installed.

To follow the history of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana would require more space than can be permitted; here we must close with the date of March, 1813.

Tennessee.

Warrants to organize lodges had been issued from the Grand Lodge of North Carolina as early as 1796 and one from Kentucky.

These lodges held a convention at Knoxville in December, 1811, and adopted the following:

"*Resolved,* That in the opinion of this Convention the number of Ancient York Masons in this State as well as the state of society, require the formation of a Grand Lodge within the same for the better regulation and extension of the Craft.

"*Resolved,* That a Committee be appointed for the purpose of drawing up an address to the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, soliciting their assent to the establishment of a Grand Lodge in the State of Tennessee."

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina granted this request; and the convention again met October 14, 1813, and the Grand Lodge was constitutionally established and the Grand Officers were elected and installed.

Mississippi.

The first lodge in Mississippi which received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Kentucky was Harmony, No. 33; originally No. 7, by a Charter October 16, 1801. Two other lodges, viz.: Andrew Jackson, No. 15, and Washington, No. 17, received their warrants from the Grand Lodge of Tennessee July 27, 1818. A convention was held in the city of Natchez, when it was resolved that it was necessary and expedient to form a Grand Lodge for the State of Mississippi. On August 25th following, the convention

again met, and the Grand Lodge was regularly constituted. Henry Toohey was elected Grand Master.

Illinois.

The Grand Master of Pennsylvania, Israel Israel, issued a dispensation for six months to Western Star Lodge, No. 107, to be located at Kaskaskia, situated near the mouth of the Okaw (now Kaskaskia) River, where it empties into the Mississippi River, September 24, 1805. At that period Illinois was in the Indian Territory. This lodge received its Charter, which was granted June 2, 1806, and on September 13th following, the lodge was regularly constituted. This lodge was doubtless the first one established in that Territory—now comprising the States of Wisconsin and Illinois and a part of Minnesota.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky issued a Charter, August 28, 1815, to Lawrence Lodge, to be located at Shawneetown; the Grand Lodge of Tennessee issued a Charter, October 6, 1819, to Libanus Lodge, at Edwardsville; June 20, 1820, the Grand Master of Tennessee issued a dispensation to Temple Lodge, at Belleville, St. Clair County, which was surrendered in 1821.

From the Grand Lodge of Missouri at various dates in 1822 the following warrants were granted: October 3, 1822, Olive Branch, No. 5, at Alton, 111.; October 8, 1822, Vandalia, No. 8, at Vandalia; October 9, 1822, Sangamon, No. 9, at Springfield; October 24, 1822, Union, No. 10, at Jonesborough; October 8, 1822, Eden, No. 11, at Covington.

The Grand Master of Indiana issued a dispensation, March 12, 1822, to Albion Lodge, at Albion.

All the above lodges except Sangamon sent delegates to a convention at Vandalia which met December 9, 1822. They adopted a constitution, which was sent to the lodges for their consideration. Eight of these lodges were represented at a convention held December 1, 1823, and a Grand Lodge was duly organized. The Grand Master was installed by Dr. Hardage Lane, of St. Louis, Mo., the Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri.

In 1827 the Grand Lodge of Illinois went out of existence, and after June 24, 1827, "every Lodge in the State was so effectually blotted out that no trace of any of them has been found."

It is supposed that as the anti-Masonic excitement had, about

that time, begun to work its way to the West, the Masons were more or less lukewarm in the cause, and politics being somewhat mixed up in the affair, the Brethren let the matter drop for a while.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky issued a dispensation to Bodley Lodge, No. 97, at Quincy, Ill., there being at that time no working lodge in the State. That lodge was warranted August 30, 1838. That Grand Lodge likewise warranted Equality Lodge, No. 102, at Equality, in Gallatin County, August 29, 1837; and Ottawa, No. 114, at Ottawa County, of Lasalle, September 1, 1740. The Grand Master of Kentucky issued a dispensation to Friendship Lodge at Dixon in 1840.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri warranted:

Franklin Lodge, at Alton, in 1827
Harmony Lodge, at Jacksonville, in 1838
Springfield Lodge, at Springfield, in 1839
Temperance Lodge, at Vandalia, in 1839
Far West Lodge, at Galena, in 1839
Mount Moriah Lodge, at Hillsboro, in 1840
Clinton Lodge, at Carlisle, in 1840

A dispensation to Columbus Lodge, No. 20, at Columbus, in 1839.

Delegates from several of the subordinate lodges on January 30, 1840, held a convention in Jacksonville, when it was resolved to form a Grand Lodge. A committee was appointed to correspond with the lodges in the State and ask their assistance, and to send delegates to a convention to be held at Jacksonville, April 6, 1840, which convention was held on that date and six of the eight chartered lodges and one under dispensation were represented, and the Grand Lodge was then organized.

At the meeting held April 28th, the Grand Master, Abraham Jonas, was installed by proxy.[1] Warrants were issued to the lodges represented and numbered according to their dates of constitution—

[1] The "Reprint of the Proceedings for 1840 to 1860," published 1874, shows: April 6, 1840, at Jacksonville, "M. W. Abraham Jonas was elected G. M." April 28th, "called from refreshment to labor." The name of Abraham Jonas does not appear as being present. James Adams, D. G. M., presided. The minutes say: "On motion all but Past Masters having retired a convocation of Past Masters was declared open, and the M. W. Grand Master was installed by proxy, and the grand honors paid him agreeable to ancient form and usage."

some of them, however, did not get their new warrants until some« time in 1844.

In consequence of the business relations existing between many of the towns in Illinois and the city of St. Louis in Missouri, some of the lodges in those towns much preferred to hold their warrants from Missouri Grand Lodge, as the representatives could attend the Grand Lodge of Missouri in St. Louis, and at the same time transact their commercial business in that city. The writer was an officer of the Grand Lodge of Missouri in 1841-42-43 and well remembers that those Brethren from Illinois were urged to withdraw from our Grand Lodge and unite with the Grand Lodge in their own State. They, however, declined for the reason above stated. We can bear witness to this as a justification of the conduct of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, for they could not drive away their Brethren of Illinois.

Finally, however, those lodges did withdraw and unite with the Grand Lodge of Illinois, as also did several of the lodges in Iowa, about that time, which had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, and they formed the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

On February 10, 1850, a fire occurred in Peoria by which was destroyed, in the office of the Grand Secretary, all the books, papers, and records of the Grand Lodge of Illinois. To remedy the loss as far as possible, the Grand Lodge was convened in Springfield, April 8, 1850.

Of the lodges aiding in the organization of the second Grand Lodge, four are now alive, viz.: Bodley, No. 1; Equality, No. 2; Harmony, No. 3; and Springfield, No. 4.

In 1889, October 1st and 2d, the fiftieth anniversary was celebrated.

The Grand Lodge of Illinois, in her growth since its organization in 1839, has kept even pace with the increase of population, and now stands in membership among the first in the United States, in 1897 the membership number being 53,452, number of lodges, 722. In her influence for good and the reputation of her personnel she is *primus inter pares* (first among her equals).

Missouri.

The first settlers of Upper Louisiana, as the now State of Missouri was originally called, were French, who came by the way of Canada, and were companions of Cartier, La Salle, and Father Hennepin, who traversed the vast wilderness that extended between the boundaries of Canada and the settlements of the French on the Lower Mississippi.

In November, 1763, Pierre Liguiste Laclede arrived at St. Genevieve, and finding no place suitable for the storage of his goods, he proceeded up the Mississippi River; and on February 15, 1764, he and his party landed where the city of St. Louis now stands, which he named in honor of Louis XV. of France.

In that early day the merchants who were in St. Louis and St. Genevieve procured their goods in Philadelphia, where they went once every year. Many of these merchants became Masons and were made in the French Lodge, No. 73, in Philadelphia.

As the Masons in the Territory increased in numbers, they resolved to organize a lodge, and in 1807-8 having applied for, they received a Warrant of Constitution from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a lodge in the town of St. Genevieve, as Louisiana Lodge, No. 109. Otho Strader was the first Master. Among its members were many of those who afterward became prominent merchants of St. Louis, as Pierre Chouteau and Bartholomew Berthold, who became the founders of the great Fur Company.[1]

This was the first lodge established in Missouri.

In 1811-12 Gen. H. Dodge presided over this lodge as W. Master, but owing to the unsettled condition of the Territory in consequence of the late war with Great Britain, the lodge ceased to work about 1825.

In 1809-10 the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted a Warrant to a lodge in St. Louis as No. 111. There is no record whatever of this lodge remaining. A dispensation was issued by the Grand Lodge of Indiana in 1820 for a lodge in Jackson, now in Cape Gerardeau County. This lodge was subsequently chartered by the Grand Lodge of Missouri.

October 18, 1816, the Grand Lodge of Tennessee granted a

[1] Geo. F. Gouley, "History of Grand Lodge of Missouri."

Charter to a lodge in St. Louis as Missouri Lodge, No. 12, which is still in existence as No. 1.

That Grand Lodge also granted charters to the following lodges, viz.: October 6, 1819, to Joachim Lodge, No. 25, at Herculaneum, and on same date to St. Charles Lodge, No. 28, at St. Charles on the Missouri River.

February 23, 1821, by an invitation sent by Missouri Lodge, No. 12, to the several lodges in the State, the following lodges, by their representatives, met in St. Louis, and a committee having been appointed to draft a constitution and code of by-laws, they adjourned until April 23d following, to meet at the same place to organize a Grand Lodge.

Prior to this date (April 23, 1821), a convention of Masons met, pursuant to previous notice given by the convention of delegates, at the lodge-room of Missouri Lodge, No. 12, April 23d, Anno Lucis, Year of Light, 5821, for the purpose of organizing the Grand Lodge of the State of Missouri.

Opened in the third degree in due form, with Wor. Edward Bates,[1] Master, and others. After reading the proceedings of the convention held February 22d last, adjourned until 24th inst.

April 24, A. L. 5821. Present as before. An election for the officers for the ensuing year was held and resulted as follows:

Brother Thos. F. Riddick, M. W. G. M.
" James Kennerly, S. G. W.
" William Bates, J. G. W.
" Archibald Gamble, G. Treasurer.
" William Renshaw, G. Secretary.

Adjourned to May 4th next.

May 4th A. L. 5821, Semi-Annual Convocation was held, a procession was formed and proceeded to the Baptist Church, where the solemn ceremony of consecration and installation was performed, in conformity with the ancient landmarks and customs of the Fraternity. The Grand Lodge then returned to the lodge-room and adjourned until next day.[2]

The first annual communication was held October 1, 1821.

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[1] Hon. Edward Bates was Attorney-General in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, 1861-64. Nearly every member of this Grand Lodge was personally known to the present writer in 1837.

[2] Geo. F. Gouley, "History of Grand Lodge of Missouri."

At this communication Brother Frederick Bates was elected Grand Master, who, not being present, was notified by a committee, but declined accepting the office. Grand Lodge adjourned until October 10, 1821, at which time the Grand Lodge resumed labor and elected Brother N. B. Tucker M. W. Grand Master, and Edward Bates G S. W.

The Grand Lodge then adjourned until 7 P.M., when at the request of Bro. Thos. F. Riddick, Brother Douglass took the Chair and installed Brother Nathaniel B. Tucker Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri in ample form, and the Past Master's Lodge was closed, and the other Grand Officers were duly installed into their respective offices.

Thus the Grand Lodge of Missouri was constituted and has continued to the present day, and the writer, who the commencement of his own Masonic career, January 18, 1840, could personally testify to the character and standing, in the community of the State of Missouri, to nearly every member of that distinguished body of men and Masons, upon whose shoulders the interests of our noble institution, at that time, were placed by the Grand Lodge. In the year 1841 the writer was appointed the Senior Grand Deacon of the Grand Lodge by Hon. Priestly H. McBride, Grand Master, and was reappointed in 1842 and 1843. A very large proportion of those who organized the first Grand Lodge continued as members and officers of the Grand Lodge up to the year 1844, when by accessions of lodges which had been chartered from 1821 to 1840, the number had increased from four to twenty-five, which was Naphtali, and in which we received the three degrees. In 1841-42 several lodges had been chartered in Iowa, and among them was Iowa Lodge, No. 42, of which our very distinguished Brother Theodore S. Parvin was Wor. Master, and we mention this circumstance to state that he and the writer are the only surviving members of that Grand Lodge of 1841 to 1844.

Indiana.

As early as 1795 members of the Fraternity who had been connected with lodges in the army on the northwest frontier, introduced Free Masonry into the Territory. The first lodge, however, was organized by a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of

Kentucky, August 31, 1808, at Vincennes, by the name of Vincennes Lodge, No. 15.

The following lodges were also granted warrants by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky: At Madison, Union Lodge, No. 29, August 31, 1815; at Charlestown, Blazing Star, No. 36, August 25, 1816; at Salem, Melchizedeck, No. 43; Lawrenceburg, Lawrenceburg, No. 44; and at Corydon, Pisgah, No. 45, all August 25, 1817.

The Grand Master of Kentucky, after the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge, issued a dispensation for the Lodge at Switzerland, and one for Rising Sun Lodge, at Rising Sun.

A dispensation for lodge Brookville Harmony, No. 41, at Brookville, was issued by the Grand Master of Ohio in 1816 or 1817.

A general convention of the representatives of the following lodges of Ancient York Masons of the State of Indiana was held at Corydon on December 3, 1817, viz.:

Name of Lodge.	No.	Location.	Representative.
Vincennes ……	15	Vincennes	G. W. Johnston.
Lawrenceburg ……	44	Lawrenceburg……	James Dill.
Switzerland……..	U. D. of Ky.....	Vevay ……	Hezekiah B. Hull.
Rising Sun ……..	U.D. of Ky.....	Rising Sun ……	A. C. Pepper.
Madison Union ……	29 ……...	Madison ……..	H. P. Thornton.
Blazing Star……..	36 ……...	Charlestown ….	Jos. Bartholomew. John Miller.
Brookville Harmony.....	41 U. D. Ohio……..	Brookville ……	Stephen C. Stevens.
Salem……	43 ……...	Salem ……	Christ. Harrison.
Pisgah ……..	45 ……...	Corydon ……	Davis Floyd.

Brother Alexander Buckner was unanimously chosen President, and Davis Floyd unanimously elected Secretary.

The convention then adopted the following:

"*Resolved,* That it is expected and advisable that a Grand Lodge should be at this time formed in the State of Indiana."

All the above representatives voted in the affirmative except those of Harmony and Pisgah.

The convention then adopted the following:

"*Resolved,* That a committee of four members be appointed to inform the M. W. Grand Masters of Kentucky and Ohio that

a constitutional number of chartered lodges have determined in general convention to form a Grand Lodge in this State, and consequently will secede from their Mother Lodge so soon as a Grand Lodge is organized."

The convention also

"*Resolved*, That the several subordinate lodges here represented do appoint one or more delegates to meet at Madison on the second Monday in January next, for the purpose of opening a Grand Lodge for the State of Indiana; and that a Communication be forwarded to the rest of the lodges in this State unrepresented in this convention, of the above determination."

This resolution was adopted:

Harmony, No. 41; Lawrenceburg, No. 44; Switzerland, U. D.; Rising Sun, U. D.; and Madison, No. 29, voted in the affirmative, five. Vincennes, No. 15; Salem, No. 43; Pisgah, No. 45; and Blazing Star, No. 36, voted in the negative, four.

A Grand Communication of the subordinate lodges of the State of Indiana was held Monday, January 12, A.L. 5818. Representatives of the following lodges were present: Rising Sun, U. D.; Union, No. 29; Switzerland, U. D.; Blazing Star, No. 36. Delegates were reported by the Committee on Credentials, and admitted as being duly appointed by their respective lodges, viz.: Harmony Lodge, Brookville, U. D., from Grand Lodge of Ohio; Lawrenceburg, No. 44; Vincennes, No. 15; Melchizedeck, No. 43; Pisgah, No. 45.

The following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, That the chartered lodges here represented do now separate for a time from the lodges under dispensation, and proceed immediately to organize a Grand Lodge for the State of Indiana."

Brother Alexander A. Meek, being the oldest Past Master present, was called to the Chair. Melchizedeck Lodge surrendered her Charter but declined having a new one.

January 13th the Grand Officers were duly elected, M. W. Alexander Buckner, Grand Master.

The representatives from lodges Nos. 15, 29, 36, 43, 44, 45, holding charters from the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, surrendered the same, and asked to have charters granted to their respective lodges by the Grand Lodge of Indiana, which was accordingly done on the 14th, viz.:

Vincennes Lodge, No. 1, Vincennes; Union Lodge, No. 2,

Madison; Blazing Star Lodge, No. 3, Charlestown; Lawrenceburg Lodge, No. 4, Lawrenceburg; Melchizedeck Lodge, No. 5; Pisgah Lodge, No. 6, Corydon; which lodges received their charters at this communication.

The Grand Constitution was adopted January 15th. The illustrations of Masonry of Thomas Smith Webb were adopted for the government of the Grand Lodge, and were recommended to be adopted by all the subordinate lodges of the State for the government of the same.

Charlestown was selected as the site for the meeting of the Grand Lodge for the present.

The Junior Grand Warden being a member of Melchizedeck Lodge, which declined a Charter, the office became vacant and an election was held to fill the same, and Brother Benjamin V. Becks was duly elected.

The Grand Lodge met in various towns and cities until 1828, when it removed to Indianapolis, and has continued to do so ever since.

Alabama.

The first lodge in Alabama was Madison, No. 21, at Huntsville, which was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, August 28, 1812. The Grand Lodge of Tennessee granted a Charter to Alabama Lodge, No. 21, at Huntsville, October 6, 1818. The Grand Lodge of South Carolina granted a Charter to Alabama Lodge, No. 51, at Clairborne, in 1819; the Grand Lodge of Tennessee granted a Warrant to Rising Virtue Lodge, No. , at Tuskaloosa, October 5, 1818; and the Grand Master of Tennessee issued a dispensation to Halo Lodge, at Cahawba, April 4, 1820, and which continued until October, 1821; but the Grand Lodge of Georgia issued a Warrant to Halo Lodge, No. 21, January 24, 1821; the Grand Lodge of Tennessee issued a Charter to Moulton Lodge, at Moulton, October 3, 1820; the Grand Lodge of Tennessee granted a dispensation to Russellville Lodge, October 3, 1820; a dispensation from the Grand Master of Tennessee was issued to Farrar Lodge, at Elyton, March 5, 1821; the Grand Lodge of North Carolina granted a Charter to St. Stephen's Lodge, at St. Stephen's, December 14, 1816; Washington Lodge and Tuscumbia Lodge were granted charters by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee. Tuscumbia had never reported

its work, and soon went out of existence. Washington very soon gave up her Charter. The name of Madison Lodge, No. 21, was changed to Helion; Alabama Lodge, No. 21, at Huntsville, was changed to Bethsaida; soon afterward a consolidation took place and these two and Helion and Bethsaida became Helion, No. 1. Of all the above lodges there only remain at the present time Rising Virtue, No. 4; Moulton, No. 6; and Farrar, No. 8.

The Grand Lodge was organized by the above-mentioned lodges and a constitution was adopted and signed June 15, 1821.

December 6, 1836, a quorum was not present; and after waiting for three days, those who were present declared the Grand Lodge extinct.

The representatives of the lodges present reorganized a Grand Lodge, a new constitution was adopted, new Grand Officers were elected, and the old warrants were re-granted.

Arkansas.

November 29, 1819, a dispensation for Arkansas Lodge, located at the Port of Arkansas, was issued by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky. A Charter was granted, August 29, 1820, Robert Johnson being W. Master. This lodge surrendered her Charter, August 28, 1822.

A dispensation to organize Washington Lodge at Fayetteville was issued by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, December 24, 1835; and it was renewed, November 12, 1836. October 3, 1837, a Charter was granted, and the lodge received as a present a set of jewels. A dispensation was granted from the same Grand Lodge for a lodge at Clarksville, October 5, 1838, to which a Charter was issued, October 12, 1839. The dispensation of Clarksville Lodge was received prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, but the Charter was issued after that event. This lodge continued under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee until 1843, when it came under the Grand Lodge of Arkansas as No. 5. In 1845 it ceased to work and surrendered the Charter.

January 6, 1837, the Grand Lodge of Louisiana issued warrants to two lodges in Arkansas, viz.: Morning Star, at Arkansas Post, and Western Star, at Little Rock. The seat of State Government

having been changed to Little Rock, Morning Star Lodge gave up the Charter.

A dispensation was issued by the Grand Master of Alabama in 1838 to Mount Horeb Lodge in Washington.

November 21, 1838, a convention was held and representatives from Washington, Morning Star, Western Star, and Mount Horeb, U. D., were present at which a constitution was adopted and officers were elected and the Grand Lodge was duly constituted.

Wisconsin.

The history of Freemasonry in the territory now embraced in the State of Wisconsin dates from December 27, 1823.

The only known record of the first lodge in what is now Wisconsin is founded in an address delivered at Green Bay, December 17, 1854, by P. G M. Henry S. Baird. He says:

The first action had with a view to organize a lodge of Masons at Green Bay is found in proceedings of a meeting of the members of the Fraternity, held on the evening of the 27th day of December, A.D. 1823.

A committee was appointed to draft a petition to the Grand Lodge of the State of New York, praying for a dispensation to open and hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at Green Bay, then in the Territory of Michigan. In due time the prayer of the petitioners was responded to, and a dispensation granted.

On September 2, 1824, the first regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was opened and organized at Fort Howard, directly opposite to the city, under a dispensation from the M. W. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York.

The officers named in the dispensation were:

Robert Irwin, Sr.,W. Master.
Benjamin Watson, S. Warden.
W. V. Wheaton, J. Warden.

On December 3, 1824, a regular Charter was granted by the M. W. Grand Lodge of New York.

Mineral Point Lodge, No. 1, was organized July 27, 1841, from the Grand Lodge of Missouri, under dispensation dated October 8,

1840, named "Melody" (for Bro. George H. C. Melody, P. Dep. Grand Master of Missouri) Lodge, No. 65 (now No. 2).

A dispensation was issued by Brother Joab[1] T. Bernard, Dep. Grand Master, January 10, 1843.

A Charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, October 13, 1843.[2]

A preliminary meeting, having in contemplation the formation of a Masonic lodge, was held at the house of John Beavans, in the town of Platteville, in the month of January, A.D. 1843.

MILWAUKEE LODGE, NO. 2 2 (NOW KILBOURN LODGE, NO. 3).

The first meeting of this lodge was held July 5, A. L. 5843, A.D. 1843.

Bro. Normand Hawley, representing the Grand Master of Illinois, presented the dispensation which he had been deputed to bring to them.

The exact date of the Charter of this lodge does not appear from the minutes. In the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, October 2, 1843, the committee on Returns and Work recommended granting a Charter to Milwaukee Lodge, No. 22, "when dues are paid;" and on the first day of November, 1843, the election of officers was held under the Charter, 1843.

ACTION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF A GRAND LODGE, NOVEMBER 22, 1843.

The worshipful Master, Bro. Abram D. Smith, presented a communication from Melody Lodge, at Platteville, upon the subject of establishing a Grand Lodge in the Territory of Wisconsin, which was read, and the Master and Wardens were appointed a committee to correspond with Platteville and Mineral Point lodges upon the subject.

The Charter of Milwaukee Lodge, No. 3, is dated January 17, 1844.

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[1] Incorrectly called in the record John.

[2] The present writer was S. G. D. of the Grand Lodge of Missouri at that time.

MASONIC CONVENTION HELD AT MADISON ON THE l8TH DAY OF DECEMBER, A.D. 1843.

The following lodges were represented:

Milwaukee Lodge, at Milwaukee.
Mineral Lodge, at Mineral Point.
Melody Lodge, at Platteville.

Bro. Moses Meeker was called to the Chair, and Bro. Geo. W. Lakin was appointed Secretary.

On motion of Bro. Ben. C. Eastman, it was

Ordered, That a committee consisting of two be appointed to receive and examine the credentials of the members of the convention.

The committee appointed to receive and examine the credentials of the members of the convention, being the legal representatives of the regularly constituted lodges of the Territory of Wisconsin, to take into consideration and determine upon the expediency of forming a Grand Lodge within the said Territory, have attended to the duty assigned them, and submit the following:

Your committee find that there are seven members of said convention representatives of the lodges aforesaid, to wit:

From Milwaukee, Mineral Point, and Melody lodges.

On motion of Bro. Ben. C. Eastman, it was

Ordered, That a committee of three be appointed to take into consideration the expediency of forming a Grand Lodge in the Territory of Wisconsin.

The Chair appointed Bros. Ben. C. Eastman, Dwight F. Lawton, and Geo. H. Walker said committee.

Bro. Ben. C. Eastman, from said committee, submitted the following

REPORT.

The committee appointed to take into consideration the expediency of forming a Grand Lodge in the Territory, have attended to their duty, and ask leave to report the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, There are now, within the Territory of Wisconsin, three chartered lodges, all of which are in a prosperous and happy condition; and

Whereas, It is competent for that number of lodges to emerge from a state of dependency, become legally organized, and be hereafter established and known as a separate, distinct, and independent body, having its own jurisdiction; and

Whereas, In the rapidly increasing population of our Territory, it is believed many more lodges will immediately spring into existence whereby the great principles of Masonry will be promulgated, if the facilities for obtaining dispensations and charters are increased as they will be by the organization of a Grand Lodge in Wisconsin; and

Whereas, The Great Lights of Masonry should not be hidden under a bushel, but should shine in the fullness of their strength, that none may want a guide for their faith and practice, and that their acts be squared by the precepts of the Great Architect of the Universe, and their desire be circumscribed by the principles of morality and their passions restrained in due bounds. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is expedient to form a Grand Lodge in the Territory of Wisconsin.

On motion of Bro. John H. Rountree, the report of the committee was accepted, the preamble and resolutions adopted, and the committee discharged.

On motion of Bro. Dwight F. Lawton, it was

Ordered, That a committee of three be appointed to draft a constitution for a Grand Lodge, and that said committee be instructed to report at as early an hour as possible.

The Chair appointed Bros. Lawton, Meeker, and Lakin said committee. The convention adjourned till 6 P.M.

Evening at 6 P.M. convention met.

Bro. Lawton, from the committee appointed to draft a constitution for a Grand Lodge, reported the draft of a constitution, which report was accepted and committee discharged.

On motion, the convention adjourned sine die.

The M. W. Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons met in annual communication in the city of Madison, on Monday, December 18, A.D. 1843, A.L. 5843.

The Grand Lodge was opened in the third degree, in due and ancient form.

On motion of Bro. Meeker, the constitution reported in the convention was taken up, read, and adopted.

Bro. Merrill, from said committee, made the following

REPORT.

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the Grand Lodge have attended to the duty assigned them, and report that they have nominated the following:

Benjamin T. Kavanaugh, G. Master.
Abram D. Smith, D. G. Master.
Moses Meeker, S. G. Warden.
David Merrilly, J. G. Warden.
Thomas P. Burnett, Grand Treasurer.
Ben. C. Eastman, Grand Secretary.
Dwight F. Lawton, Grand Lecturer.

Which report was accepted, and the committee discharged.

On motion of Bro. Rountree, it was

Resolved, That the Grand Lodge do now proceed to the election of officers, and all the above-named Brethren were elected and installed.

Texas.

During the very first effort to establish a lodge in Texas, that country was a dependency of Mexico, and the Roman Catholic priesthood controlled the most of the population and were the open enemies of Freemasonry, and the American settlers were objects of suspicion.

In the winter of 1834-35 five Master Masons having made themselves known to each other as such, after many conferences and much deliberation, concluded to establish a lodge in Texas. These were John H. Wharton, Asa Brigham, James A. E. Phelps, Alexander Russell, and Anson Jones; they fixed upon time and locality for their meeting to accomplish their desire. Brother J. P. Caldwell subsequently joined them. The town of Brazoria was selected for their meeting, and in a small grove of wild peach and laurel in a family burial-ground of General John Austin.

Here in a day of March, 1835, 10 A.M, "was held the first formal meeting of Masons in Texas." These six Brethren made arrangements to apply to the Grand Lodge of Louisiana for a dispensation to form and open a lodge to be called Holland Lodge. A petition was drawn up and another Master Mason, Brother W. D. C. Hall, having signed it with the other six, it was

forwarded to New Orleans. The officers named were: Anson Jones, W. Master; Asa Brigham, Senior Warden, and J. P. Caldwell, Junior Warden. This dispensation was granted, and Holland Lodge, No. 36, was started at Brazoria on December 27, 1835. In the second story of the old court-house was where the Communications were held.

In consequence of the difficulties with Mexico, which finally resulted in open hostilities, the succeeding war, and independence of the Republic of Texas, the lodge struggled on until February, 1836, the last communication being held that month. In March Brazoria was abandoned, and the dispensation was captured by Urrea, and with records, books, jewels, etc., was destroyed.

In October, 1837, the lodge was reopened in the city of Houston, a Warrant for it having been granted in the meantime, and the lodge is yet in existence.

Two other lodges, viz.: Milam, No. 40, at Nacogdoches, and McFarland, No. 41, at San Augustine, were warranted by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana.

These lodges, as also Holland Lodge, No. 36, sent delegates to a convention which met in Houston, and the Grand Lodge of the Republic at Texas was organized, December 20, 1837. Brother Anson Jones was elected Grand Master.

The three lodges surrendered their charters to the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, and received new charters from their own Grand Lodge.

Iowa.

The first dispensation for the organization of a lodge in the Territory of Iowa was issued November 20, 1840, to Des Moines Lodge, at Burlington, which was chartered October 20, 1841. The second dispensation for a lodge was issued February 4, 1841, to Iowa Lodge, at Bloomington, Muscatine County, constituted February 4, 1841, and chartered October 20, 1841, as No. 42. The third dispensation was dated October 10, 1842, to Dubuque Lodge, at Dubuque, and was chartered October 10, 1843. The fourth was Iowa City Lodge, at Iowa City, County of Johnson, which was constituted October 10, 1842, by dispensation, and chartered October 10, 1843.

These lodges all derived their warrants from the Grand Lodge

of Missouri, and the present writer, as an officer in that Grand Lodge, voted for all but the first one, but was a visitor in the Grand Lodge when the first one was chartered. He made the personal acquaintance of Brother Theodore S. Parvin and the other representatives of those lodges at that time, and Brother Parvin and the writer are the only surviving members of that Grand Lodge since October, 1897.

These four lodges, by agreement, at a preliminary convention of their delegates, held at the communication of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, at St. Louis, October 11, 1843, met in convention at Iowa City, in Iowa Territory, January 2, 1844, and then and there organized the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

Delegates were present from the following other lodges in Iowa working under authority of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, viz.: Rising Sun, No. 12, at Montrose, Keokuk Lodge, at Keokuk, and Clinton Lodge, at Davenport. The first under a Charter and the other two under dispensations. These lodges were finally admitted to the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

January 3, 1844, the Grand Officers were elected. Brother Oliver Cock was unanimously elected on the second ballot the Grand Master, and Brother Theodore Sutton Parvin unanimously elected Grand Secretary, which office he has filled, except when he was chosen Grand Master, ever since, now fifty-five years. No Mason has a more extended reputation for abilities, so essential in the management of Masonic affairs, than has our illustrious Brother, who is so favorably known throughout the world of Masonry.

Oregon.

After the organization of Multnomah Lodge at Oregon City, a little more than two years elapsed before any additional lodges were established in Oregon. Following the planting of this lodge, the Grand Lodge of California, on November 27, 1850, granted a Charter to Willamette Lodge, No. 11, at Portland. This lodge was opened and constituted January 4, 1851. The Grand Lodge of California granted a Charter to Lafayette Lodge, of Oregon. This lodge was constituted and began work July 30, 1851. The establishment of this lodge gave to the Territory of Oregon the requisite number of lodges, under the common law of Masonry, to organize

an independent Grand Lodge for the jurisdiction. The opportunity was at once improved.

"The important question," says a distinguished Brother, recently deceased, "of having a Grand Lodge was agitated. Consequently, on the 16th of August, A.L. 5851, A.D. 1851, a convention of F. & A. Masons of the Territory of Oregon was held at Oregon City to form a Grand Lodge. Brother Berryman Jennings was elected Chairman and Bro. Benjamin Stark Secretary." The convention, after due consideration, resolved upon the wisdom and expediency of the "formation of a Grand Lodge." In pursuance of this action an address, giving official notice of the purpose in view, was prepared and sent out to the several lodges, requesting them to meet again in convention on the second Saturday in September following, to perfect the Grand Lodge organization.

In pursuance of this call, delegates from the several lodges assembled at Oregon City on September 13, 1851, and proceeded to the work in hand by the election of Bro. John Elliott Chairman, and Bro. W. S. Caldwell Secretary. The three lodges, viz.: Multonomah, Willamette, and La Fayette, were duly represented. Among the delegates present were those who were otherwise admitted to seats in the convention, viz.: Bros. J. C. Ainsworth, R. R. Thompson, Forbes Barclay, John Elliott, Lewis May, Benj. Stark, Wm. M. Berry, D. D. Garrett, G. B. Coudy, B. Jennings, Robert Thompson, Amory Holbrook, and W. S. Caldwell. On Monday, September 15th following, a constitution, through a committee, was reported and adopted, and the Grand Lodge of Oregon duly organized. Bro. Berryman Jennings was elected and installed Grand Master, and Bro. Benj. Stark Grand Secretary.

The first lodge established under authority of the Grand Lodge of Oregon was organized at Salem, under the name of Salem Lodge, No. 4. The dispensation of this lodge was issued by the Deputy Grand Master, R. W. Bro. John Elliott, on October 4, 1851.

California.

The Grand Lodge of California was organized in the city of Sacramento, April 18, 1850. The constituent lodges were California Lodge, No. 13, chartered by the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, located in San Francisco, November 9, 1848; Con-

necticut Lodge, No. 75, Sacramento City, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, January 31, 1849; and Western Star Lodge, No. 98, from the Grand Lodge of Missouri, May 10, 1848; Benton City, Upper California.

Delegates were present from New Jersey Lodge, under dispensation from the Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, dated March 1, 1849. This lodge was opened in Sacramento City, December 4, 1849.

Credentials were presented by B. D. Hyam, from Benicia Lodge, at Benicia, but there being no dispensation or Charter or any other information of the existence of such a lodge, it was not recognized.

A constitution was adopted April 19th, and the Grand Officers were elected and duly installed.

Minnesota.

The first lodge organized in Minnesota was St. Paul's, No. 1, constituted by the Grand Lodge of Ohio, August 4, 1849; the second lodge was St. John's, No. 1, warranted October 12, 1850, by the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin; and the third was Cataract Lodge, No. 168, founded by the Grand Lodge of Illinois, 1852.

These three lodges, by delegates, met in convention at the city of St. Paul, February 23, 1853, and constituted the Grand Lodge of the State of Minnesota.

New Mexico.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri issued warrants to the following lodges in New Mexico, viz.: Aztec Lodge, No. 108; Chapman Lodge, No. 95; and Montezuma Lodge, No. 109.

These lodges met in convention, August 6, 1877, at Santa Fé, for the purpose of discussing the question of forming a Grand Lodge. Brother Simon B. Newcomb presided. The committee on credentials found the representatives of the three above-mentioned lodges to be present.

The next day a constitution and by-laws were adopted, the Grand Officers were elected and installed, Brother Wm. W. Griffin being M. W. Grand Master, and David J. Miller R. W. Grand Secretary.

Washington.

The first steps of initiatory efforts toward Masonic organization and the formation of a Masonic lodge on the Pacific Coast, so far as any record has been shown or it is believed to exist, were taken jointly by three brother Master Masons, namely: Bros. Joseph Hull, William P. Dougherty, and Peter G. Stewart.

A petition was prepared and addressed to the Grand Lodge of Missouri praying that a Charter be granted to the petitioners, under the name of Multnomah Lodge.

The record of the Grand Lodge of Missouri reads as follows: "A charter was granted to Multnomah Lodge, No. 84, on the 19th day of October, 1846, locating the Lodge at Oregon City, Oregon Territory."

In his annual address to the Grand Lodge of Oregon, held June 13, 1853, M. W. Bro. Berryman Jennings, Grand Master, says:

"On the 25th day of November (1852) last, I granted a dispensation to sundry brethren residing at Olympia, Puget Sound, to open a Lodge under the name of Olympia Lodge, returnable at this Grand Communication, which return has been promptly made, through their Worshipful Master, Brother T. F. McElroy." Washington Territory was not organized until after this dispensation was issued and the lodge began work.

On Saturday evening, December 11, 1852, Olympia Lodge, U. D., held its first communication by virtue of Grand Lodge authority, and was thereunder duly organized, the following officers, members and Brethren being present, viz.: Bros. Thornton F. McElroy, W. M., James W. Wiley, S. W., and Michael T. Simmons, S. W.; also Bros. Smith Hays and Nicholas Delin of the original petitioners (Bros. Ira Ward and A. K. Skidmore of said petitioners being absent); Bros. Fred A. Clark and Calvin H. Hale, visitors, were also present.

The Charter was granted to Olympia Lodge of Oregon, June 13th, and bears date June 15, 1853, and was designated as Olympia Lodge of Oregon, No. 5, of that grand jurisdiction. The first meeting under the Charter was held on Saturday evening, July 24, 1853, at which time we may infer the lodge was regularly constituted, although the record is silent in this particular. An election, however, was held that evening for new officers under the Charter,

with the following result: Bros. T. F. McElroy, W. M.; B. F. Yantis, S. W.; M. T. Simmons, J. W.; B. Close, Sec.; Ira Ward, Treas., and Smith Hays, Tyler.

This was the first lodge established and constituted north of the Columbia River and west of the Rocky Mountains.

The records of Multnomah Lodge from its institution until 1868 were destroyed by fire, and the oldest record is the ledger dating from the year 1854.

Steilacoom Lodge, the second lodge established within the present jurisdictional limits of Washington, was organized U. D. in the year 1854. Since it first began work it has passed through several trying ordeals, some of which were of so serious a nature that its existence might well have been regarded as hopeless but for the pluck and Masonic energy of its membership.

The records of the Grand Lodge of Oregon, session of June, 1854, show that R. W. Dep. Grand Master J. C. Ainsworth, acting Grand Master, "granted a Dispensation to Brother W. H. Wallace and others to open a Lodge at Steilacoom, Washington Territory, under the name of Steilacoom Lodge."

The dispensation must have been granted during the latter part of January or some time in February, 1855.

During the summer or fall of 1857, probably about September 1st, M. W. Bro. Ben. J. Stark, G. M. of Masons of Oregon, issued a dispensation for a new lodge at Grand Mound, Thurston County, Washington, named Grand Mound Lodge.

This lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Oregon, July 12, or 15, 1858, under the name of Grand Mound Lodge, No. 21. On August 21, 1858, at its hall on Grand Mound Prairie, the lodge. was duly constituted and its officers installed.

On September 19, 1868, after eleven years of hard struggling, in earnest and zealous efforts to build up and sustain the lodge, the Brethren reluctantly felt it a duty to themselves and the Fraternity to surrender the Charter to the Grand Lodge.

In the annual address of M. W. Grand Master Benjamin J. Stark to the Grand Lodge of Oregon, July 13, 1858, among the seven dispensations he reported having granted during the year for the formation of new lodges is one "for Washington Territory."

On July 13, 1858, a Charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of

Oregon to Washington Lodge, No. 22. The Charter bears date the same as that of Grand Mound Lodge, namely, July 15, 1858.

In the foregoing references to the organization, severally, of Olympia, Steilacoom, Grand Mound, and Washington lodges, we find that they were the first organized Masonic bodies north of Columbia River.

On Monday, December 6, 1858, a little band of Freemasons, about one dozen in number, met at the Masonic hall, in the city of Olympia, Washington Territory. Their declaration of purpose was to consider "the propriety of establishing a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for said Territory."

This little band of Brethren in convention assembled resolved to proceed to the formation and organization of a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Territory of Washington.

The convention was composed of delegates representing the four existing lodges in the Territory, viz.: Olympia Lodge, No. 5; Steilacoom Lodge, No. 8; Grand Mound Lodge, No. 21, and Washington Lodge, No. 22, together with all Past Masters by service, who were members of these lodges, and present during the sessions of the convention.

On the evening of December 8, 1858, a constitution, having been prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose, was submitted, duly considered and adopted, after which the Grand Officers were elected.

The convention, having completed its labors, was adjourned, *sine die,* on the morning of December 9th, whereupon the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Territory of Washington was opened in ample form, and was thus launched upon the sea of its sovereign existence.

The business transacted at this first session, though comparatively brief, was most important to the future interest and zeal of the Grand Lodge. It related chiefly to formulating plans and adopting methods for placing the "machinery of Grand Lodge in Order," in furtherance of the important work before it.

We are indebted to the history of the Grand Lodge of Washington, by Bro. Grand Secretary Thomas M. Read, for the above sketch.

Kansas.

By reference to the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Missouri the record will be found of the organization of the first three lodges in Kansas.

Dispensations for the formation of new lodges were issued:

August 4, 1854, to John W. Chivington and others, to open a lodge at the house of Mathew R. Walker, in Wyandotte Territory, to be called Kansas Lodge, by order of Most Worshipful Grand Master L. S. Cornwell.

October 6, 1854, to John W. Smith and others, to open a lodge at the town of Smithfield, Kansas Territory, to be called Smithfield Lodge, by order of R. W. N. B. Giddings, D. D. G. Master First Masonic District of Missouri.

December 30, 1854, to Richard R. Rees and others, to open a lodge at the town of Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, by order of R. W. D. P. Wallingford, D. G. Master of Missouri.[1]

At a meeting of delegates from several Masonic lodges in the Territory of Kansas, at the city of Leavenworth, on November 14, A.D. 1855, A.L. 5855. Present: Bro. William P. Richardson of Smithton Lodge, No. 140, as proxy for W. M. Richard R. Rees, W. M. of Leavenworth Lodge, No. 150, and Bro. A. Payney, S. W. of Leavenworth Lodge, No. 150.

On motion of Bro. Rees, Bro. William P. Richardson was called to the Chair, and on motion, Bro. R. R. Rees acted as Secretary.

Bro. Rees moved, that as Wyandotte Lodge was not represented in this convention, that the convention adjourn until December 27th next, with a request that all the chartered lodges be represented; which motion was carried, and the convention adjourned.

The convention met in the office of A. and R. R. Rees, in the city of Leavenworth, pursuant to adjournment, December 27, 1855.

Present: Bro. John W. Smith, W. M. of Smithton Lodge, No. 140; Bro. R. R. Rees, W. M. of Leavenworth Lodge, No. 150; and Bros. C. T. Harrison, L. J. Eastin, J. J. Clarkson, G. W. Perkins, I. B. Donaldson, and Brother Kohn, Master Masons.

Bro. J. W. Smith was called to the Chair, Bro. Rees acting as Secretary.

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[1] Proceedings of Grand Lodge of Missouri, 1855, pp. 64, 65.

Bro. Rees offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we do proceed to organize a Grand Lodge for the Territory of Kansas, and that a copy of the proceedings of this convention be forwarded to Wyandotte Lodge with a request that they co-operate with us, and approve the proceedings of this convention; and that so soon as Wyandotte shall inform the Grand Master elect of their approval, and co-operation in the proceedings of this convention, that then, the Grand Master elect shall be installed as Grand Master and immediately issue a proclamation declaring this Grand Lodge fully organized.

On motion of Bro. Rees, the Chair appointed a committee of three to report a constitution and by-laws for the government of this Grand Lodge, which committee consisted of Bros. Rees, Eastin, and Harrison.

The committee appointed to report a constitution and code of by-laws made their report, which was adopted.

On motion of Bro. Rees, the convention adjourned, to meet at Masonic hall at early candle-light.

On motion of Bro. Rees, the constitution and by-laws adopted in convention are unanimously adopted as the constitution and by-laws of this Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge thereupon proceeded to the election of Grand Officers, which resulted in the election of Bro. Richard R. Rees as M. W. G M.

On motion of Bro. Vanderslice, a committee consisting of Bros. Vanderslice, Walker, and Smith was appointed to report a constitution and code of by-laws for the government of this Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge was called from labor to refreshments until 7.30 P.M.

A committee appointed by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, at their convention held at Leavenworth City, on Monday, March 17, 1856, reported a constitution and by-laws for the government of said Grand Lodge which was adopted.

The Grand Lodge then proceeded to the election of Grand Officers for the ensuing year, which resulted in the election of Bro. Richard R. Rees, Grand Master, who was then installed and who then installed all the other officers.

Nebraska.

The first lodge in the State of Nebraska was Nebraska Lodge, No. 184, at Belleville, Sarpy County, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Illinois, October 3, 1855.

The second lodge was Giddings Lodge, No. 156, at Nebraska City, Otoe County, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, May 28, 1856. The third lodge was Capitol Lodge, No. 101, at Omaha City, Douglas County, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Iowa, June 3, 1857.

These three lodges, by their delegates, held a convention at Omaha City, September 23, 1857, and resolved to organize a Grand Lodge for the Territory of Nebraska.

The Grand Officers were elected, Bro. Robert C. Jordan being chosen Grand Master, who held that station until 1860. We regret to record here that this "father of Nebraska Masonry" died January 9, 1899, aged seventy-four years.

Before closing this history of Nebraska, intelligence was received of the sad ending of the life of another distinguished brother, William R. Bowen, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter, and Grand Recorder of the Grand Commandery, who, like Brother Jordan, had been called the father of Nebraska Masonry. These remarks are due, because of the writer's personal knowledge of, and intimate association with, both of these Brethren, not only in the above grand bodies, but also in the Supreme Council of the A.·.A.·.A.·.S.·.Rite, of which Bro.·.Jordan was the Active Member for Nebraska up to the date of his death, and Bro.·.Bowen was an *Emeritus,* having retired from the Active list several years since.

Indian Territory.

The first lodge organized in the Indian Territory was Flint Lodge, in the "Cherokee Nation," which received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, dated November 9, 1853. The second lodge was called Muskogee, and subsequently named Eufala, in the "Creek Nation," and received a dispensation, supposedly, from the Grand Master of Arkansas in 1855; and a Charter was granted, November 7, 1855. During the war of 1861-65 it ceased its labors, and its Charter was arrested Novem-

ber 6, 1867. Early in 1874 the Grand Master of Arkansas revived the lodge; it remained on the registry of that Grand Lodge nearly two years, until that Grand Lodge recognized the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory. Doaksville Lodge received a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, December 23, 1870, and was chartered November 8, 1871. Caddo Lodge received a dispensation, August 26, 1873, from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, and was chartered October 14, 1873. These two were in the "Choctaw Nation."

Muskogee, Doaksville, and Caddo lodges met in convention, by their delegates, October 5, 1874, and decided to form a Grand Lodge for the Indian Territory. A constitution was adopted, Grand Officers were chosen and installed, and the Grand Lodge was constituted, October 6, 1874.

Three other lodges were in existence when the Grand Lodge was constituted, viz.: Oklahoma, in the "Choctaw Nation," which had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, November 18, 1868. This lodge, as soon as the Grand Lodge was started, sent in her Charter and had it endorsed; it then came under that constitution. Flint Lodge, already described, and Alpha Lodge, also in the "Cherokee Nation," which had received a dispensation from Kansas, May 18, 1872, and a Charter, October 17, 1872, declined joining the New Grand Lodge, and adhered to the Grand Lodges from which they had received their warrants. The Grand Lodges of Arkansas and Kansas for some time refused to recognize the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory. In 1876 the latter Grand Lodge arrested the charters of the two delinquent lodges. The Grand Lodge of Kansas sustained her daughter lodge and still refused to acknowledge the New Grand Lodge. The issue continued until the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory rescinded her action of 1876. Soon thereafter Flint Lodge surrendered, and Alpha Lodge followed her in October, 1878, after the desired action of the Grand Lodge of Kansas had been obtained.

Other lodges subsequently had been chartered by the New Grand Lodge—two in the Cherokee, two in the Choctaw, and two in the Chickasaw nations.

Colorado.

The first lodges in Colorado were Golden City Lodge, at Golden City, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, October 17, 1860; Summit Lodge, at Parkville, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Nebraska, June 5, 1861; and Rocky Mountain Lodge, at Gold Hill, June 5, 1861, by the same Grand Lodge.

August 2, 1861, the above-mentioned lodges met, by their delegates, in convention at Golden City. They elected and installed their Grand Officers and constituted the Grand Lodge of Colorado, and declared it to be regularly organized. A constitution was adopted. The Grand Lodge of Kansas, October 15, 1867, chartered Nevada Lodge, in Colorado, it seems without the knowledge of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Colorado. (How this could have occurred we can scarcely conceive, as six years had elapsed.) This lodge, not having done any Masonic work under the Charter, was permitted to surrender the Charter and take a new one from the Grand Lodge of Colorado.

Nevada.

Carson Lodge, at Carson City, was chartered May 15, 1862; Washoe Lodge, at Washoe City, and Virginia City Lodge, at Virginia City, both chartered May 14, 1863; Silver City Lodge, changed afterward to Amity, at Silver City, chartered May 15, 1863; Silver Star Lodge, at Gold Hill, Esmeralda Lodge, at Aurora, and Escurial Lodge, at Virginia, all three chartered October 13, 1864; and Lander Lodge, at Austin, chartered October 14, 1864. All of these eight lodges received their charters from the Grand Lodge of California.

A convention was called to meet January 16, 1865, which was accordingly done and six lodges were represented the first day; the next day another lodge was represented. Lander Lodge, of the above list, was the only lodge which did not appear in the convention.

A constitution was adopted. The Grand Officers were elected and installed January 17, 1865. The old charters were endorsed for present use. Lander Lodge, although unrepresented in the convention and organization, presumed herself to be a part of the Grand

Lodge, and under its jurisdiction made the returns to the Grand Lodge with the other lodges.

The first annual grand communication was held October 10, 1865.

Dakota.

The first lodge organized in Dakota was St. John's Lodge, at Yankton, which received from the Grand Lodge of Iowa, December 5, 1862, a dispensation, and afterward a Charter, dated June 3, 1863; Incense Lodge, at Vermillion, received a dispensation, January 14, 1869, and a Charter, June 2, 1869; Elk Point Lodge, at Elk Point, received a dispensation, March 23, 1870, and a Charter, June 8, 1871; Minnehaha Lodge, at Sioux Falls, received a dispensation, July 13, 1873, and a Charter, June 3, 1874; Silver Star Lodge, at Canton, received a dispensation, February 6, 1875, and a Charter, June 2, 1875; and Mount Zion Lodge, at Springfield, received a dispensation, February 16, 1875, and a Charter, June 2, 1875. All of the above warrants were granted by authority of the Grand Lodge of Iowa. A dispensation was issued by the Grand Master of Minnesota, November 22, 1872, for Shiloh Lodge, at Fargo, and a Charter was issued January 14, 1874. He also issued a dispensation to Bismarck Lodge in 1874, and again in 1875, and on January 12, 1876, the lodge received a Charter.

June 21, 1875, a convention was held of the representatives of St John's, Incense, Elk Point, Minnehaha, and Silver Star lodges. Those of Mt. Zion Lodge, U. D., were present but did not participate in the proceedings, the lodge not having a Charter. A constitution was adopted and they elected their Grand Officers.

July 21, 1875, convention met again and the Grand Officers were installed in public, by Illustrious Brother Theodore S. Parvin, P. G. Master and Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

This Grand Lodge continued until the session of June 11-13, 1889, when by Act of Congress, approved February 22, 1889, the division of the Territory of Dakota into North and South Dakota was likely to be accomplished within a few months. The report of a committee on division of the Grand Lodge was adopted, and certain lodges located in North Dakota were permitted to organize a Grand Lodge of North Dakota, which will be stated under that designation.

The name of "Dakota" was changed to "South Dakota" at the sixteenth communication of the Grand Lodge, held June 10, 1890, in Madison.

South Dakota is the designation of the original Grand Lodge of Dakota.

North Dakota.

So soon as it was determined by the Grand Lodge of Dakota, at its session, held June 11-13, 1889, that there should be a division of the Grand Lodge of Dakota to correspond with the political division of the Territory into North and South Dakota, a convention was held, June 12, 1889, at the city of Mitchell, where the Grand Lodge was in session, and the following lodges of North Dakota were represented, viz.:

Shiloh, No. 8; Pembina, No. 10; Casselton, No. 12; Acacia, No. 15; Bismarck, No. 16; Jamestown, No. 19; Valley City, No. 21; Mandan, No. 23; Cereal, No. 29; Hillsboro, No. 32; Crescent, No. 36; Cheyenne Valley, No. 41; Ellendale, No. 49; Sanborn, No. 51; Wahpeton, No. 58; North Star, No. 59; Minto, No. 60; Mackey, No. 63; Goase River, No. 64; Hiram, No. 74; Minnewaukan, No. 75; Tongue River, No. 78; Bathgate, No. 80; Euclid, No. 84; Anchor, No. 88; Golden Valley, No. 90; Occidental, No. 99.

The convention resolved that it was expedient to organize a Grand Lodge for North Dakota. A constitution and by-laws were adopted.

June 13th, the first session of the Grand Lodge was held in the city of Mitchell. The elected and appointed officers were present and representatives of the above twenty lodges.

The Grand Lodge of North Dakota has continued to keep pace with the other Western Grand Lodges.

Idaho.

In 1863 a meeting of Masons was held in Idaho City, Boise County, and it was resolved to apply to the Grand Master of Oregon for a dispensation to organize a lodge, which was granted July 7, 1863, and on June 21, 1864, a Charter was granted to Idaho Lodge, No. 35. The next lodge was in Boise City, No. 37, April 1, 1865,

under dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Oregon. At a communication held in June, 1865, it was resolved to apply for a Charter, which was granted to Boise City Lodge, No. 37, June 20, 1865. Placer Lodge, No. 38, was the third lodge organized under Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Oregon, June 20, 1865. Pioneer Lodge, No. 12, received her Warrant from the Grand Lodge of the Territory of Washington, June 7, 1867. Owyhee Lodge received a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Oregon, July 21, 1866.

The above four chartered lodges held a Convention in Idaho City, December 16, 1867. Owyhee Lodge, U. D., from courtesy, was admitted and permitted to vote. The convention decided to organize a Grand Lodge.

December 17, 1867, a full corps of Grand Officers was elected and installed. Constitution of Grand Lodge of Oregon was adopted temporarily.

December 17th, Grand Lodge was opened in ample form and so has continued to present time.[1]

Montana.

At the burial of a Mason in the Territory of Montana was the first gathering of Masons, which led to an effort to organize a lodge by an application to the Grand Master of Nebraska, who issued a dispensation, April 27, 1863, to form a lodge at Bannock, which was in Dakota, but supposed to be in Idaho. This dispensation was renewed on June 24, 1863, and authorized again on June 24, 1864, and finally, when it arrived at the place, the members had been dispersed by removal of residence and no lodge was ever opened.

The lodge Virginia City, No. 43, received a Charter dated December 26, 1864, from the Grand Lodge of Kansas. A dispensation was received from the Grand Lodge of Colorado dated April 4, 1865, for Montana Lodge, No. 9, at Virginia City. Helena Lodge, No. 10, received a dispensation from the same Grand Lodge and was organized August 17, 1865. Both of these lodges received charters granted November 7, 1865, from the Grand Lodge of Colorado.

A convention of the representatives of the above lodges was held January 24, 1866. After proper investigation as to the mem-

[1] From proceedings of Grand Lodge of Idaho, September, 1883.

bership of the convention, it was decided to form a Grand Lodge and the convention closed.

The officers of the three lodges then opened a Grand Lodge in due form. A constitution was adopted and the Grand Officers were elected. January 26, 1866, the Grand Officers were regularly installed and at the same time charters were issued to the lodges and returns were made of one hundred and five members.

West Virginia.

In consequence of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865 the affairs of Masonry, in common with all civil matters in Virginia and West Virginia, which latter had been separated from the parent State, were in utter confusion. Many of the lodges in West Virginia had ceased to meet, some had lost their charters and other properties. After due consideration of the condition of things, in response to a circular from Fairmont Lodge, No. 9, which had been sent throughout the State, a convention was held, December 28, 1863, at Grafton, which was held during a period of great excitement, in consequence of some of the delegates having been prevented from attending, by the movements of the war having again disturbed the condition of the State. After two adjournments the convention finally met, June 24, 1864, in Fairmont. Eight of the working lodges out of thirteen in the State were represented. Grand Officers were elected and a day selected for their installation, but as the convention adjourned *sine die* the Grand Officers decided that no further action could be had under a misapprehension of an informality in their proceedings.

A new convention was called to meet April 12, 1865. The lodges represented were those at the prior convention, and were as follows, viz.: Wellsburg, No. 108; Wheeling, No. 128; Ohio, No. 101; Marshall Union, No. 37; Cameron, No. 180; Morgantown, No. 93; Fairmont, No. 9; Fetterman, No. 170. Grand Officers were again elected, and May 10th[1] selected for their installation. The convention met on that day. One other lodge, Mt. Olivet, No. 113, in addition to the eight, was represented. The convention closed and a Grand Lodge was opened. The Grand Officers were installed. The old charters were ordered to be en-

[1] The record, page 13, says 11th, which is an error.

dorsed under the seal of the Grand Lodge, and to be retained until new ones could be prepared and issued.

Utah.

"Through much tribulation ye shall enter into" — Masonry. A dispensation was issued, February 4, 1866, by the Grand Master of Nevada for the organization of Mt. Moriah Lodge at Salt Lake City. The lodge duly organized, but very soon the treatment by one of the lodges of Masons of the Mormon faith became an issue, which was submitted to the Grand Master of Nevada, who accordingly issued an edict forbidding the admission, as visitors and the affiliation, of Mormons claiming to be Masons; and also the reception of their petitions for the degrees. The lodge demurred to this decree, but submitted to the order of the Grand Master. A petition, however, was sent to the Grand Master to modify the decree, so that Mormons not polygamists would be exempted from the decree. The dispensation of the lodge was returned, and a Charter asked for. The Grand Lodge approved of the edict of the Grand Master, and, declining to grant a Charter, renewed the dispensation. The lodge, although "worse than sorrow-stricken," still continued to work for another year. The lodge then petitioned for a Charter, with the condition that if they could not have a Charter unrestricted by the edict, they declined having a Charter. The surrender of the dispensation was promptly accepted by the Grand Lodge. The members then presented their petition to the Grand Lodge of Montana, October 8, 1887, with a statement of the circumstances of their relation with the Grand Lodge of Nevada. The Grand Lodge of Montana declared, that the assumption of the petitions that the Grand Lodge of Nevada did not possess the power to decide who are not proper persons to be admitted into its subordinate lodges, was "subversive of the principles of Masonry." The petition for a Charter was rejected, and they were referred to the Grand Lodge of Nevada for a redress of their alleged grievances. The lodge applied then to the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Kansas, who issued a dispensation, November 25, 1867, and on October 21, 1868, a Charter was granted by the Grand Lodge.

A convention was held at Salt Lake City, January 16, 1872, by the representatives of the three lodges located in that city, viz.:

Wasatch Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Montana, October 7, 1867; Mount Moriah Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, October 21, 1868; Argenta Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado, September 26, 1871.

It was decided, by unanimous vote, to organize a Grand Lodge for Utah. The Grand Officers were chosen and installed, and the Grand Lodge was duly constituted.

In consequence of the Mormon Church being in their midst, difficulties at once arose in one of the lodges. A member joined the Mormons, and upon trial by regular process he was expelled, and the Grand Lodge affirmed the expulsion. This matter drew the attention of other Grand Lodges, who took formal action upon it; and the course of the Grand Lodge of Utah was nearly, if not unanimously, sustained.

Arizona.

Aztlan Lodge, at Prescott, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of California, October 11, 1866; which also chartered Arizona Lodge, No. 257, at Phoenix, October 16, 1879, and Tucson Lodge, No. 263, at Tucson, October 15, 1881. A dispensation was issued to Solomon Lodge, at Tombstone, June 4, 1881, which was continued at the next communication of the Grand Lodge of California, October 1, 1882. White Mountain Lodge, No. 5, at Globe, received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of New Mexico dated January 18, 1881.

The representatives of Arizona Lodge, No. 257, Tucson Lodge, No. 263, and White Mountain Lodge, No. 5, held a convention, March 23, 1882, at Tucson, and the representatives of Solomon Lodge, U. D., were invited "to take part in the deliberations of the Convention." The convention adopted a constitution. A lodge of Master Masons was then opened, and the Grand Officers were elected. On March 25th the Grand Officers were installed and the convention closed, and the Grand Lodge was duly opened. The charters of the lodges were properly endorsed and returned to them as the authority under which they continued their existence. Solomon Lodge, U. D., received her Charter under the name of King Solomon, No. 5. Aztlan Lodge had her Charter endorsed, and she made her returns. These five lodges had a membership of two hundred and seventy-four.

Wyoming.

Cheyenne Lodge, No. 16, at Cheyenne, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado, October 7, 1868.

Laramie Lodge, No. 18, at Laramie City, received a dispensation from the same Grand Lodge, January 31, 1870, and a Charter, September 28, 1870.

Evanston Lodge, No. 24, at Evanston, received a dispensation from the same Grand Lodge, September 8, 1873, and a Charter, September 30, 1874.

Wyoming Lodge, No. 28, at South Pass City, had a dispensation issued to her by the Grand Lodge of Nebraska, November 20, 1869, and a Charter, June 23, 1870.

The representatives of these four lodges met in convention December 15, 1874, at Laramie City, and proceeded to organize a Grand Lodge for Wyoming by adopting a constitution, electing and installing their Grand Officers on the 16th. The four lodges then had a membership of two hundred and fifty.

The first annual communication was held October 12, 1875, and the Grand Lodge has continued to hold its annual communications, and from the tabular statement at the conclusion of this chapter will be found the number of members.

Oklahoma.

At the eighteenth annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, under which Grand Lodge all the then existing lodges in Oklahoma Territory held their lodge warrants, a paper was presented to the Grand Lodge from the "members and representatives of the various Lodges of Masons in the Territory of Oklahoma organized and being within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, respectfully ask your consent and the consent of said Grand Lodge to the formation and organization by the said Oklahoma Lodges of a separate and independent Grand Lodge within and for said Oklahoma Territory to be known as the 'Grand Lodge of Oklahoma' and to have and possess hereafter exclusive Masonic jurisdiction and authority as the Grand Lodge within and for the said Territory of Oklahoma.

"Dated at Tahlequah, I. T., August 16, 1892."

This was signed by the representatives of the following lodges: Guthrie Lodge, No. 35; North Canadian Lodge, No. 36; Edmond Lodge, No. 37.

This was referred to a committee, and upon a favorable report, the petition was granted and suitable arrangements were made for holding a convention of all the lodges in the new Territory, at which the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge was to preside and install the newly elected Grand Officers and formally proclaim by authority of that Grand Lodge "that the Grand Lodge of Oklahoma is legally organized," etc.

On motion of Rev. Bro. R. W. Hill the Grand Lodge unanimously voted a set of Grand Lodge jewels to the new Grand Lodge. We have not been able to get a copy of the proceedings of the convention which was held November 10, 1892, but have before us the proceedings of the first annual communication held at El Reno, Oklahoma Territory, February 14, 1893, when there were represented the following lodges, viz.:

Anadarko, No. 1, at Oklahoma City; Guthrie, No. 2, at Guthrie; Oklahoma, No. 3, at Oklahoma City; Edmond No. 4, at Edmond; Norman, No. 5, at Norman; Frontier, No. 6, at Stillwater; El Reno, No. 7, at El Reno; Kingfisher, No. 8, at Kingfisher; Coronado, No. 9, at Hennessy; Chandler, No. 10, at Chandler; Crescent, No. 11, at Crescent City; Mulhall, U. D., at Mulhall.

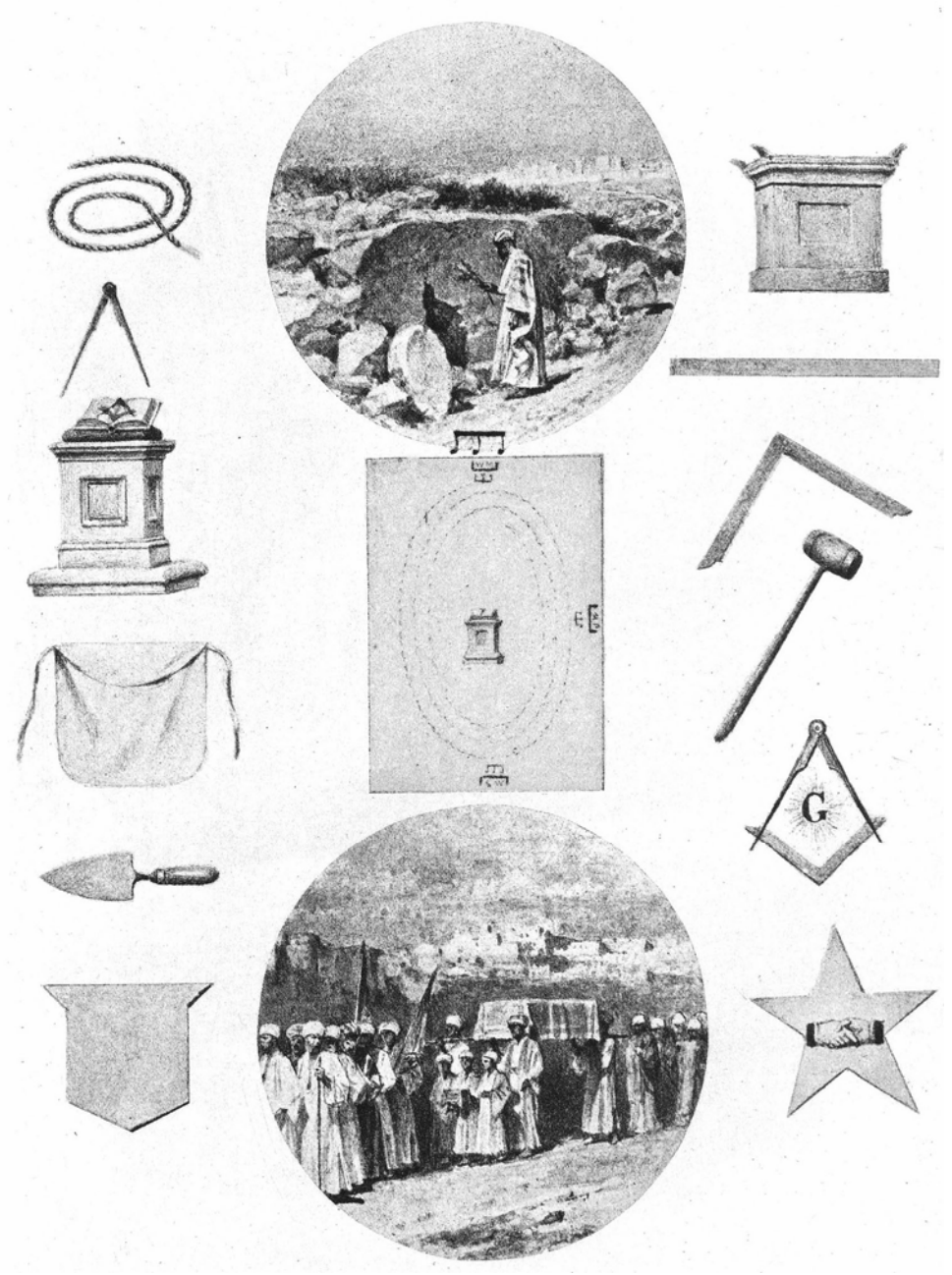
Alaska.

We have received the information that the Grand Master of Washington Territory issued a dispensation for a lodge to be organized in Sitka, Alaska, April 14, 1868. This dispensation was continued September 17, 1868, and finally revoked October 18, 1872. We have no further information as to any lodges since that time. There is no doubt that very soon lodges will be formed in several of the new towns which have sprung up in the gold regions, so soon as the population shall have become more stable and permanently settled.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF GRAND LODGES IN THE UNITED STATES; AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN EACH, FOR THE YEAR 1908.

No.	Names of Grand Lodges.	Date of Formation.	Member-ship.
1	Alabama	June 14, 1821	19,966
2	Arizona	March 25, 1882	1,394
3	Arkansas	February 22, 1832	18,293
4	California	April 18, 1850	36,126
5	Colorado	August 2, 1861	12,226
6	Connecticut	July 8, 1780	20,752
	Dakota Territory	July 21, 1875	Extinct.
7	Delaware	June 6, 1806	2,888
8	District of Columbia	December 11, 1810	7,999
9	Florida	July 6, 1830	7,228
10	Georgia	December 16, 1786	28,420
11	Idaho	December 17, 1867	2,395
12	Illinois	April 6, 1840	85,583
13	Indiana	January 13, 1818	47,353
14	Indian Territory	October 6, 1874	8,476
15	Iowa	January 2, 1844	37,838
16	Kansas	March 17, 1856	28,764
17	Kentucky	October 16, 1800	30,600
18	Louisiana	July 11, 1812	10,584
19	Maine	June 1, 1820	26,530
20	Maryland	April 17, 1787	12,310
21	Massachusetts	July 30, 1733	51,825
22	Michigan	June 24, 1826	56,010
23	Minnesota	February 23, 1853	22,014
24	Mississippi	July 27, 1818	14,371
25	Missouri	April 23, 1821	45,348
26	Montana	January 26, 1866	4,421
27	Nebraska	September 23, 1857	15,728
28	Nevada	January 17, 1865	1,241
29	New Hampshire	July 8, 1780	9,727
30	New Jersey	December 18, 1786	26,595
31	New Mexico	August 7, 1877	1,590
32	New York	September 5, 1781	152,928
33	North Carolina	December 9, 1787	16,835
34	North Dakota	June 13, 1880	5,945
35	Ohio	January 5, 1809	68,679
36	Oklahoma	October, 1892	7,978
37	Oregon	August 16, 1851	8,085
38	Pennsylvania	September 26, 1786	75,273
39	Rhode Island	June 21, 1791	6,719
40	South Carolina	February 5, 1787	10,403
41	South Dakota	June 21, 1875	6,675
42	Tennessee	December 27, 1813	20,986
43	Texas	December 20, 1837	41,736
44	Utah	January 1, 1872	1,343

No.	Names of Grand Lodges.	Date of Formation.	Member-ship.
45	Vermont	October 15, 1794	12,078
46	Virginia	October 13, 1777	17,644
47	Washington	December 8, 1858	10,903
48	West Virginia	May 11, 1865	11,778
49	Wisconsin	December 18, 1843	22,974
50	Wyoming	December 15, 1874	2,102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CHAPTER LVI

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY INTO EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Royal Arch Masonry.

N Chapter XLIX., Dr. A. G. Mackey, having, in a very elaborate and satisfactory manner, given the history of the introduction of Royal Arch Masonry into America; and in Chapter L., the organization of the General Grand Chapter in the United States, it is quite unnecessary for the present writer to make any preface to the details of the organization of the particular Chapters and the Grand Chapters in the several Grand Jurisdictions. We shall, therefore, proceed at once to that work, and in an alphabetical arrangement, for a better reference to any special jurisdiction when required.

Alabama.

Prior to May, 1823, there were four chapters in Alabama having been chartered by the General Grand Chapter. A convention of the delegates of these chapters was held in Mobile in May and June, 1823, and it was decided to form a Grand Chapter for the State. The Junior Chapter, Monroe, having taken exceptions, referred the matter to the General Grand Chapter at its session, September 16, 1826, when the following was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That the formation of a Grand Chapter for the State of Alabama, in May, 1823," prior to the expiration of one year from the establishment of the junior chapter in such State, "was prohibited by the 11th section of the 2d Article of the General Grand Constitution, and that therefore this General Grand Chapter cannot ratify or approve of the proceedings of the convention held at Mobile on the third Monday of May, 1823, or recognize the body claiming to be considered the Grand Chapter of Alabama."

A recommendation was, however, made to the four chapters to proceed to form a Grand Chapter. On June 2, 1827, the Grand Chapter was reorganized, and met in December following, and annually until 1830, when it ceased to meet.

December, 1837, the delegates from the several chapters met and reorganized the Grand Chapter, and it has continued as a constituent of the General Grand Chapter.

Arizona.

Pursuant to an invitation from Companion Past High-Priest George J. Roskruge of Tucson Chapter, No. 3, a convention of Royal Arch Masons met in the hall of Tucson Lodge, No. 4, F. & A. M., in Tucson, County of Pima, for the purpose of taking steps to organize a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons for the Territory of Arizona, November 13, 1889.

The convention was called to order by Companion Past High-Priest Martin W. Kales of Arizona Chapter, No. 1. Companion George J. Roskruge of Tucson Chapter 3 was chosen Chairman of the convention and Companion Frank Baxter was elected Secretary.

A committee on credentials was appointed and reported the following chapters as being represented, viz.:

Date of Charter	
August 24, 1880.	Arizona Chapter, No. 1, located at Phœnix, Maricopa County.
August 15, 1883	Prescott Chapter, No. 2, located at Prescott, Yarapai County.
	Tucson Chapter, No. 3, located at Tucson, Pima County.
	Cochise Chapter, No. 4, located at Tombstone, Cochise County.
Nov. 22, 1889.	Flagstaff Chapter, No. 5, located at Flagstaff, Coconino County.

A committee was appointed on Constitution and By-Laws, and the convention took a recess; and on resuming labor the committee reported a Constitution and By-Laws, which were adopted. The convention then elected their officers; Martin W. Kales was chosen Grand High-Priest, and George J. Roskruge Grand Secretary.

The convention then adjourned subject to a call from the Grand Secretary.

November 12, 1890, the convention met and Companion George J. Roskruge presided. The same chapters, as before, were represented, and there were also present a number of Past High-Priests and Past Grand High-Priests, and Companion Titus of California, all of whom were invited to seats (without votes).

The President stated the object of the convention and read his Warrant as Deputy of the General Grand High-Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States, dated November 1, 1890. On motion, the constitution, as adopted at the former convention, was amended, to conform to the recommendation of the General Grand High-Priest.

The convention then adjourned, that the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of Arizona might be opened in ample form.

The first annual convocation was then opened (November 12, 1890) at 8 P.M., George J. Roskruge, Grand High-Priest, presiding, and Morris Goldwater, Grand Secretary. The convention then proceeded to elect the Grand Officers, and Martin W. Kales was elected Grand High-Priest, and George James Roskruge was elected Grand Secretary.

Companion Roskruge acting as Deputy General Grand High-Priest of the United States constituted the Grand Chapter of Arizona and installed the officers in accordance with the dispensation granted by the General Grand High-Priest, David F. Day.

On the following day (November 13, 1890) a convention of Anointed High-Priests was organized and officers were elected. Eight Past High-Priests were anointed.

Arkansas.

Charters were granted by the General Grand Chapter of the United States to three chapters in Arkansas, the first being under date of September 17, 1841.

The Grand Chapter was organized at a convention held April 28, 1851, and Companion Elbert H. English was the first Grand High-Priest. When the General Grand Chapter of the United States held its convocation at Nashville, Tenn., on November 24, 1874, Companion English was elected General Grand High-Priest. His death occurred September 1, 1884.

In the years 1853 and 1854, Companion Albert Pike was the Grand High-Priest.

California.

The first dispensation to organize a chapter of Royal Arch Masons in California was issued May 9, 1850, to San Francisco Chapter, No. 1, and a Charter was granted September 13th. Charters were issued to Sonora, No. 2, and Sacramento, No. 3, September 17, 1853.

These three chapters sent delegates to a convention held May 6, 1854, at Sacramento, where measures were taken to organize a Grand Chapter, and after three days' session adjourned to meet at San Francisco, July 18, 1854, where the organization and constitution were fully completed by the installation of the Grand Officers.

Colorado.

Central City Chapter, No. 1, in Central City, was the first chapter to which a dispensation, dated March 23, 1863, was issued in Colorado, which was granted by the General Grand King. The Deputy General Grand High-Priest granted a dispensation to Denver Chapter, No. 2, April, 1863. These two chapters had their charters granted at the following session of the General Grand Chapter, September, 1865. A dispensation was issued to organize Pueblo Chapter, No. , at Pueblo, May 24, 1871, and a Charter for the same was issued September 20, 1871. November 25, 1874, charters were issued to Georgetown, No. 4, and Golden, No. 5.

A convention was held at Denver City by the authority of Elbert H. English, M. E. General Grand High-Priest, May 11, 1875, and the Grand Chapter of Colorado was regularly constituted.

Connecticut.

Six members of Saint John's Lodge, No. 2, located in the town of Middletown, Conn., having received and been "duly initiated into the most sublime degree of an Excellent, Superexcellent, and Royal Arch Mason in regular constituted Royal Arch Chapters," and proving each other, they "duly opened and held the first regular Grand Royal Arch Chapter."[1] They elected their officers. Their first meeting was held September 12, 1783.

The "Mother-Chapter," or Washington Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of the City of New York, granted the following charters in Connecticut: Hiram, No. 1, in Newtown, April 29, 1791; Franklin, No. 2, New Haven, May 20, 1795; Franklin, No. 4, Norwich, March 15, 1796, and Solomon, No. 5, Derby, March 15, 1796. Van den Broeck, also No. 5, received its Charter from the Grand Chapter of New York, dated April 6, 1796; it is said, however, that the first record was dated December 24, 1795.

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[1] At that day the word "Grand" was taken from the A. A. A. R., where *all* the bodies were termed Grand.—EDITOR.

A convention was held by the delegates of these six chapters, in Hartford, May 17, 1798, which organized the Grand Chapter of Connecticut. Half-yearly convocations were held until May, 1819, when the constitution was changed to annual convocations, and specials when required.

When the convention to form a Grand Chapter met in Hartford, Conn., January 24, A. L. 5798, "agreeable to the recommendation of a Convention of Committees assembled at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, in October, 1797," there were present: from Connecticut, representatives of Solomon Chapter of Derby, instituted 5794; Franklin Chapter, No. 4, Norwich, and Franklin Chapter, No. 5, New Haven.[1] Ephraim Kirby, of Litchfield, was chosen the first General Grand High-Priest. In examining the records of the first chapters prior to the organization of the General Grand Chapter of 1797, we notice the designation of the officers as being somewhat different from the same officers at a more recent date. In Hiram Chapter of Connecticut the officers were "High-Priest, King, Scribe, Zerubbabel, a Royal Arch Captain, three Grand Masters, a Treasurer, a Secretary, an Architect, a Clothier, and a Tyler." It was required that the "High-Priest should preside, direct the business, and occasionally to give a lecture." Now it is "to read and expound the law." The Scribe's duty was to "cause the Secretary to enter, in a fair and regular manner, the proceedings of the chapter," and "to summons the members for attendance at every regular and special meeting, . . . and also to administer the obligation." It was the duty of Zerubbabel "to superintend the arrangements of the Chapter"; of the Royal Arch Captain, "to keep watch at the Sanctuary"; of the three Grand Masters, "to watch the Veils"; of the Clothier, "to provide and take care of the Clothing"; of the Architect, "to provide and take care of the furniture."[2]

In the English Royal Arch, Zerubbabel is the first Principal; and in the present American Royal Arch, Zerubbabel is the Second Principal, and designated King, which designation, in our judgment, is a misnomer, as he never was a King, but was called "Tirshatha," which was an office of Governor under the King of Persia, and was, in reality, in the construction of the second Temple, subordinate to the High-Priest, who had entire management of that work,

[1] Compendium, Genl. Gr. Ch., p. 8.
[2] Capitular Degrees, "Hist. Masonry and Con. Orders," p. 606.

Zerubbabel soon retired and returned to Babylon, and the Temple was finally completed by a High-Priest.

Dakota.

In 1883 eight chapters had, at different times, been chartered by the General Grand Chapter of the United States, viz.:

Yankton, No. 1, at Yankton; dispensation, April 15, 1876; chartered, August 24, 1880.

Sioux Falls, No. 2, at Sioux Falls; chartered, August 27, 1880.

Dakota, No. 3, at Deadwood; chartered, August 27, 1880.

Siroc, No. 4, at Canton; chartered, August 15, 1883.

Pembina, No. 5, at Pembina.

Missouri, No. 6, at Bismarck.

Casselton, No. 7, at Casselton.

Corinthian, No. 8, at Grand Forks.

A convention was held at Aberdeen, June 10, 1884, at which the following chapters were represented: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 of the above list. When it was agreed to petition the General Grand High-Priest to grant a Warrant to organize a Grand Chapter for Dakota, five chapters voted for it and No. 7 against, and finally agreed, as also did Keystone chapter, No. 11, under dispensation.

A convention met February 25, 1885, pursuant to a call made January 8, 1885, at Sioux Falls. Companion William Blatt was chosen Chairman, and the following chapters were reported as being duly represented, viz.: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 of the above list, and Cheyenne, No. 9, U. D., at Valley City; Huron, No. 10, U. D., at Huron; Keystone, No. 11, U. D., at Fargo; Watertown, No. 12, U. D., at Watertown; Jamestown, No. 13, U. D., at Jamestown; Aberdeen, No. 14, U. D., at Aberdeen.

The first annual convocation was held June 8, 1885. Charters were granted to Corinthian, No. 8; Huron, No. 10; Watertown, No. 12; Jamestown, No. 13; Aberdeen, No. 14; Millbank, No. 15; and dispensations were issued to Denver, Brookings; Flandreau; Redfield. Chapters which were not represented were: Pembina, No. 5, at Pembina; Missouri, No. 6, at Bismarck, and Millbank, U. D., at Millbank.

The Grand Chapter of Dakota continued to prosper until the division of the State, by Act of Congress, February 22, 1889, into North and South Dakota.

When, on January 6, 1890, a convention was held in Yankton, S. D., and the representatives of the chapters located in South Dakota held a convention, and by the consent of the Grand Chapter of Dakota they organized the Grand Chapter of South Dakota, January 6, 1890, under the constitution of the General Grand Chapter.

Delaware.

The early history of the introduction of Royal Arch Masonry into the State of Delaware is very uncertain. We have no records to refer to. It is said that a Grand Chapter was formed on June 19, 1818. By what authority we can not ascertain; the "compendium "is silent upon Delaware. In the Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter of the Twenty-first Triennial Convocation, held in Baltimore, September 19, 1871, we find the General Grand High-Priest's reference to the State of Delaware,[1] as follows:

"Among the first to demand my attention was to examine into the condition of the Grand Chapter of Delaware, and if found to be a legal Grand Chapter, to have the same enrolled under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, as requested by the companions in Delaware. Having been solicited to visit Wilmington, for the purpose of instituting St. John's Chapter, which had been chartered by this Body at its last convocation (1868), I did so on the 19th of October, 1868, and having instituted said chapter, embraced that opportunity to fully investigate the condition of Royal Arch Masonry in the State, and for that purpose I held interviews with some of the most prominent Royal Arch Masons in the jurisdiction. From those companions, and from the records, I ascertained that there had existed in Delaware no regular Grand Chapter since the year 1856, at which time the original Grand Chapter ceased to meet and elect Grand Officers. I ascertained that there had been a 'Convocation of Royal Arch Masons' at Dover in 1859, at which meeting but one chapter, of the three then existing in that State, was legally represented. At that irregular 'Convocation' an election was had, Companion GEO. W. CHAYTOR being elected Grand High-Priest.

"No other convocation of the (so-called) Grand Chapter was held until January, 1868, a period of nine years. During this time, Companion Chaytor claimed to be the Grand High-Priest, but he

[1] Proceedings Genl. Gr. Ch. U. S., 1871, p. 10.

refused persistently to assemble the Craft in Grand Convocation. Some three or four years subsequent to the meeting of 1859, a difficulty having arisen between Companion Chaytor and the other members of Washington and Lafayette Chapter, No. 1, of which he was then High-Priest, he, in his capacity of Grand High-Priest, declared the said chapter suspended, thereby placing himself in the anomalous position of a self-suspended Royal Arch Mason; that is, provided he possessed any powers as Grand High-Priest.

"At the meeting in January, 1868, there was simply an assemblage of Royal Arch Masons, no one of whom claimed to act in a representative capacity. Companion Chaytor was present, but he refused to open a Grand Chapter, giving as a reason, that his chapter was under a suspension, and therefore there were but two chapters left in the State. Thereupon the assemblage resolved itself into a 'Royal Arch Convention,' and proceeded to elect Grand Officers and to adopt a constitution. And this was the body which made application to the last Convocation of the General Grand Chapter, to be recognized as the Grand Chapter of the State of Delaware.

"With these facts before me, there was but one conclusion to which I could legitimately arrive. Accordingly, on the 20th of October, 1868, I issued an edict, declaring that any legal existence heretofore attaching to a Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Delaware had ceased; that said State Grand Chapter no longer existed; and that the several chapters heretofore holding under it had become dormant for non-use and for other reasons. And that, by the fact of the cessation of the Grand Chapter of the State of Delaware, all semblance of lawful governmental authority in that State had ceased, and the territory had become masonically vacant; and therefore the authority of the General Grand Chapter of the United States did, of right, obtain, and was in full force and effect, in said State of Delaware. Thereupon, I did order and direct, that the three Chapters which had formerly held under the Grand Chapter of Delaware, should be received and recognized as lawful Royal Arch Chapters, under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, and with authority to resume and continue work under the warrants then held by them, until the pleasure of the General Grand Chapter was made known, or a State Grand Chapter was formed.

"On the 9th day of January, 1869, upon application duly made, and under the power and authority vested in me by the Constitu-

tion of the General Grand Chapter, I issued an edict granting permission for the formation of a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of the State of Delaware."

January 20, 1869, the legal representatives of four chapters in Delaware met in convention at Dover and organized a Grand Chapter for the State and adopted their constitution. The General Grand High-Priest, Dr. James M. Austin, was present and installed the Grand Officers; and he officially received and welcomed the said Grand Body into the family of Grand Chapters; and on January 30, 1869, by special edict, he ordered and directed that Grand Chapter to be enrolled under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter of the United States.

District of Columbia.

The very first intimation we have of the Royal Arch degree in the District of Columbia, we find in the old record-book of the "Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch Encampment," under the Charter of Federal Lodge, No. 15, F. A. A. M., under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, which is referred to in Chapter LII., page 1369.

We make the following extracts from that first "Encampment ":

"At a meeting of the Royal Arch Encampment, held in the Lodge, No. 15 (Federal Lodge), on Monday, December 14th, A. L. 5795. Present:

Rev. George Ralph,	Dennis Dulaney,
John Bradford,	Thomas Wilson,
Robert Brown,	David Cummings,
C. Worthy Stephenson,	James Sweeney.

"*Whereas,* It appears to be the desire of several Brethren of this Lodge that a Royal Arch Encampment should be established in this city, therefore,

"*Resolved,* That a committee be appointed of the following Brethren, viz.: Brothers Ralph, Wilson, and Dulaney, to procure every necessary apparatus, and to adjust the necessary fees and expenses of admission to this Degree.[1]

"*Resolved,* That the Brethren who wish to join this Encampment be requested to subscribe to a paper instrument, handed to them by

[1] It will be observed that there was but one degree.—EDITOR.

Bro. Sweeney previous to the foregoing Committee proceeding in the calculation in the expenses of our Robes, Veils,[1] Furniture, &c. The Committee to meet on Wednesday evening, at 4 o'clock P.M. and general meeting of the Royal Arch Masons to meet at 6 o'clock previously the same evening." The meeting then adjourned.

December 16, 1795. Present as at last meeting except Bro. Stephenson. The Committee appointed at the last meeting made their report: which was that twenty-three pounds and one shilling is indispensably necessary to provide the materials to prepare them and to arrange the Lodge room previous to the formation of a Royal Arch Encampment, &c., &c, which was agreed to.

At a meeting held June 17, 5797, it was announced by a letter from Comp. Sweeney that a Royal Arch Grand Lodge is about to be formed for the State of Maryland to meet at Baltimore June 24th. A circular letter was received from George L. Gray, No. 5 Market St., Baltimore, giving information of the establishment of a Grand Chapter in the city of Baltimore.

This chapter or encampment held its meetings until February, 5799, when it "resolved that the Royal Arch Encampment be broke up," and a committee was appointed to settle up its affairs and everyone to receive his dividend.

To show who were the officers and their titles we give the following list:

M. W. James Hoban, High-Priest.
R. W. John Carter, Captain-General.
R. W. Robert Brown, 1st Grand Master.
R. W. Redmond Purcell, 2d Grand Master.
R. W. Peter Lenox, 3d Grand Master.
John Hanley, Treasurer.
Patrick H early, Secretary.
John Lenox, Tyler.

The second record-book begins as follows:

At a meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at their Lodge room on Saturday evening, December 1, 1804, the following Companions present:

Phil P. Eckel, High-Priest, p. t.[2]
Charles Jones, Captain-General.

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[1] Robes and Veils are here specified for the first time, we believe.—EDITOR.

[2] Philip P. Eckel was a distinguished member of a chapter in Baltimore.—EDITOR.

Benj. King, 1st Grand Master.
C. M. Laughlan, 2d Grand Master.
Bern'd Doland, 3d Grand Master.
John Davis, Grand Scribe.[1]
Visitors, John Scott, John Carter.

The degree of Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch was conferred upon several Brethren, ten dollars being the fee.

On Sunday, December 14, 1806, a meeting is recorded, and they adopted the following:

"*Resolved*, That this Chapter concur with the resolution passed by Concordia R. A. Chapter as far as respects a Grand Royal Arch Chapter and that a Committee be appointed to meet in Grand Convention at the City of Washington on the third Wednesday in January next (1807) any Committees which may be appointed for the purpose aforesaid.

"February 14, 1807. Ordered that this Chapter be represented at the next Royal Arch Chapter to be held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on the second Thursday of May next, by the Officers fixed on by the Constitution of the Grand Chapter.

"*Resolved*, That that part of the Constitution which states that the High-Priest and King are the proper representatives be altered so as to add, 'unless ordered by the Chapter.'

"*Resolved*, That the Treasurer do pay into the hands of the Treasurer of the Grand R. A. Chapter $10, for the purpose of obtaining our Warrant[2] and also other Contingent expenses relative thereto."

February 7, 1807, was adopted the following:

"*Resolved*, That in future the following sums shall be paid by Candidates for the following degrees, namely, for Past Master $2, for Mark Master $3, and for the degree of Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch $10."

At this time it was

"*Resolved*, That this Chapter shall hereafter be entitled and known by the name of the Royal Arch Union Chapter."

This record-book terminates August 20, 5808, giving no intimation of any cause whatever why the chapter should not have con-

[1] Title of Grand Scribe unknown in the first Encampment.—EDITOR.
[2] This seems to indicate that there was no Warrant prior to this date.

tinued its sessions. At the meeting previous to the above date all the officers had been elected and installed.

A dispensation had been issued by the General Grand High-Priest to the several chapters in the District of Columbia to organize a Grand Chapter August 30, 1822, and the report of the committee was adopted recommending the adoption of the resolution above quoted.[1]

This Grand Chapter continued in existence from February 10, 1824, to January 8th, 1833, being composed of the following chapters, viz.: Federal Chapter, No. 3; Union Chapter, No. 4; Potomac Chapter, No. 8.

Several conventions were held from time to time, however, between May 11, 1822, and February 10, 1824, at which latter date the delegates of the several chapters of Royal Arch Masons of the District of Columbia met in General Convention and the following chapters were properly represented: Federal Chapter, No. 3; Union Chapter, No. 4; Brooke Chapter, No. 6, of Alexandria, Va., and Potomac Chapter, No. 8, of Georgetown.

The convention was duly organized, and the Grand Officers were elected and a constitution which had been regularly formulated and adopted at a former convention was adopted. In the evening of the same day (Tuesday, February 10, 1824) the Grand Royal Arch Chapter for the District of Columbia was opened in ample form, and the convention was accordingly dissolved.

The Grand Officers were duly installed by Comp'n John B. Hammett, a Past Grand High-Priest.

At a meeting of the Grand Chapter held March 9, 1824, the following communication was received and read and laid on the table:

"GEORGETOWN, February 11, 1824,
POTOMAC ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, NO. 8.

"*Resolved Unanimously*, That we deem it inexpedient to separate from the Grand Chapter of the State of Maryland and District of Columbia and that we will *not* avail ourselves of the permission and authority granted by a resolution *past* said Grand Chapter at their last Communication. (Extracts from the Minute.)

EDW. DEEBLE, *Scribe*."

[1] Pro. Gen. Gr. Ch., 1826, p. 77.

Previous to the closing of the convention the numbers of the chapters were arranged as follows: Federal, No. 1; Union, No. 2; Brooke, No. 3; Potomac, No. 4, and that charters to these should be made accordingly.

At the semi-annual meeting we find No. 1 to be designated as "*Washington* Royal Arch Chapter, No. 1." This change was made by that chapter at a meeting held February 23, 1824.

The Grand Chapter continued to exist until its annual communication, held January 8, 1833, which is the last record in the book.

Potomac Chapter, No. 4, never united with this Grand Chapter, but held under her old Charter.

At the annual meeting of the Grand Chapter, held January 9, 1827, a petition was received from Comp. P. Mauro, on behalf of himself and thirteen other Companions requesting a dispensation or Charter be granted to them for a chapter under the title of Temple Chapter, No. 4, which was unanimously granted.

At an adjourned convocation, held March 14, 1827, after installation of the Grand Officers, the officers elect of Temple Chapter, No. 4, were installed by the Grand High-Priest.

This Grand Chapter closed its existence after the annual convocation January 8, 1833, as no meeting was recorded in the old book after that date, if any were held at all. We must now refer to the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter and at the eleventh meeting, held September 14, 1841, we find that a resolution was adopted authorizing the Deputy General Grand High-Priest to take the necessary steps to place all chapters of Royal Arch Masons in that part of the District of Columbia, formerly belonging to the State of Maryland, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of Maryland.[1] At the next meeting, held September 10, 1844, that officer reported that the resolution above referred to had been duly enforced and confirmed by the Grand Chapter of the State of Maryland; and that Grand Chapter has assumed and now holds jurisdiction over that portion of the District of Columbia lying within the limits of the State, that at present Maryland has two chapters at work therein.[2] These two chapters were, Columbia No. 15, and Washington No. 16.

The chapters in the District of Columbia remained attached to and under the Grand Chapter of Maryland which on September 10,

[1] 1841, p. 165.

[2] 1844, p. 181.

1844, was changed to Maryland and District of Columbia, until the year 1867, when steps were taken by the four chapters in the District of Columbia to reorganize a Grand Chapter. These were: Columbia, No. 15; Washington, No. 16; Mount Vernon, No. 20; and Potomac, No. 8. After many preliminary conventions, and surmounting technical difficulties and bitter hostilities to their efforts, the General Grand High-Priest, John L. Lewis, gave his consent by telegram first, which was followed by his official letter. Companion Albert G. Mackey, Past General Grand High-Priest, was invited to come from Charleston, S. C, to constitute the Grand Chapter and install the Grand Officers, which ceremonies took place in Washington at the Opera-house, May 23, 1867. The Grand Chapter was successfully launched, but soon encountered quicksand and shoals. The enemies of the Grand Chapter did not hesitate to take the most unmasonic measures to stop the progress of Royal Arch Masonry in the District of Columbia; a self-constituted committee of four visited the General Grand High-Priest at his home in New York and by a tissue of falsehoods and a well-concocted false statement, induced that officer to recall his permission, long after the Grand Chapter had successfully entered upon a very prosperous course. Two constituent chapters had been chartered to take the place of Potomac Chapter, which withdrew from the Grand Chapter and, as in 1824, decided to remain with the Grand Chapter in Maryland. The General Grand High-Priest issued his edict, requiring the chapters in the District of Columbia to disband the new Grand Chapter, and return to their allegiance to the Grand Chapter of Maryland and District of Columbia. This not being complied with, he at once issued another edict, and expelled every Royal Mason belonging to the chapters in the District except those *four* and the members of Potomac Chapter. Thus matters remained. The Companions in Washington went along about their business of Masonry and a wonderful prosperity followed them. When the General Grand Chapter met in St. Louis in 1868, the Grand Chapter of the District was sustained in her action and admitted to the General Grand Chapter.

We have kindly omitted all personalities in this veritable his tory, because nearly every prominent Companion in this contest has gone to his reward, and we say, as all interested should, *Pax Vobiscum.* The General Grand Chapter permitted Potomac Chap-

ter, No. 8, to retain her place under the Grand Chapter of Maryland, but decided that the whole territory of the District was in the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia, and she could not receive any petitions for the degrees. This continued for a few months, when Potomac finally asked to be admitted among the faithful, which was readily granted, and since that time there has been no more faithful members of the Grand Chapter than the Companions of Old Potomac, No. 8, and universally esteemed and beloved.

The Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia has increased since May 7, 1867, from three chapters with 498 members, to eleven chapters and 2,204 members in 1898.

Florida.

In the "Compendium" giving the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for the sixth meeting of that body, September 14, 1826, the General Grand High-Priest, DeWitt Clinton, reported that he had granted dispensations for a Mark Lodge in St. Augustine and also one in St. Francisville in Florida.[1]

The Grand Chapter of Virginia had chartered two chapters in Florida, viz.: Magnolia, No. 16, at Appalachicola, and Florida, No. 32, at Tallahassee. There was a chapter at St. Augustine chartered by the Grand Chapter of South Carolina.

We find in the "Compendium" in the proceedings for the thirteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 14, 1847, the following in the report of the General Grand Secretary:[2]

"On the 11th day of January last (1847), three chapters of Royal Arch Masons in the State of Florida, by their delegates, met in Convention and resolved to form a Grand Chapter for that State. They therefore proceeded to frame a Constitution and enact by-laws; and on the 21st of the same month they elected officers and organized a Grand Chapter; and among their proceedings it will be found that they desire to place their Grand Chapter under your jurisdiction. On receipt of the copy of their Constitution and letter accompanying it, I immediately acknowledged the same, and requested their Grand Secretary to inform me from what Grand

[1] "Compendium," 1826, p. 73.

[2] Ibid., 1847, p. 140.

Chapter the several Chapters in the State received their respective charters, and the time when each was issued. To this letter, as yet, I have received no answer."

The next notice of Florida we find in the proceedings of the same meeting,[1] where a committee on General Grand Secretary's report say:

"That it appears from documents referred to your committee, a Convention of delegates from the Royal Arch Chapters in the State of Florida, assembled in Tallahassee, in the month of January, 1847, at which time the following preamble and resolutions were adopted" (which we omit). The committee say:

"In the published proceedings of said Grand Chapter we find the adopted Constitution, and the following resolutions:

"*Resolved,* That the Grand Chapter of Florida, duly appreciating the advantages of a Masonic head and paramount authority, are disposed to come under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter of the United States.

"*Resolved,* That the Grand Secretary communicate the same to the General Grand Secretary of the General Grand Chapter."

Among the comments of the committee they say: "It is to be regretted that the Grand Secretary did not furnish that precise information of the origin of the several chapters which composed the convention as would have enabled your committee to report in such a manner as to recommend to this General Grand Chapter the incorporation of that Grand Chapter under your jurisdiction at the present time," etc. Some objections were also made to several sections of their constitution; they recommended certain resolutions aiming to overcome the objections, and thereby to admit the Grand Chapter to her proper place as a constituent of this General Grand Chapter. The Grand Chapter of Florida did not understand the motive of the action of the General Grand Chapter and did not comply with the request for explanations. At the sixteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter held in 1856 the General Grand High-Priest was authorized to recognize the Grand Chapter of Florida and place it in the same position as the other Grand Chapters, at its request.

The war period of 1861 to 1865 prevented the accomplishment

[1] "Compendium," pp. 158, 159, 161, 171.

of this arrangement until January 13, 1869, when the Grand Chapter of Florida accepted the invitation by passing the following:

"*Resolved,* That this Grand Chapter accept such invitation in a true Masonic spirit and will hereafter bear allegiance and support to the said General Grand Chapter."

Georgia.

The office of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Chapter of Georgia can not furnish any information as to when Royal Arch Masonry was introduced into that jurisdiction.

The first notice of Georgia in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter is at the third septennial meeting, January 9, 1806, and is a Warrant to Georgia Chapter at Savannah. At the fourth meeting, held June 6, 1816 (special), Union Chapter, at Louisville, received a Warrant. At the fifth regular meeting, Augusta Chapter received a Warrant.[1] At the tenth meeting, held September 11, 1838, a dispensation was granted to a chapter at Macon.[2]

The next notice of Georgia in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter is at the sixth meeting, in 1826. "That charters have been granted to Mechanic's Chapter, at Lexington, Georgia, on the 10th June, 1820; to Webb Chapter, at Sparta, Georgia, on 16th November, 1821; by the Deputy General Grand High-Priest, Henry Fowle."[3] At the same meeting we find the following: "That Grand Royal Arch Chapters have been legally and constitutionally formed, since the last meeting of this Body, within and for the States of Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, *Georgia,* and Tennessee, with the consent of one of the General Grand Officers."[4]

At the thirteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 14, 1847, the General Grand Secretary reports as follows:[5]

"Within the last few days, however, on examination of the old files of papers, I found a printed paper, to which the name of one of the General Grand Secretaries is affixed, giving a list of the Grand Chapters under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, and therein appears the name of the Grand Chapter of Georgia.

"It would seem that this is a good evidence of that Grand

[1] "Compendium," pp. 36, 46, 56. [2] Ibid., pp. 103, 106.
[3] Ibid., p. 72. [4] Ibid., p. 76. [5] Ibid., pp. 140, 141.

Chapter having been recognized, and that if so, it should be, in some way, made to appear upon the record."

The report of the committee on the last item as found at the same meeting, was that they did find documentary evidence in the hands of the General Grand Secretary sufficient to prove that the Grand Chapter of Georgia was a constituent of the General Grand Chapter, although said Grand Chapter had not been represented, or made returns to that body since 1822.

The above statement of facts is not very flattering to the officers of the General Grand Chapter, whose duty it evidently was to know from the *records* and *registers* who were the constituents of that Grand Body. Such remissness and want of knowledge in regard to the very vital affairs show gross neglect of duty and want of care in the management of so important a body of Masons as the General Grand Chapter.

Idaho.

The Grand Chapter of Oregon granted a Charter to Idaho Chapter, in Idaho City, June 18, 1867, being under the impression that the General Grand Chapter had ceased to exist. This chapter was constituted August 18, 1867. At the twentieth session of the General Grand Chapter, held September 18, 1868, the General Grand Chapter adopted a report, which included "good faith" of the petitioners, healing all those who had been exalted in the chapter, and granting a Charter to Idaho Chapter, No. 1, Idaho City, on September 18, 1868. The General Grand Chapter issued warrants to other chapters in Idaho, viz.: February 14, 1870, a dispensation to Cyrus, No. 2, at Silver City, then in Dakota; March 30, 1870, a dispensation to Boise, No. 3, at Boise City; charters were issued to these two September 20, 1871.[1]

In the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for August 25, 1880, on petition of Comp. G P. Coburn and others of Lewiston, Nez Perce County, Idaho, a Charter was granted, August 27, 1880, to Lewiston Chapter, No. 4.[2]

At the twenty-sixth triennial, held October 1, 1886, Alturas Chapter, No. 5, at Harley, Dak., was granted a Charter.[3]

Pocatello, No. 6, at Pocatello, received a dispensation dated May

[1] "Pro. Gen. Gr. Ch. for 1871," p. 33. [2] Ibid., p. 81. [3] Ibid., p. 125.

28, 1889, and a Charter November 22, 1889; Moscow Chapter, at Moscow, received a Charter July 23, 1891; Fayette Chapter, No. 8, at Fayette, received a Charter August 24, 1894.

Illinois.

The Deputy General Grand High-Priest, Joseph K. Stapleton, gave a dispensation to Springfield Chapter, in Springfield, July 19, 1841;[1] and at the eleventh triennial meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 14, 1841, a Charter was granted on the 17th.[2]

At the twelfth triennial session, September 10, 1844, the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported having issued a dispensation for Lafayette Chapter, in Chicago, dated July 2, 1844.[3]

At the thirteenth triennial session, September 14, 1847, he reported having issued dispensations to Jacksonville Chapter, No. 3, at Jacksonville, and Shawneetown Chapter, No. 6, at Shawneetown, since the session of 1844, and a Charter to Lafayette Chapter, in Chicago.[4]

The General Grand Scribe Ezra S. Barnum reported having issued dispensations on March 10, 1846, to open Horeb Chapter, No. 4, at Henderson, and April 1, 1846, to open Quincy Chapter, No. 5, at Quincy.

At the fourteenth triennial session, September 10, 1850, several of the chapters working under dispensations having applied for charters were refused because they had failed to send up the records of their proceedings, and therefore the committee was unable to say whether their doings had been regular or not. Among these were the chapters Reynolds, Stapleton, Springfield, and Quincy, and recommended that their dispensations be continued in force until next triennial meeting.[5]

At the same session (fourteenth) the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported having issued dispensations for the formation of Howard Chapter, on July 28, 1848, and Stapleton Chapter, June 28, 1849. The General Grand King reported that since the last triennial he had granted a dispensation to a chapter to be held in Cambridge in the County of Henry, Ill., to be called Reynolds

[1] "Compendium," p. no. [3] Ibid., p. in. [3] Ibid., p. 122.
[4] Ibid., p. 145. [5] Ibid., p. 201.

Chapter, No.—,[1] dated March 2, 1850. The General Grand Scribe reported that since the last triennial he had granted a dispensation to open a chapter of Royal Arch Masons at Rock Island, Ill., August 1, 1849,[2] to be called Barrett.

At the thirteenth triennial meeting the General Grand King reported that he had granted authority to seven chapters in Illinois to organize a Grand Chapter.

April 10, 1850, a convention of the representatives of six of these chapters was held, and having the authority of the General Grand King, a Grand Chapter for the State of Illinois was organized.[3]

Indian Territory.

A convention of three chartered chapters, Indian, No. 1; Oklahoma, No. 2, and Muskogee, No. 3, was held by their representatives, October 15, 1889; organized and made application to the General Grand High-Priest for authority to constitute a Grand Chapter for Indian Territory, which was refused. Subsequently the succeeding General Grand High-Priest, David F. Day, at the general grand convocation, held at Atlanta, Ga., November 22, 1889, granted their request, and on February 15, 1890, the Grand Chapter was constitutionally instituted. At the second annual convocation, held at Oklahoma, August 20, 1891, seven chapters were represented.

Indiana.

The first record evidence of the establishment of Royal Arch Masonry in the State of Indiana is found in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter at the sixth meeting, held September 14, 1826, where under the report of a committee on the papers and proceedings of the General Grand Officers they say: "That a Charter had been granted to Vincennes Chapter, at Vincennes, State of Indiana, on 13th May, 1820; to Jennings Mark Lodge, at Vevay, Indiana, on 4th May, 1821, by the General Grand King, John Snow."[4]

September 14, 1838, the committee on the doings of General Grand Officers reported a dispensation having been granted by M. E. Companion Stapleton for a chapter at Richmond, Ind., and recommended a Charter for that chapter (September 14, 1838). This

[1] "Compendium," p. 182. [2] Ibid., p. 184. [3] Ibid., p. 183. [4] Ibid., p. 73.

chapter was named King Solomon. At the eleventh meeting, held September 14, 1841, the Committee on Warrants recommended a Charter to be issued to Logan Chapter, Logansport; the dispensation of this chapter was dated March 12, 1839.

At the twelfth meeting, held September 10, 1844, the following statements were made by the General Grand Secretary:[1] "By the records of the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter in 1819, it appears that the Committee to whom was referred the subject matter of dispensations granted by the General Grand Officers during the previous recess *had heard* that the then late Deputy General" Grand High-Priest had granted dispensations for charters at Madison, and at Brookville, in Indiana; but there being no further evidence of their existence before the General Grand Chapter, no ratification of these acts was passed, nor were their charters ordered; although several charters were at that time ordered for other chapters holding dispensations under authority of other General Grand Officers. Consequently, Madison and Brookville Chapters ceased to exist as legally constituted Masonic Bodies at that time. It appears, however, from the herewith accompanying papers, that Madison Chapter continued its labors for many years; and there having been another chapter established at Vincennes, in that State, in 1823, it is said a Grand Chapter was organized with the approbation of M. E. Comp. John Snow, General Grand King. No documentary evidence of that authority, however, or even records of the proceedings of that Grand Chapter are known to exist. Nor does it appear of record that the General Grand Chapter was ever advised of the existence of such an institution. . . ."

On the true position of these things being made known to the Companions at Madison, in the proper spirit of Masonry they immediately suspended all work, closed their chapter, and determined to lay their case before the General Grand Chapter, which was done by their High-Priest, M. E. Joseph G. Norwood, in a very frank, perspicuous, and able manner, presented amongst the documents, accompanied by their dispensation, their return for 1842 to the present time (September 10, 1844), and the payment of such dues as have accrued within that time. No return had been made from 1819 to 1842. Their irregularities were evidently the result of mistakes as to the extent of power given by their dispensation, and

[1] "Compendium," p. 116.

they asked that their acts may be made lawful by the General Grand Chapter and that all dues up to 1842 be remitted, and asked for a Charter.[1] This was duly granted, September 12, 1844,[2] and all dues remitted up to 1842. The past work was pronounced illegal, and authority was given to heal all who had received degrees in it. At the twelfth meeting above mentioned (1844), the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported having issued a dispensation to Lafayette Chapter, No. 3, at Lafayette, August 17, 1843;[3] a Charter was granted to this chapter, September 11, 1844; at this meeting permission was granted by the General Grand Chapter for a convention to assemble, dated November 18, 1845, and the Grand Chapter of Indiana was duly constituted December 25, 1845.

Iowa.

At the thirteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 14, 1847, the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported that since the triennial session, in 1844, he had authorized the consecration, by proxy, of Iowa Chapter, at Burlington, la., and also Iowa City Chapter, at Iowa City. He had also issued a dispensation to form Dubuque Chapter, No. 3, at Dubuque, la.[4] Charter to the same was dated September 17, 1847.

Dispensation to Iowa Chapter, No. 1, was dated August 24, 1843.[5] Charter to the same was dated September 11, 1844.

Dispensation to Iowa City Chapter, No. 2, was dated March 19, 1844.[6] Charter to the same was dated September 17, 1847.

At the fifteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 17, 1853, Washington Chapter, No. 4, at Muscatine, la., was chartered, dated September 17, 1853.[7]

A dispensation had been issued to McCord Chapter, No. 5, at Fairfield, probably in March, 1853. The Deputy General Grand High-Priest, Joseph K. Stapleton, having died very soon thereafter, no report was made.[8] That chapter received a Charter from the Grand Chapter of Iowa after it was constituted, dated June 14, 1854.

A convention of the above-named chapters, by their delegates,

[1] "Compendium," p. 117. [2] Ibid., pp. 128, 129. [3] Ibid., p. 121.
[4] Ibid., p. 145. [5] Ibid., p. 121. [6] Ibid., p. 122.
[7] Ibid., p. 259. [8] Proceedings, 1856, p. 361.

was held at Mount Pleasant, June 8, 1854, by the authority of the General Grand Scribe, A. V. Rowe.[1]

The history of Capitular Masonry in Iowa would not be completed were we to omit one of those peculiar episodes which, with cyclonic force, carries away before it all the valuable works of the good and great Masonic Architects, who have labored so hard, and industriously, in the erection of Masonic temples, and which we quote from Companion A. F. Chapman's history of Capitular Masonry in the *History of Masonry and Concordant Orders:*

"Within about two years after being organized, the usefulness of the General Grand Chapter came under discussion. The Grand High Priests early gave emphasis to this negative feeling. In 1857 the delegates to the next session of the General Grand Chapter were instructed to vote for its dissolution. This was re-enforced in 1858. The Grand Chapter asserted its sovereignty and independent right to organize chapters in Nebraska or elsewhere, where no Grand Chapter existed, and finally, on August 16, 1860, the resolution declaring the

> " 'Grand Chapter sovereign and independent, and in no manner whatever subject to the General Grand Chapter of the United States, and this Grand Chapter is forever absolved from all connection therewith,'

was passed by a vote of twenty-eight ayes to fifteen nays.

"This condition continued for nine years, when, at the triennial convocation, September, 1871, the General Grand High Priest reported that, under date of October 26, 1869, he had 'received official notice that the Grand Chapter of Iowa had rescinded the act of secession passed in 1860, and had directed that the C.·.B.·. of allegiance should be administered to all the members of chapters in that jurisdiction, and that hereafter it would be administered to candidates receiving the Royal Arch degree.'[2]

"This Grand Chapter has been represented in the General Grand Chapter since 1871.

"Robert Farmer Bower of Iowa Grand Chapter was chosen General Grand High Priest in 1880, and died before his term was out."

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[1] Proceedings, 1856, p. 376.

[2] "History of Masonry," p. 613.

Kansas.

The first dispensation was issued to Leavenworth Chapter, No. I, at Leavenworth, January 24, 1857; to Washington Chapter, at Atchison, May 18, 1859. These two dispensations were reported by the General Grand High-Priest at the seventeenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September, 1859, and at this meeting a Charter was granted to Washington Chapter, No. 2, September 14, 1859. In the proceedings of the special convocation of the General Grand Chapter called by Comp. Albert G. Mackey, General Grand High-Priest, which assembled in Columbus, O., September 7, 1865, Washington Chapter, No. 1, of Kansas, is reported present by Jacob Saqui, H. P.[1] At the triennial communication held next day, September 8th, at the same place, the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported that he had renewed the dispensation of Leavenworth Chapter in May, 1863.[2] On September 8, 1865, a Charter was granted,[3] and also a Charter was granted to Fort Scott Chapter, the General Grand Secretary having reported that a dispensation had been issued to the chapter.[4]

By permission of the Deputy General Grand High-Priest a convention of the delegates of the several chapters was held January, 1866, and on February 23, 1866, a Grand Royal Arch Chapter was duly organized and constituted.

Kentucky.

In the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter at the fifth regular meeting, September 9, 1819, the proceedings of the Grand Chapter of Kentucky were presented and read, and a resolution was passed, viz.: "*Whereas*, It has been communicated to the General Grand Chapter that several Warrants of Constitution were granted since the last communication authorizing the opening and holding of Royal Arch Chapters in Lexington, Frankfort, and Shelbyville, in the State of Kentucky, by our late Most Excellent Companion, Thomas Smith Webb, and that said Chapters having been constitutionally in operation for the space of more than one year, did form themselves into a Grand Chapter for said State

[1] Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter, 1862-65, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Ibid., p. 31. [4] Ibid., p. 27.

under the jurisdiction of this body, and have been regularly organized as such, by M. E. Companions De Witt Clinton, General Grand High Priest, and Thomas Smith Webb, late Deputy General Grand High Priest.

"*Resolved*, Therefore, that this General Grand Chapter approves and recognizes the formation of said Grand Chapter for said State of Kentucky."[1]

The dispensations for the above-mentioned three chapters had been issued by Companion Thomas Smith Webb, Deputy General Grand High-Priest, October 16, 1816.

In the proceedings of the Grand Chapter of Kentucky will be found the correspondence in reference to the formation and constituting of the Grand Chapter, and also the recognition by the Deputy General Grand High-Priest, dated December 12, 1817, at Worthington, O., and by DeWitt Clinton, M. Ex. General Grand High-Priest, December 30, 1817.

At the annual convocation of the Grand Chapter, held in Lexington, September 5, 1825, the Grand Chapter adopted certain resolutions, to petition the General Grand Chapter, and to address letters to the other Grand Chapters on the propriety of dissolving the General Grand Chapter.[2] The memorial was issued, and it is found in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for the sixth meeting, September 4, A. L. 5826.[3] This memorial was referred to an appropriate committee, which reported, giving a statement as to how the several Grand Chapters had acted upon the question showing, that "as a majority of the Grand Chapters of the Several States dissented from the resolution of the Grand Chapter of Kentucky, it is not expedient for the General Grand Chapter to take any further measures on the subject." This was after some consideration referred to a committee of the whole. That committee after having deliberately considered and discussed the report, it was agreed to report the same without amendment to the General Grand Chapter, which body decided by a vote of yeas 47, noes 2, to agree to the report of the committee.[4]

Very properly, the Grand Chapter of Kentucky appeared to be contented with this decision.

The report of the General Grand Secretary at the triennial ses-

[1] "Compendium," p. 52.
[2] Ibid., p. 62.
[3] Ibid., pp. 52-69.
[4] Ibid., p. 71. Proceedings, 1874, p. 17.

sion, September, 1859, shows that the Grand Chapter of Kentucky had adopted resolutions of withdrawal from the General Grand Body.

At the twenty-second triennial convocation, held November 24, 1874, the General Grand High-Priest, in his address, stated "That the Grand Chapter of Kentucky has rescinded her resolutions of withdrawal and has renewed her allegiance. Her representatives are here with us," etc. She has remained in true allegiance ever since.

Louisiana.

The first reference we find in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter to Royal Arch Masonry in Louisiana, is at the twelfth meeting, held September 10, 1844, wherein is a report on the appeal of C. D. Lehman, of New Orleans, from a judgment of the so-called Grand Chapter of Louisiana. Difficulties had occurred between the officers and members of Holland chapter, No. 9, in New Orleans. From the documents presented the committee learned "that a Grand Chapter of Louisiana was organized in 1813, by the 'Royal Lodges' Concordia and Perseverance, and such Officers and Members of the Grand Lodge of the State as were Royal Arch Masons." Note, these lodges were originally organized in the Island of San Domingo, under charters from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, with powers to confer all the degrees from Entered Apprentice to Royal Arch inclusive. When the revolution occurred in San Domingo, many of the members of these lodges made their escape and stopped for a while in Cuba, but finally settled in New Orleans, and having retained their charters, resumed labor in that city.[1]

The Grand Chapter formed in the manner above stated was attached to, and made dependent on, the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, and the M. W. Grand Master of that body was *ex officio* and by "inherent right" Grand High-Priest of the new Grand Chapter.

The question as to the legality of these proceedings had been foreclosed in 1829, by the admission of a representative from the Grand Chapter of Louisiana, in the person of Companion McConnell, on whose return to New Orleans the Grand High-Priest, Companion John Holland, convened the officers and members of the

[1] Reprint of Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter from 1798 to 1856, p. 194.

Grand Chapter, who, by an official act, in regular assembly, enrolled themselves under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, in the manner prescribed by the 13th Section of the 4th Article of the General Grand Constitution; of which act it notified all the subordinate chapters under its jurisdiction, and directed similar action on their part, and enjoined a strict observance of the provisions of the General Constitution.

From 1829 to 1831 the Grand Chapter of Louisiana conducted all of her proceedings in good faith and true allegiance to the General Grand Chapter. From 1831 to April, 1839, there was no meeting. The subordinate chapters had ceased to exist, except Holland, No. 9, which kept up its work until the revocation of its Charter in 1841. In that year, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, by direction of the Grand Master, issued notices to certain Royal Arch Masons in New Orleans, to assemble and elect Grand Officers, with the intention of a reorganization of the State Grand Chapter. This meeting did not occur; but another was soon thereafter called, and the High-Priest and three other officers of Holland Chapter were notified. The usual Grand Officers were elected at this meeting, and the so-styled Grand Chapter of Louisiana was organized. From the testimony submitted to the committee, it appeared that the High-Priest of Holland Chapter, Compn. Henry, was not present at this election; nor could the committee ascertain that there was any Companion present who was entitled to vote in an election of Grand Officers.

Shortly after this, Compn. Henry was officially notified by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Chapter of Louisiana of the organization of the Grand Chapter, and requiring of Holland Chapter her dues and returns from 1832 to 1838 inclusive. Holland Chapter protested against this demand and asked for evidence of the legality of the organization of the Grand Body, which was refused, and Holland Chapter declined to recognize its authority. The body, assuming to be the Grand Chapter, proceeded to revoke the Charter, and to expel the High-Priest and Secretary of Holland Chapter. The Secretary, Compn. C. D. Lehman, made his appeal to the General Grand Chapter. On July 24, 1843, he served the reputed Grand Chapter with a notice of his intention, and it was shown when this notice was served, the Grand High-Priest of the Grand Chapter, in his place, and in open chapter declared "that he did not acknowledge

any other body, and was independent of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States."

From the above statement it would appear that the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, organized in 1813, voluntarily surrendered its independent jurisdiction and enrolled itself under the General Grand Chapter, which body continued until 1831, and having ceased her operations by not meeting and electing officers, as required by the General Grand Constitution, it ceased to exist. All the existing subordinate chapters came immediately under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, which alone had legal authority over the jurisdiction thus vacated, as by Article 2, Section 2, of the General Grand Constitution. The deceased Grand Chapter could only be revived by Article 2. Section 9.

The committee recommended and which was unanimously adopted: That Holland Chapter, No. 9, be directed to resume its labors under the direction of its former officers and members, with power to fill existing vacancies, and that it be required to make its annual returns, and settle its dues with the General Grand Secretary.[1]

In the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for 1847 we find in a report on Holland Chapter, No. 9, "that the Charter of said Chapter has been either lost or stolen; and that the dispensation under which it has been working for the past year expires by the terms of its own limitation with the present session of this General Grand Chapter. They therefore respectfully recommend that the General Grand Secretary be authorized to execute a new Charter, to take the place of that which has been lost, etc., which was accepted."[2]

The General Grand Chapter at this session "*Resolved*, That there is not at this time any constitutional and legally authorized Grand Royal Arch Chapter in the State of Louisiana.

"*Resolved*, That the Association holding its meetings in the City of New Orleans, and assuming to exercise the functions and authority of a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons is an irregular and unauthorized Masonic body; and it is hereby disowned, and repudiated as spurious, clandestine, and illegal."

Masonic intercourse, public and private, was interdicted, and

[1] Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter from 1798 to 1856, pp. 193-195.

[2] Ibid., pp. 218, 219.

due notice of these resolutions was to be forwarded to the acting Secretary of said body by the General Grand Secretary.[1]

The Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported at this session, September 14, 1847, that since the session of 1844 he had issued dispensations to the following bodies in Louisiana: New Era, No. 2; Red River, No. 3; East Feliciana,[2] No. 4. No dates given. He had also issued a dispensation to Holland Chapter, No. 1, at New Orleans, to continue work until the present session,[3] April 7, 1845, and a new Charter recommended, which was done as above stated. When the Charter to East Feliciana, No. 4, was granted, by request of the chapter the name and place were changed to Clinton, to be located at Clinton.[4] At the same time charters were granted to New Era, No. 2, at New Orleans; Red River, No. 3, at Shreveport; viz.: September 15, 1847.

At the fourteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, September 10, 1850, a committee reported that "on the personal knowledge of one of their own members who represents that State (Louisiana) in this Body, that those difficulties are now adjusted, and that the different Grand Bodies of that State, in all degrees of Masonry, are now united as one in that harmony without which our Order can not exist."[5]

At this session (1850) the General Grand King reported "that he had authorized Holland Chapter, No. 1; New Era Chapter, No. 2; Red River Chapter, No. 3, and Clinton Chapter, No. 4, in the State of Louisiana, to organize and establish a Grand Chapter for that State; which they did in the City of New Orleans, on 1st day of May, 1848."[6]

Maine.

As the territory occupied by Maine was a part of Massachusetts until it was made a State in 1820, the Grand Chapter of Massachusetts granted a Warrant of Constitution to organize a chapter in Portland, Me., February 13, 1805. The same Grand Chapter issued dispensations, December 17, 1819, to Montgomery, at Bath, and to New Jerusalem, at Wiscasset; on December 29, 1819, to Jerusalem Chapter, in Hollo well. Henry Fowle, Deputy Grand High-Priest, constituted these three chapters, respectively, July 18,

[1] Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter from 1798 to 1856, p. 128.
[2] Ibid., p. 209. [3] Ibid., 209. [4] Ibid., 225. [5] Ibid., p. 248. [6] Ibid., p. 253.

19, and 21, 1820, which was reported by him to James Prescott, Grand High-Priest.

These three chapters, with Mt. Vernon Chapter, of Portland, met in convention in Portland, 1820, and adopted the constitution of the Grand Chapter of Massachusetts provisionally, and the Grand Chapter Officers were chosen and organized and constituted the Grand Chapter of Maine.[1]

The first reference to Royal Masonry in Maine by the General Grand Chapter is found in the proceedings for the triennial meeting, September 15, 1826,[2] when the committee reported the legal constitution of the Grand Chapter, and by resolution adopted, that Grand Chapter was recognized and received under the authority and sanction of the General Grand Chapter.

This Grand Chapter had the honor of having two of her Members selected as General Grand Officers in the General Grand Chapter of the United States, viz.: Robert P. Dunlap, General Grand High-Priest for three terms, in 1847, 1850, and 1853, and Josiah H. Drummond, General Grand High-Priest in 1871.

Maryland.

A circular letter from Concordia Chapter in Baltimore was issued to all the chapters in Baltimore and the "Encampment of Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch" (in the District of Columbia), inviting them to send representatives to a convention to be held in the city of Washington, January 21, 1807, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Grand Chapter for the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Those chapters in Baltimore which met in this convention were Washington, Concordia, and St. John's.

We find from Compn. Edward T. Schultz's *History of Capitular Masonry in Maryland* that "Undoubtedly [Washington Chapter] was the Royal Arch Chapter of Jerusalem, instituted in 1787 by virtue of the dispensation or warrant of Lodge No. 7, Royal Arch Chapter of Jerusalem, at Chestertown, and was attached to Lodge No. 15, now Washington Lodge, No. 3." This chapter finally was merged with Concordia in 1822.

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[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 616.
[2] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1826, p. 82.

Companion Schultz informs us:[1] "It is probable that Royal Arch Chapters were attached to most of the active Lodges in the State. Hiram Lodge, No. 27, at Port Tobacco, as we have seen, resolved to open a 'Royal Arch Chapter.' There is evidence to show that *more* than one dispensation was granted in the year 1797. Brother David Kerr was at the time Grand Master, and by virtue of the power and control of the Royal Arch Degree, believed to be inherent in Grand Masters, issued his dispensations for the formation of these *several Chapters* which then, in connection with the Chapter attached to Washington Lodge, formed, June 24, 1897, the first Independent Grand Chapter in the United States. The Grand Chapter claimed to have been organized in 1796 in Pennsylvania, was an appendage to the Grand Lodge of that State, and did not become independent until the year 1824."

In the above statement of Companion Schultz we heartily concur. The Grand Chapter of 1797 in Maryland became dormant in 1803, and was revived in 1807, according to documents shown in Companion Schultz's history.[2]

A Grand Royal Arch Convention was held by the H. Royal Arch Chapters in the State of Maryland and District of Columbia in the city of Washington on January 21, 1807. Washington, Concordia, and St. John's chapters of Baltimore, Federal and Washington Naval of Washington City and Potomac Chapter of Georgetown of the District of Columbia were present by their representatives. This Convention resolved unanimously to organize a Grand Chapter for the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia. They elected the Grand Officers, and opened the Grand Chapter in ample form. A committee was appointed to frame a constitution, which reported, and their report was unanimously adopted.

The degrees recognized by this Grand Chapter were Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch.

We make the following extract from Companion Schultz's *Freemasonry in Maryland:*[3]

"Since the finding of these books (old Records), documents have been brought to light, which in connection with them throw much light upon the early history of the Grand R. A. Chapter of Maryland, and the District of Columbia, which as it will be seen

[1] "History of Capitular Masonry in Maryland," pp. 321, 322, 323.
[2] Ibid. [3] Vol. i., pp. 317, 318.

was the title of the body subsequently formed by the representatives of the chapters in Baltimore and Washington."

The great care, diligence, and indefatigable zeal of Companion Schultz manifested in his history, deserve especial mention by all succeeding historians of Masonry, for his valuable additions to the ancient history of Masonry in Maryland in all the branches—and we continue our extracts:

"Some months since we learned that the Masonic papers of Philip P. Eckel, which were supposed to have been lost or entirely destroyed, were in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. David J. Bishop, living in this city (Baltimore), and who has since most kindly placed them at our disposal. These papers were found to be of great interest as they disclosed the existence of Masonic bodies held in Baltimore prior to the year 1800, that were not previously known or mentioned by any Masonic writer."

Brother Eckel was perhaps the most active and zealous Mason that ever lived in this jurisdiction; there is scarcely a record or document existing in this State, from about 1792 to 1828, that does not mention his name in some capacity. Mackey says: "He was one of the most distinguished and enlightened Masons of his day;" and we add to this that he was evidently an "Inspector General" of the A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite. Companion Schultz furnishes *facsimile* copies of several of the documents referred to, and to prove that a Grand Chapter existed in Baltimore is such a copy of a "dispensation" from David Kerr, Grand High-Priest, to Philip P. Eckel as High-Priest, to assemble a sufficient number of Companions to open and hold a chapter of Royal Arch Masons, etc., in Baltimore, which was to continue in force until June 20, 1797. This dispensation is dated May 8, 1797.

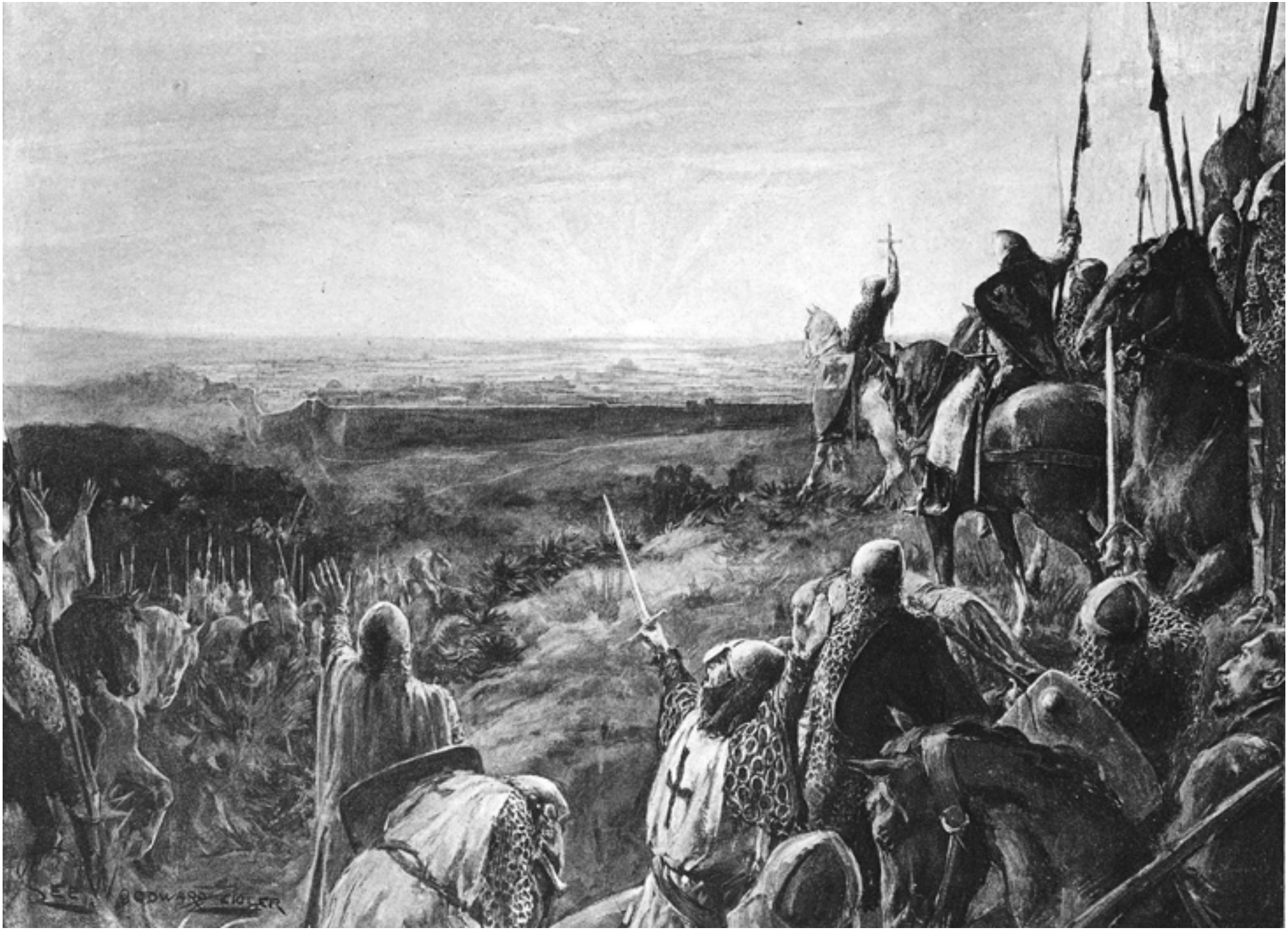
No further records or documents of any description have been discovered in reference to the Grand Chapter organized in 1807, and the reorganization which occurred in the year 1814. On May 9th of that year delegates from Chapters Nos. 1, 2, and 3 met in the city of Baltimore, when a constitution for the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Maryland and District of Columbia was adopted and Grand Officers elected.[1]

This Grand Chapter continued with above title until the withdrawal of the chapters located in the District of Columbia, except

[1]Schultz's "History of Maryland," vol. i., p. 325.

FIRST VIEW OF JERUSALEM BY THE CRUSADERS FROM THE HILL OF EMMAUS, JUNE 10, l099

Jerusalem!! Jerusalem!! It is the Will of God!!! It is the Will of God!!!


EDWARD KIOLER

Potomac, No. 8, at Georgetown, which elected to remain under the jurisdiction of Maryland. This severance was done by the authority of the General Grand Chapter, August 30, 1822.[1]

After this the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia ceased to exist, the chapters in Washington City and Alexandria had no Grand Head until 1841, when steps were taken to place the chapters in the District of Columbia under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of Maryland.[2] This condition continued until May 7, 1867, when the three chapters in the District of Columbia which were under the jurisdiction of Maryland and District of Columbia, viz.: Columbia, Washington, and Mount Vernon, were duly organized, and constituted the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia.

That this was regularly and lawfully accomplished, we refer to the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for 1865. The following was referred to a committee:

"*Resolved*, That the Royal Arch Chapters in the District of Columbia or any three of them, are hereby authorized to establish a Grand Chapter for the District of Columbia; and whenever such Grand Chapter shall be organized, the jurisdiction now exercised over the chapters taking part in the same, by the Grand Chapter of Maryland, shall cease."[3] That committee reported in 1868, and the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia was sustained.

Massachusetts.

The Royal Arch Chapter of St. Andrew's was one of the three original chapters which met in convention in Boston, October 24, 1797, and issued the "Circular," which invited the assembling of a convention in Hartford, Ct., January 24, 1798, "to form and open a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, and to establish a Constitution for the government and regulation of all the chapters that now are or may be hereafter erected within the said States."[4]

The first notice of conferring the Royal Arch degree which we find was August 28, 1769, in St. Andrew's Chapter, called "Royal Arch Lodge," under the sanction of St. Andrew's Lodge Charter, No. 82, under the Registry of Scotland.

From August 12, 1769, until 1788, the title "Royal Arch Master" was employed.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1826, p. 77.

[2] Ibid., 1841, p. 161; 1842, p. 181 . [3] Ibid., 1865, p. 31. [4] "Compendium," p. 7,

Michigan.

At the fifth regular meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 9, 1819, the committee reported that the General Grand High-Priest had granted a dispensation to Monroe Chapter, No. 1, at Detroit, December 3, 1818.[1]

At the twelfth meeting of the General Grand Chapter a dispensation was reported as having been granted, by the Dep. General Grand High-Priest, May 16, 1844, to St. Joseph's Valley Chapter, No. 2, at Niles.[2] Also the same officer reported, at the thirteenth meeting, held September 14, 1847, that a dispensation had been granted (without date) to Jackson Chapter, No. 3, in Jackson.[3]

A Charter was granted to Monroe Chapter, No. 1, September 11, 1819;[4] and at the session of September 14, 1847, a Charter was granted to St. Joseph's Valley, No. 2;[5] and September 16, 1847, to Jackson Chapter, No. 3,[6] by vote of the General Grand Chapter. The General Grand Scribe, in January, 1848,[7] authorized the chapters in Michigan to meet and organize a Grand Chapter for the State.

Minnesota,

The first notice of Royal Arch Masonry, in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter, we find at the fifteenth meeting, held September 17, 1853, when the committee reported that "a number of companions at St. Paul, Minn., have petitioned the General Grand King for a dispensation," and recommended a dispensation to be issued by the present Deputy General Grand High-Priest.[8]

At the triennial session, September 11, 1856, a Charter was granted.[9] Dispensations were issued by the General Grand High-Priest to the following chapters: Vermillion, No. 2, in Hastings, June 20, 1857; St. Anthony Falls, No. 3, in St. Anthony, January 5, 1858. On September 14, 1859, charters were granted to these.

A convention was held, by authority of Compn. Albert G. Mackey, General Grand High-Priest, dated December 1, 1859, in St. Paul. December 17, 1859, a constitution was adopted and the Grand Chapter of Minnesota was regularly organized.

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[1] "Compendium," p. 60. [2] Ibid., p. 182. [3] Ibid., p. 209.
[4] Ibid., p. 60. [5] Ibid., p. 209. [6] Ibid., p. 225. [7] Ibid., p. 254.
[8] Proceedings, 1853, p. 320. [9] Ibid., 1856, p. 373.

Mississippi.

At the sixth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 14, 1826, the General Grand High-Priest reported having issued a dispensation to a chapter at Port Gibson, Miss. On the 15th, at the same meeting, a Charter was granted.[1]

September 14, 1841, it was reported that a dispensation was issued to Vicksburg Chapter, June 17, 1840; and a Charter was granted September 17, 1841. At the twelfth session, September 10, 1844,[2] the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported having issued dispensations to chapters in Mississippi as follows, viz.: to Columbus Chapter, February 7, 1842; and to Jackson, August 28, 1843. The General Grand High-Priest reported having issued a dispensation to a chapter at Holly Springs, October 30, 1841.[3] At the thirteenth session, September 14, 1847, the General Deputy Grand High-Priest reported that he had authorized the consecration of three chapters in Mississippi since the session of 1844, for which charters had been ordered at that time, viz.: Columbus Chapter, at Columbus; Jackson Chapter, at Jackson; and Wilson Chapter, at Holly Springs.[4] He also reported having issued two dispensations to organize chapters: Carrollton Chapter, No. 7, at Carrollton; and Yazoo Chapter, No. 8, in Yazoo County.[5]

In compliance with a petition from the chapters in Mississippi, the General Deputy Grand High-Priest reported that, March 12
1846, he had granted permission for those chapters to form a Grand Chapter for that State; and he had been officially notified that the Grand Chapter had been duly organized, May 18, 1846.[6]

Missouri.

At the regular meeting of the General Grand Chapter (September 11, 1819) it was reported that the Grand High-Priest had granted a dispensation to form a chapter in Missouri Territory, at St. Louis, on April 3, 1819,[7] and a Warrant was granted, September 16, 1826,[8] at the sixth meeting.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1798-1856, p. 89.
[2] Ibid., p. 163.
[3] Ibid., p. 78.
[4] Ibid., p. 209.
[5] Ibid., p. 209.
[4] Ibid., p. 210.
[7] Ibid., p. 56.
[8] Ibid.,p. 83.

At the tenth meeting, September 14, 1838, the General Grand Scribe reported that a dispensation had been issued for a Charter to Palmyra Chapter, No. 2[1] (no date given). The committee recommended a Charter to be issued whenever the provisions of the constitution should have been complied with. A Charter, however, was not given by the General Grand Chapter, but after the formation of the Grand Chapter of Missouri, it was given October 16,

1847.

At the twelfth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 10, 1844,[2] the Deputy General Grand High-Priest reported having issued dispensations to Liberty Chapter, No. 3, at Liberty, February 7, 1842; one to Weston Chapter, No. 4, at Weston, January 17, 1843; and one to Booneville Chapter, No. 6, at Booneville, March 3, 1843; one to La Fayette Chapter, No. 5, September 11, 1844. Charters were ordered to all chapters reported by the committee, viz.: Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6.[3]

At the thirteenth meeting, held September 14, 1847, it was reported by the Deputy General Grand High-Priest that since the session of 1844 he had issued a dispensation to consecrate Booneville Chapter, No. 6, and he had issued dispensations to organize St. Louis Chapter, No. 8, at St. Louis, and Hannibal Chapter, No. 7, at Hannibal, Mo. On September 17, 1847, charters were ordered to be issued to Hannibal, No. 7, and St. Louis, No. 8.[4]

The convention to organize a Grand Chapter for the State of Missouri met in St. Louis, October 16, 1846, and the delegates of Chapters Nos. 1. 2. 5, and 6 were present, and did organize the Grand Chapter.

In the report of the General Grand Secretary of the General Grand Chapter, at the thirteenth meeting, held September 14, 1847, he states:

"In the month of November, 1846, I received notice of the formation of a Grand Chapter for the State of Missouri, purporting to be by authority from the General Grand Officers. This, however, was an error; and on being informed by me that there had been no such authority given, it is believed no further proceedings have been had in the matter."[5]

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1798-1856, p. 153.
[2] Ibid., p. 181.
[3] Ibid., p. 185.
[4] Ibid., p. 232.
[5] Ibid., p. 206.

We find the following minute in the proceedings of that day:

"To the General Grand Chapter:

"The Committee to whom was referred the action of the Grand Chapter of Missouri, have had the same under consideration, and respectfully report

"That the Grand Chapter of Missouri was formed, as we think, by the Chapters thereof in good faith, believing that they were fully authorized to do so, from conversations and correspondence with the Comp. General Grand Secretary. Your Committee, however, believe that this organization was not strictly in conformity with the Constitution of this General Grand Chapter; therefore,

"*Resolved,* That all irregularities be removed, and that said Grand Chapter of Missouri be fully recognized, and that its representatives be invited to seats in this General Grand Chapter."[1]

Compn. J. W. S. Mitchell, of the Grand Chapter of Missouri, offered the following:

"*Resolved,* That the Chapters working by dispensation under this jurisdiction in Missouri be, and they are, required to pay dues to this General Grand Chapter up to the period when a Grand Chapter was organized in the said State of Missouri, viz.: October, 1846,"[2] which was adopted.

Montana.

The organization of the Grand Chapter of Montana, at Helena, June 25, 1891, was consummated in accordance with a call of the chapters and a Warrant which had been issued by the General Grand High-Priest, Companion David F. Day.

The chapters constituting the Grand Chapter were:

	Dispensation.	Charter.
Virginia City, No. 1, at Virginia City,	July 14, 1866,	December 18, 1868.
Helena, No. 2, at Helena,	December, 1867,	December 18, 1868.
Deer Lodge, No. 3, at Butte City,	October 10, 1874,	November 25, 1874.
Valley, No. 4, at Deer City,	July 22, 1880,	August 27, 1880.
Yellow Stone, No. 5, at Miles City,	January 2, 1886,	October 1, 1886.
Billings, No. 6, at Billings,	May 6, 1886,	October 1, 1886.
Livingston, No. 7, at Livingston,	July 15, 1886,	October 1, 1886.
Dillon, No. 8, at Dillon,	January 15, 1887,	November 22, 1889.
Great Falls, No. 9, at Great Falls,	March 13, 1889,	November 22, 1889.

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1798-1856, p. 219.

[2] Ibid., p. 231.

Nebraska.

At the triennial communication of the General Grand Chapter, held September 8, 1865, the General Grand King reported:

"On the 21st day of November, 1859, I granted to sundry-Companions at the City of Omaha, in Nebraska Territory, a dispensation to form and open a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons at that place, to be called Omaha Chapter, No. 1." He also reported having issued a dispensation, January 25, 1860, to Keystone Chapter, No. 2, at Nebraska City. Also that on July 13, 1864, a dispensation had been granted to Nebraska Chapter, No. 3, at Plattsmouth.[1] On the same day (September 8, 1865) charters were granted to all three of the above chapters.[2]

By permission of the Deputy General Grand High-Priest a convention was held, March 19, 1867, and the Grand Chapter of Nebraska was regularly organized.

Nevada.

At the triennial of the General Grand Chapter, held September 8, 1865, the General Grand High-Priest reported having issued a dispensation, in May, 1863, to "Lewis Chapter," at Carson City, Nevada, which name was a compliment to himself[3] (John L. Lewis). This chapter received the Charter, dated September 8, 1865.[4] A dispensation was issued to Virginia Chapter, at Virginia City.[5] From the report, in the proceedings, it is very uncertain when the dispensation was issued. The Charter was ordered September 18, 1868. A dispensation was granted to Austin Chapter, at Austin, October, 1866, and a Charter, September 18, 1868. A dispensation was issued to White Pine Chapter, at Hamilton, January 10, 1871; and a Charter, September 20, 1871.[6]

A convention of these four chapters was held by authority of the General Grand High-Priest, November 18, 1873.

From the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for November 21, 1874, we see in the report of the General Grand Secretary that a dispensation had been issued to St. John's Chapter, at Eureka, April 26, 1873; and also to Keystone Chapter, at Pioche,

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1865, p. 25. [2] Ibid., p. 31.
[3] Ibid., p. 23. [4] Ibid., p. 31. [5] Ibid., p. 23. [6] Ibid., 1871, p. 33.

June 12, 1873.[1] The General Grand Secretary says: "The Chapters organized U.·.D.·. in Nevada, made returns and paid dues to date of the organization of the Grand Chapter of Nevada, of which they became components, in accordance with a custom hitherto approved by the General Grand Chapter."[2]

New Hampshire.

In the session of the General Grand Chapter of the United States, held June 6, 1816, we find that the General Grand King reported that he had granted warrants or charters for St. Andrew's Chapter at Hanover, January 27, 1817; Trinity Chapel, at Hopkinton, February 16, 1807; Washington Chapter, in Portsmouth, November, 1815; Cheshire Chapter, at Keene, May 4, 1816;[3] and at this session the warrants were confirmed June 7, 1816.[4]

The Grand Chapter of New Hampshire was organized on June 10, 1819, and the General Grand Chapter was duly notified by John Harris, of New Hampshire, August 21, 1819, and the Grand Chapter was recognized by the General Grand Chapter at the session held September 9, 1819.[5] The General Grand High-Priest issued a Warrant to Union Mark Lodge, No. 1, in Claremont, July 3, 1818,[6] which subsequently passed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of New Hampshire.

New Jersey.

The first official notice we find of the introduction of capitular Masonry in New Jersey, is in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter for June 6, 1816. The General Grand Scribe had granted a Warrant or Charter to Washington Chapter, Newark, May 26, 1813; to Cincinnati Mark Lodge, No. 1, Hanover, April, 1811; and to Union Mark Lodge, No. 2, Orange.[7]

At the triennial meeting, held September 16, 1826, the report of the General Grand High-Priest stated that a dispensation had been granted by him to Franklin Chapter, No. 3, and a Charter was granted.[8]

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[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1874, p. 41. [2] Ibid., p. 41.

[3] There were no meetings of General Grand Chapter between 1806 and 1816.

[4] "Compendium," fifth meeting of General Grand Chapter of United States, p. 56.

[5] Ibid., p. 55. [6] Ibid., p. 60.

[7] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter for 1797 to 1856, p. 45. [8] Ibid., p. 78.

A special committee reported September 10th that a Charter had been granted to the State of New Jersey, enabling the respective chapters therein to form and hold a Grand Chapter in the said State, by the Most Excellent General Grand High-Priest.[1]

At the triennial session, September 10, 1819, a communication from a Companion from the State of New Jersey on the subject of forming a Grand Chapter being referred to a committee, they reported, that it appears that there are two chapters in the State of New Jersey under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, and one under the authority of the State of Pennsylvania, which does not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter. The committee were of the opinion that a Grand Chapter could not be formed until there were three chapters acknowledging the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, which was accepted by that body.[2]

A dispensation was granted, September 23, 1854, to Enterprise Chapter, No. 2, at Jersey City,[3] and which was reported at the triennial meeting, September 9, 1856, and February 23, 1856, a dispensation was issued by the General Grand High-Priest to Boudinot Chapter, No. 5, at Burlington.

It was reported by the committee:

"Union Chapter, No. 1, Newark, is the only regularly Chartered Chapter now immediately subordinate to this General Grand Chapter.[4] The following chapters have been working under dispensations from the General Grand Officers from the dates of their dispensations to this time, viz.: Enterprise, No. 2, Jersey City; and Boudinot, No. 5, Burlington.[5] Hiram Chapter, No. 4, Eatontown, having been recognized by the General Grand High-Priest as heretofore stated, now stands a regular subordinate on the register of this General Grand Chapter."[6]

We find nothing said subsequently of the Grand Chapter of New Jersey. A resolution was adopted in the General Grand Chapter at its session, September 17, 1841, that Hiram Chapter at Trenton be advised to place itself under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of the State of New York, and that said Grand Chapter be advised to legalize the proceedings of Hiram Chapter subsequent to the dissolution of the Grand Chapter of New Jersey.[7]

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[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1797-1856, pp. 77, 82. [2] Ibid., p. 54.
[3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] Ibid., p. 365. [5] Ibid., p. 365. [6] Ibid., p. 365. [7] Ibid., p. 168.

The Deputy General Grand High-Priest issued a dispensation to Union Chapter, No. 1, for Newark, March 13, 1848, and reported the same at the triennial held September 10, 1850, and also to Newark Chapter, No. 2, March 20, 1848;[1] both of these had charters granted September 12, 1850.[2]

The General Grand Secretary reported at the session held September 13, 1853, viz.: "On the 23d of december I received from the Deputy General Grand High-Priest a letter from the High-Priest of Newark Chapter, stating the loss of the Charter of said Chapter; which letter was endorsed by Comp. Stapleton, advising the issuing of a dispensation enabling the Chapter to continue its work; which dispensation was issued by the General Grand High-Priest."[3]

It appears, however, that subsequently, September 17, 1853, Newark, No. 2 was merged into Union Chapter.

The peculiar condition of Royal Arch Masonry in New Jersey continued for some considerable length of time, and was not satisfactorily settled until the organization of the Grand Chapter, February 13, 1857.

Hiram Chapter, which, as above shown, was transferred to the jurisdiction of New York Grand Chapter, by the resolution of the General Grand Chapter, September 17, 1841, again desired to be under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter; and in July, 1853, requested of the Grand Chapter of New York to be transferred thereto. At the triennial of the General Grand Chapter, the report of the General Grand Secretary shows: "Upon examining the papers which came into my possession at our last triennial meeting, after the adjournment, I found among them a petition from the officers and members of Hiram Chapter, No. 4, Eatontown, New Jersey, directed to the General Grand Chapter, dated February 3, 1852, setting forth that, that Chapter was, many years before, chartered by the Grand Chapter of New Jersey, and continued to work under said Charter, so long as that Grand Chapter was in existence. That it was then 'taken under the fostering care of the Grand Chapter of New York, to which it had ever since been subservient,' and praying to be acknowledged and registered as one of the subordinates of this General Grand Chapter. To the

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1797-1856, p. 250.
[2] Ibid., p. 257. [3] Ibid., p. 293.

petition was appended full power from the Grand Chapter of New York to the petitioner to transfer their allegiance from the Grand Chapter of New York to this General Grand Chapter. That petition seems, from the endorsement upon it, in the hand writing of Compn. Swigert, who acted as my assistant, to have been referred to the Committee on Chapters and Dispensations. It is not mentioned in the proceedings."[1] A correspondence ensued between the High-Priest of Hiram Chapter and the General Grand High-Priest Hon. R. P. Dunlap, who finally directed the General Grand Secretary to register Hiram Chapter on the roll of chapters subordinate to the General Grand Chapter, which was done November 14, 1854, and the High-Priest George Finch was duly notified thereof, and thereafter the returns were regularly made as a subordinate chapter to the General Grand Body.[2] A Charter was ordered for Hiram Chapter, September 11, 1856.[3]

The following chapters applied to the General Grand High-Priest for his consent to organize a Grand Chapter, viz.: Newark Chapter, No. 2; Hiram Chapter, No. 4, and Boudinot Chapter, No. 5. This approval was dated January 24, 1857, and the Grand Chapter was regularly organized February 13, 1857.

New York.

It is very well settled that the Royal Arch degree was conferred in that jurisdiction under lodge charters, as it was elsewhere in the colonies, and prior to the formation of the Grand Chapter for the New England States and New York in 1798.

A Warrant was issued by the Duke of Athol, September 5, 1781, making Rev. William Walter the Provincial Grand Master, authorizing him to form a Provincial Grand Lodge in the city of New York. The first meeting of this provincial body was held December 5, 1782. At that date nine lodges existed in the city, and there were six military lodges of the British Army. It is supposed by some writers, and probably it was correct, that Washington Chapter, of New York, styled the "Mother Chapter," originated in the above-mentioned Provincial Grand Lodge. The early records of Washington Chapter were destroyed by fire in New York, con-

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter for 1797 to 1856, p. 361.
[2] Ibid., 1856, p. 361. [3] Ibid., 1856, p. 373.

sequently its origin is unknown. It, however, granted warrants for other chapters through a number of years, Hiram Chapter in Newtown, Ct., dated April 29, 1791, being the first one now known.

The following chapters assembled in convention in Albany, March 14, 1798, and organized and established a Deputy Grand Chapter subordinate to the Grand Chapter of the Northern States for the State of New York, viz.: Hudson, of Hudson, instituted in 1796; Temple, of Albany, instituted February 14, 1799; Horeb, of Whitestown; Hibernian, of New York City; and Montgomery, of Stillwater; dates of these three not known. Comp. Thomas Frothingham was elected Chairman and Comp. Sebastian Vischer, Secretary. The constitution was read by Compn. Thomas Smith Webb, and Compn. De Witt Clinton was elected Deputy Grand High-Priest; John Hammer, Dep. Grand Secretary.

From the first, warrants were issued to organize Mark lodges and chapters, and prosperity attended the Royal Craft. Thirty-three chapters and three Mark lodges were represented in the Grand Chapter in 1820. The chapters increased to fifty-three in 1829, and sixty-one were represented in 1853; while in 1839 and 1840, following the Morgan affair, about thirteen only were reported.

As New York is the most populous State in the Union, so also does Masonry take the lead as to numbers in all the branches in Masonry.

The General Grand Chapter met in the city of New York in 1816, 1819, 1826, 1829, and 1841. De Witt Clinton served as General Grand High-Priest from 1816 to 1826; Edward Livingston, 1829 to 1835; John L. Lewis in 1865, and James M. Austin in 1868.

At the meeting of the Grand Chapter of the Northern States, held January 10, 1799, Section 1 of Article I. of the Constitution was changed, and that body assumed the title of General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons for the six Northern States of America enumerated in the preamble.[1] The State organizations were, by Article IL, Section 1, required to drop the prefix "Deputy," and were designated as "Grand Chapters."

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1797 to 1856, p. 19, and at p. 10 at session, January 26, 1798. The six are enumerated in the preamble and New York is also added.

North Carolina.

At the thirteenth meeting of the General Grand Chapter of the United States, held September 14, 1847, in the city of Columbus, O., we find the following report of the General Grand Secretary, viz.:

"In the State of North Carolina there is no Grand Chapter. The time was when such an institution existed there as a constituent of the General Grand Chapter; but it is believed that it ceased to exist about twenty years ago. There are said to be Chapters at Halifax, Tarborough, Fayetteville, and Wilmington; but they are not in correspondence with the General Grand Chapter, although some of them, if not all, were instituted under its immediate jurisdiction."

. . . . . .

"*Note.*—Since the foregoing was written I have received a printed copy of the Minutes of a Convention of delegates from the several chapters, by which it appears a Grand Chapter has been reorganized for the State of North Carolina. Whether this organization be in strict compliance with the Constitution or not, there can be no doubt it was the intention of the chapters so to do, as the whole proceeding seems to be with a view of regaining their former position in the Confederation."

We have carefully referred to the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter, from the thirteenth meeting in 1847 back to the commencement of 1797, and find that the first notice of a chapter in North Carolina was at the fourth meeting, June 6, 1816, being a special in consequence of a lapse in 1813, reported when a Charter was to have been issued to Concord Chapter, at Wilmington, May 4, 1815, by the General Grand King. He had also issued a Charter to Phoenix Chapter, at Fayetteville, September 1, 1815.[1]

We found also that at the sixth meeting, held September 14, 1826,[2] the Deputy General Grand High-Priest, Compn. Fowle, had granted a Warrant to Wadesborough Chapter, at Wadesborough, in 1822 (no date given). At this meeting there was no delegate present from North Carolina. When the "Memorial" of the Grand Chapter of Kentucky was presented to the General Grand Chapter

[1] "Compendium," p. 46.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

at its sixth meeting, September 14, 1826, asking for a dissolution of the latter body, it was referred to a committee, and at the same meeting the committee reported the answers of all the Grand Chapters, and North Carolina is stated as concurring with the Kentucky Grand Chapter's resolution.[1] At the meeting of the General Grand Chapter (September 14, 1847) above referred to, the matter concerning a Grand Chapter in North Carolina being referred to a committee, the following report was made:

"That they have had the same under consideration and find their proceedings to be regular. They assembled as appears by their printed proceedings, on the 28th of June, 1847; three chapters were represented; they proceeded to elect Officers and adopt a Constitution; in which, however, your committee would remark there appear to be several unconstitutional articles or sections, and we would respectfully recommend that the Grand Chapter of North Carolina be recognized as a legal Grand Chapter on their altering and amending their constitution to conform to that of this General Grand Chapter in the following particulars noted by your committee[2] (omitted). Which recommendation was adopted." So that the Grand Chapter of North Carolina was legally authorized September 16, 1847.

At the fourteenth triennial session, September 15, 1850, Companion L. L. Stephenson was present as proxy for the Grand High-Priest.[3]

North Dakota.

After the chapters located in South Dakota, by consent of the Grand Chapter of Dakota, on January 6, 1890, had organized their Grand Chapter, on January 9th following, the representatives of Missouri, No. 6, at Bismarck; Casselton, No. 7, at Casselton; Cheyenne, No. 9, at Valley City; Keystone, No. 11, at Fargo; Jamestown, No. 13, at Jamestown; Lisbon, No. 29, at Lisbon, met in convention, and were constituted, by Companion Theodore S. Parvin, by authority of a dispensation from the General Grand High-Priest, Noble D. Larner, and the Grand Chapter of North Dakota was organized in ample form with the following constituent chapters: Missouri, No. 1, at Bismarck; Casselton, No. 2, at

[1] "Compendium," p. 70. [2] Ibid., p, 155. [3] Ibid., p. 175.

Casselton; Corinthian, No. 3, at Grand Forks; Cheyenne, No. 4, at Valley City; Keystone, No. 5, at Fargo; Jamestown, No. 6, at Jamestown; Lisbon, No. 7, at Lisbon.

The first annual convocation was held at Grand Forks, June 18, 1890. The membership reported of the seven chapters was three hundred and fifty-five.

Ohio.

The very first notice of Royal Arch Masonry in Ohio is found in the proceedings of the fourth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held June 6, 1816, where it is reported that the General Grand Scribe had granted a Warrant or dispensation to Washington Chapter at Chillicothe, O., September 20, 1815,[1] which was confirmed on June 7, 1816.[2] The Committee on Examination of Credentials reported:

"On examination it appears that American Union Chapter, of Marietta, originated in the year 1792; that Cincinnati Chapter existed prior to the 27th of January, 1798; that Horeb Chapter had authority from the Deputy Grand High-Priest of the State of Maryland and District of Columbia dated 8th March, 1815, which Grand Chapter is in connection with the General Grand Chapter of the United States."[3]

Cincinnati Chapter started the effort to form a Grand Chapter by sending an invitation to the other chapters to meet at Worthington, October 21, 1816; and on the 24th of that month the Grand Chapter was regularly organized. The chapters constituting the Grand Chapter were: American Union, No. 1; Cincinnati, No. 2; Horeb, No. 3; Washington, No. 4.

At the fifth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held September 9, 1819, it was "*Voted*, That the Grand Chapter of Ohio be now received into the Union of the State Grand Chapters, under the jurisdiction of this General Grand Chapter."[4]

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[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1797-1856, p. 45.

[2] Ibid., p. 45.

[3] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 626. The above quotation is taken from the history of the "Capitular degrees," by Comp. Alfred F. Chapman, who stated: "On the second day of the Meeting a Committee was appointed to examine the Credentials and reported as follows:" viz., the above quotation.

[4] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1797-1856, p. 52.

Pennsylvania.

Grand H. R. A. Chapter.—The first chapter of R. A. Masons formed in Pennsylvania was that working under the Warrant of Lodge No. 3, and its date was anterior to 1758. From that period until the fall of the year 1795 all Royal Arch chapters were attached to subordinate lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. At an Extra Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, held November 17, 1795, "A letter was received and read, signed by Brother Matthias Sadler, as Grand High-Priest of a Grand Royal Arch Chapter, by him said to be established under the several warrants of Lodges No. 19, 52, and 67, held in the city of Philadelphia, and, on motion, the Grand Lodge considering such action irregular, suspended the warrants of the three lodges named until the next Grand Communication. At an adjourned meeting of the Grand Lodge,, held November 23, 1795, the committee appointed on the 17th of same month to take into consideration the action of Lodge 52, etc., reported fully on the matter and offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

" '*Whereas,* The supreme Masonic jurisdiction over all Lodges of Ancient York Masons, held in Pennsylvania, has uniformly been and is duly and legally vested in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania;

" 'And *whereas,* The number of Royal Arch Masons is greatly increased, insomuch that other Chapters are established in this city and in other parts of Pennsylvania;

" 'And *whereas.* It was always contemplated that such Chapters, regularly held, should be under the protection of this Grand Lodge;

" 'And *whereas.* It is the prevailing wish of the Royal Arch Masons within this jurisdiction that a Royal Arch Grand Chapter should be opened under the authority of this Grand Lodge. Be it therefore, and it is hereby resolved, that a Grand Royal Arch Chapter be opened under the immediate sanction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.' "

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge, held March 5, 1798, "Rules and Regulations for the government of the Grand Holy Royal Arch Chapter, held under the protection of, and supported by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, unanimously agreed to and established a Grand Chapter, held in Philadelphia, February 24, 1798," were confirmed.

In the declaration, preceding these rules and regulations, was the following:

"Ancient Masonry consists of four degrees, the three first of which are that of the Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the sublime degree of Master; and a brother being well versed in these degrees, and having discharged the offices of his lodge, particularly that of Master, and fulfilled the duties thereof with the approbation of the brethren of his lodge, is eligible, on due trial and examination by the Chiefs of the Chapter to whom he shall have applied, and by them found worthy of being admitted to the fourth degree, The Holy Royal Arch."

The first of the rules declared:

"That no Chapter of Holy Royal Arch shall be held or convened within the commonwealth of Pennsylvania or Masonic jurisdiction thereunto belonging, but under the authority and sanction of a regular subsisting warrant granted by the Grand Lodge according to the old institutions, and by the consent of said lodge first signified to the Grand Chapter."

Subsequently the degrees of Mark Master and Most Excellent Master were permitted to be conferred (so as to enable Companions of Pennsylvania to enter chapters in other States), but the con. ferring of them was not to be considered as a recognition of them as degrees of Ancient York Masonry.

This state of affairs continued until May 17, 1824, when the dependent Grand Chapter to the Grand Lodge was closed *sine die.* and on the same day, "At a meeting of the Companions of the Holy Royal Arch, convened at the Masonic Hall," it was "*Resolved,* That the Companions now present do organize themselves into a Grand Holy Royal Arch Chapter," and on the 24th of the same month officers were elected, Companion Michael Nisbet being the first Grand High-Priest of the Independent Grand Chapter. and which now controls all the degrees of its sister Grand Chapters, with the exception of that of Past Master, which the Grand Lodge still controls.

The Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania is not a constituent of the General Grand Chapter of the United States.

Rhode Island.

Washington Chapter, "Mother," of New York, gave a Charter to Providence Royal Arch Chapter, September 3, 1793, and was with the other chapters in the organization of the Grand Chapter of Rhode Island, March 12, 1798. This Grand Chapter took part in the organization of the General Grand Chapter[1] and continued therewith until the war period (1861-65), and as the General Grand Chapter's sessions were thereby interrupted, this Grand Chapter, as well as some others, held that in consequence of the non-attendance at the regular sessions, the General Grand Chapter had been dissolved, and the Grand Body remained out of the Union until the session held October 12, 1897, when she again sent her representatives and rejoined the Union.

This action was resolved upon at the ninety-ninth annual convocation of the Grand Chapter of Rhode Island, held March 9, 1897.[2]

South Carolina.

A Warrant was granted by the Grand Chapter of New York, February 1, 1803, to Carolina Chapter, in Charleston.[3] At the third regular meeting of the General Grand Chapter, January 9, 1806, the General Grand Officers reported having granted a Warrant for a chapter at Beaufort, S. C, by the name of Unity Chapter, which was then confirmed.[4] The dispensation for this chapter had been issued March 1, 1805.

In consequence of the war with Great Britain there was no meeting of the General Grand Chapter until 1816, which was the fourth, being a special. At the meeting of 1806 a petition for a chapter in Charleston, by Bryan Sweeny and others, was presented and refused, because it was not recommended by any adjacent chapter.[5]

The Grand Chapter for the State of South Carolina was instituted May 29, 1812. We can not find any reference to the organization of the Grand Chapter of South Carolina in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter; but at the fourth meeting, held

[1] "Compendium of Proceedings General Grand Chapter of United States," p. 8.

[2] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1897, p. 29

[3] Proceedings Grand Chapter of New York in "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 629.

[4] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1806, p. 30.

[5] Ibid., p. 31.

June 6, 1816, Thos. Smith Webb is reported as *proxy* for Wm. Young, the Grand High-Priest, and Foster Burnet as *proxy* for Benj. Phillips, Grand Scribe; therefore, that Grand Chapter was duly recognized as a constituent of the General Grand Chapter. We must presume that during the war period, as was reported to the General Grand Chapter, "the situation of the country was such at that time as to render it highly inconvenient for the General Grand Chapter to convene."[1] This Grand Chapter was also represented at the meetings held in 1826 and 1829, and not again until 1844, and then not until 1859.

During the years 1861 to 1865 that Grand Chapter refused to withdraw its allegiance: "And, by a resolution adopted in 1861, the oaths of office and of initiation have included allegiance to the General Grand Chapter," was stated with pride, in the sessions of 1862-65 by Albert G. Mackey, General Grand High-Priest and Past Grand High-Priest of the Grand Chapter of South Carolina.[2]

South Dakota.

When it was decided by the chapters of Dakota Grand Chapter to organize two Grand Chapters, viz., for North and South Dakota, a convention was held by all the chapters located in South Dakota.

There were present the representatives of the following chapters, viz.: Yankton, No. 1, at Yankton; Aberdeen, No. 14, at Aberdeen; Mitchell, No. 16, at Mitchell; Brookings, No. 18, at Brookings; Orient, No. 19, at Flandreau; Rabboni, No. 23, at Webster. Companion Theodore S. Parvin was present, and by authority of a dispensation issued to him, as Deputy, by General Grand High-Priest Noble D. Larner, which was confirmed by the then General Grand High-Priest David F. Day, he constituted the Grand Chapter of South Dakota in ample form.

Tennessee.

March 2, 1818, the General Grand High-Priest issued a dispensation to Cumberland Chapter, in Nashville, Tenn.,[3] which received a Charter at the session of the General Grand Chapter, September 11, 1819.[4]

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1816, p. 41.
[2] Ibid., 1865, p. 11. [3] Ibid., 1819, p. 60. [4] Ibid., p. 60.

At the meeting held September 15, 1826, it was reported that dispensations had been issued to the following chapters, viz.: Franklin Chapter, at Franklin, March 25, 1824; Clarksville Chapter, at Clarksville, December 11, 1824; LaFayette, at Columbia, January 5, 1825. At the same session charters were ordered to be issued.[1] At the session September 16, 1826, the Grand Chapter of Tennessee was regularly recognized as having been duly organized and constituted,[2] and became a constituent of the General Grand Chapter.

Texas.

At the meeting of the General Grand Chapter, held December 8, 1835, an application was made by Comps. Samuel M. Williams, James H. C. Miller, and others associated with them, for a Charter to constitute a chapter of Royal Arch Masons in Texas.[3] The committee, to whom this was referred, recommended, December 9th, that a Warrant or Charter be issued to them by the name of San Filipe de Austin, Royal Arch Chapter, No. 1.[4]

At the meeting held in 1850, Austin Chapter, No. 6, petitioned to have the name changed to Lone Star, No. 6.

At the meeting of General Grand Chapter, September 14, 1850, the following chapters received charters, the General Grand King having reported that dispensations had been issued to them by him, viz.:

Name.	Dispensation Issued.	Charter Granted.	Place.
Washington Chapter, No. 2.	May 5, 1848	September 12, 1850 ...	Houston.
Jerusalem Chapter, No. 3....	March 10, 1849…...	Dispensation continued	Anderson.
Trinity Chapter, No. 4 ……	March 14, 1848…...	Dispensation continued	Crockett.
Brenham Chapter, No. 5....	April 14, 1849 ……	September 12, 1850 ...	Brenham.
Austin changed to Lone Star Chapter, No. 6.	April 14, 1849	September 12, 1850 ...	Austin.
San Jacinto Chapter, No. 7..	January 22, 1850..	Dispensation continued	Huntsville.
Washington changed to Brazos Chapter, No.8.	No date, 1850 ……	September 13, 1850 ...	Washington.
Rising Star Chapter, No. 9..	February, 1850 …..	September 14, 1850 ...	San Augustine.[5]

Those chapters in the above table having their dispensations continued were recommended and authorized to surrender them,

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1826, p. 78.
[2] Ibid., p. 82. [3] Ibid., 1835, p. 129.
[4] Ibid., p. 133. [5] Ibid., 1850, pp. 252, 257, 258, 268, 272.

and receive charters from the Grand Chapter of that State, if one be organized previous to the next meeting of the General Grand Chapter.

"The First Grand Chapter of the Republic of Texas was formed by a convention of Royal Arch Masons, delegates from San Filipe de Austin Chapter, of Galveston; Cyrus Chapter, of Matagorda; Lone Star Chapter, of Austin, and Rising Star Chapter, of San Augustine. The Convention met in the city of Austin on the 14th of December, 1841."[1]

The Grand Chapter was organized and the constitution adopted. San Filipe de Austin Chapter declined to sign the constitution and withdrew from the convention. The constitution was adopted and ratified on December 21, 1841. It was signed by B. Gillespie, Grand High-Priest, and attested by H. W. Raglin, Grand Secretary. Compn. George Lopas, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Chapter of Texas, in 1895, was instructed to prepare a reprint of the proceedings of the Grand Chapter, which he accomplished, and the valuable results of his labors appear in two beautiful volumes» from which we are enabled to gain all the information as to the condition of capitular Masonry in the State of Texas.

It is probable that no convocation was held in 1842. The proceedings of 1844 to 1849 included, as also the original constitution, were printed and given *verbatim* in the reprint. The Grand Chapter met in 1848, but the proceedings were not printed.

When, "for the sake of peace and harmony among the Craft," this Grand Chapter was dissolved, there were nine chapters, viz.: Cyrus, No. 1, at Matagorda; Lone Star, No. 3, at Austin; Rising Star, No. 4, at San Augustine; Washington, No. 5, at Washington; De Witt Clinton, No. 6, at Clarksville; Jerusalem, No. 7, at Alta Mira (Fanthorp's); Houston, No. 8, at Houston; Brenham, No. 12, at Brenham, and Trinity, No. 13, at Crockett. The compiler, Compn. Lopas, was unable to account for the missing Nos. 2, 9, 10, 11, and was unable to learn of their names or locations.[2]

The chapter San Filipe de Austin, No. 1, to be located at San Filipe de Austin, in consequence of unforeseen events was never opened at that place, but was opened at Galveston, June 2, 1840, four years and a half later. This was reported to the General Grand

[1] "Historical Sketch," by George Lopas, Grand Secretary, 1897, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

Chapter in 1844, and, on September 12th, by a resolution adopted, the removal was approved.[1]

A certain Scotchman, Dugald McFarlane, organized a chapter in Matagorda, in 1837, and named it Cyrus Chapter, having neither Warrant or Charter. Doubts having arisen as to its legality, in 1841, they petitioned the Grand Lodge of the Republic of Texas for a dispensation to open a chapter. A dispensation was issued to them December 10, 1841. At the same time dispensations were also issued to Rising Star Chapter, at San Augustine, and Lone Star Chapter, at Austin.[2]

After the organization of the Grand Chapter they addressed a memorial to the Grand Lodge of Texas, and after setting forth certain reasons therefor, respectfully asked the Grand Lodge "to relinquish and surrender all jurisdiction and control over the Royal Arch Chapters and Royal Arch Masons in the Republic of Texas upon the surrender of the dispensations heretofore granted by your worshipful body."[3]

This was granted by the Grand Lodge of Texas.

All the irregularities of these chapters in Texas in the early years were respectively cured by the action of the General Grand Chapter in the one case of San Filipe de Austin Chapter, and the Grand Lodge of the Republic of Texas as to the other chapters.

The General Grand Chapter, however, did not recognize the Grand Chapter of Texas as having been regularly constituted, as they had not asked permission to organize from that body, and the General Grand Chapter decided to suppress it by mild means. In 1847 they passed a resolution forbidding Royal Arch Masons under that jurisdiction from holding Masonic intercourse with the Grand Chapter of Texas, its subordinates, and those acknowledging its authority.

"At the formation of the Grand Chapter of Texas in the city of Galveston, December 30, 1850, the following chapters were represented: San Filipe de Austin, No. 1, chartered by the General Grand Chapter, December 9, 1835; Washington, No. 2, Brenham, No. 5, and Brazos, No. 8.

"Of the Chapters organized by authority of the General Grand Chapter, all but San Filipe de Austin, No. 1, surrendered their au-

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, p. 191.

[2] "Ruthven's Reprint," p. 101.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 112.

thority from the General Grand Chapter to the Grand Chapter of Texas, and received their charters, dated June 25, 1851, and signed by the Grand Officers elected at the second annual convocation in the town of Huntsville, June 24, 1851."

"San Filipe de Austin, No. 1, never received a charter from the Grand Chapter of Texas until June 22, 1860."

"Many of the Companions who belonged to Chapters under the First Grand Chapter of the Republic of Texas, believing the action of the General Grand Chapter in regard to Royal Arch Masonry in Texas unwarranted and unjust, refused to be 'healed' under the new organization, and were thereby debarred from enjoying the privileges for which they had worked so earnestly and long. Others accepted the situation until such time as they should be able to sever an alliance that was unsought and always distasteful."

"The time came in 1861, when, on the 17th of June, the Grand Chapter adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That all connection between this Grand Chapter and the General Grand Chapter of the United States is dissolved and forever annihilated by the separation of our State from that government."[1]

The Grand Chapter of Texas has steadily refused all overtures from the General Grand Chapter to return to the fold from which she withdrew in 1861. "*Tempus aliit omnia*" (Time cures all things), and we feel assured that, with the passing away of the present generation, with its prejudices, so will pass away that feeling in the Grand Chapter of Texas which now keeps her out of the fold, especially as some of her best members never left the General Grand Body.

Utah.

December 13, 1872, Utah Chapter, No. 1, Salt Lake City, had a dispensation issued, and a Charter was granted November 25, 1874.[2] A dispensation was issued for Ogden Chapter, No. 2, at Ogden, March 11, 1881; and Ontario, No. 3, at Park City, October 26, 1882; and charters to these two were granted August 15, 1883.[3] Utah has no Grand Chapter, and is under the control of the General Grand Chapter.

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[1] "Historical Sketch," p. 7.

[3] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1874, p. 56.

[3] Ibid., 1883, pp. 96, 97.

Vermont.

The first notice of Royal Arch Masonry we have is in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter, at its third regular meeting, held January 9, 1806, where it is stated that a communication from Rutland in the State of Vermont, signed by Nicholas Goddard, Grand Secretary, was presented, informing the General Grand Chapter of the formation of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter in the State of Vermont, etc.[1] At this first day of the meeting the General Grand Chapter, by resolution, admitted the said Grand Chapter of Vermont into union with that body.[2]

From the records of the Grand Chapter of New York we learn that a Warrant for a Mark Master Mason's Lodge was granted at Bennington, January 30, 1799. Also that the Deputy Grand High-Priest issued a dispensation to Jerusalem Chapter, in Vergennes, March 25, 1805; and the Grand Chapter granted it a Charter, February 5, 1806.[3]

A Grand Chapter was organized in Vermont, December 20, 1804, but there is no record to be found when, nor by whom, Royal Arch Masonry was introduced into the State. From the proceedings of the Grand Chapter of New York we also learn that in February, 1805, the matter of the formation of a Grand Chapter in Vermont was under consideration, and it was the opinion that there ought to be at least three regular Royal Arch Chapters to form a Grand Chapter, and also they say that "your Committee have had authentic evidence from respectable sources, that there were but three members at the formation of the aforesaid Grand Chapter."[4]

A protest was made against the effort to form the Grand Chapter; nevertheless we find that the General Grand Chapter did recognize the organization of that Grand Chapter, as above stated.

The last annual convocation was held in 1832, six years after the great anti-Masonic excitement commenced, Compn. Nathan B. Haswell (Blessed be his memory) being then Grand High-Priest, who also was present at the triennial convocation of the General Grand Chapter in 1832. At the session of 1844 Compn. Haswell said:

"At the last triennial meeting of your body in New York I had

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1806, p. 39.
[2] Ibid., p. 29.
[3] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 633.
[4] Ibid., p. 633.

the honor to present a communication giving an account of the state of Masonry in Vermont. In accordance with a duty I owe the fraternity and in behalf of many good and true Masons in my State I have now further to report that nothing has occurred since that period to warrant the resuming of our Masonic labors.

"In no State of our Union has the anti-Masonic spirit gained so strong a foothold as in Vermont. Although she has been divested of the political power that for years worked her curse, still her old leaders continue restless and troublesome; and under the abolition excitement which now pervades the State they still exert a secret influence hostile to our institution, which time, patience, and perseverance can alone conquer.

"Mortifying and unpleasant as it is to be compelled by the continued force of circumstances to suspend our Masonic labors, prudence dictates a course so important to the well-being and future welfare of the whole fraternity.

"We look forward, however, to a period when we can peacefully resume them and when public opinion shall do us justice, and sanction a course thus adopted; then shall our obscure but not lost Pleiad again break forth, diffusing new light and heat, in the Masonic Constitution [Constellation perhaps].[1]

"We now ask your fraternal advice in our difficult movements. And in behalf of the Companions and brethren in Vermont, whose fidelity has never been shaken, I submit this report.

"NATHAN B. HASWELL,
"*High-Priest and Grand Master*"

In February, 1848, Jerusalem Chapter, No. 2, was reopened by a dispensation from the General Grand Scribe. The Grand Lodge of Vermont was revived in 1847; and soon following this event the Companions of the Grand Chapter made a movement toward the revival of the Grand Chapter, and under the direction of Companion Haswell, who was the last Grand High-Priest, and sanctioned by the Deputy-General Grand High-Priest, the Grand Chapter was reorganized July 18, 1849.

There were three chapters which took part in the reorganization: Jerusalem, No. 2, at Vergennes; Burlington, No. 12, at Burlington; and LaFayette, No. 15, at East Berkshire.

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1844, pp. 183, 184.

In October, 1849, the Grand High-Priest granted a renewal of the Charter to Champlain Chapter, at St. Albans.

June 19, 1850, an attested copy of the original Charter of this chapter was shown in the Grand Chapter with proof of original Charter having been destroyed by fire. Champlain Chapter paid $25, under the ruling, and was revived and represented at that grand convocation.[1]

Since that period the Grand Chapter has continued to be represented in the General Grand Chapter.

Virginia.

The introduction of Royal Arch Masonry into Virginia in 1753 was no doubt similar to its introduction into Pennsylvania and other States north of it, by means of Royal Arch lodges, so-called, because the Royal Arch degree was permitted to be conferred under the lodge Charter, and we have recently seen the discovery by Bro. S. J. Quinn, of Fredericksburg, of the fact that in that ancient town there was such a lodge, in which the Royal Arch degree was conferred, earlier than in any other place in the colonies; and very soon after that degree had been introduced into the work of the lodges in England.

It has been said, by others, that the introduction of the Royal Arch degree into Virginia was by Bro. Joseph Myers, who was the successor of Da Costa, who had opened, under the authority of Bro. Michael Moses Hayes, a Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection in 1783, at Charleston, S. C. Bro. Myers subsequently settled in Richmond, Va., and then and there introduced the Holy Royal Arch of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, which was taught in Virginia until 1820, when the ritual of the English degree was adopted, whose officers consisted of High-Priest, King, and Scribe, while the former were High-Priest, Captain of the Host, and Captain General.

Bro. John Dove, in his history of the Grand Chapter of Virginia, uses the following language:

"Royal Arch Masonry was taught and practiced in this State during the latter part of the last century, under the authority of a Master's Warrant, until the want of some specific legislation seemed

[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 633.

evidently indicated for the internal government of the Royal Arch Chapters, which were then growing in number and increasing in members."

This was in the early part of 1806, and from his acknowledged intellectual ability, in connection with the record of his constant attendance at every meeting of the Grand Chapter of Virginia from December 17, 1818, to December 17, 1868, he was well qualified to decide with authority. In discussing the matter of substitutes he said: "We have been in the constant use of them since 1792, and have as yet seen no evil result therefrom."

From the date above mentioned by Comp. Dove, viz., 1792, when the Royal Arch was conferred, we may be safe in our statement that as early as 1792 Royal Arch Masonry was practiced in Virginia. We also, from his statement, may be assured that in Virginia the degree of Past Master was in the chapter series and had been in Virginia since 1790, and whatever may have been the full ritual under lodge warrants, it was practiced until 1820.

At a convocation of the Grand Chapter of Virginia, held January 7, 1820, it was "*Resolved*, That our enlightened Companion, James Cushman, H.-P. of Franklin Chapter, No. 4, Connecticut, be requested to exemplify the mode of work at present adopted by the General Grand Chapter of the United States, it appearing from his credentials that he is fully competent."

On January 18, 1820, the degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason were exemplified by him and after "most solemn deliberation" were adopted, "that harmony and unity should prevail throughout the Masonic world, and more especially the United States."

From 1820 until December 17, 1841, the council degrees of Royal and Select Masters were controlled by a Grand Council. At the latter date, by mutual agreement, these degrees were placed under the control of the Grand Chapter, and the following resolutions give the order of succession:

"*Resolved*, That hereafter the degrees in subordinate chapters be given in the following order, to wit: Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, Royal Master, Select Master, and Royal Arch." May 1, 1808, the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of Virginia was established, in compliance with a proposition from a convention held in "Norfolk Borough," when it appeared that the

"Grand United Chapter of Excellent and Superexcellent Masons of Norfolk had proposed to the Royal Arch Chapters of Richmond, Staunton, and Dumfries to establish a Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter for the State of Virginia."

This movement was entirely independent of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States, and that Grand Chapter has always held aloof from the General Grand Body.

The Supreme Grand Chapter established Magnolia Chapter, No. 16, at Appalachicola, and Florida Chapter, No. 32, at Tallahassee, Fla., which united with the other chapters in Florida in forming the Grand Chapter of that State.

Washington.

November 1, 1869, a dispensation was granted to Seattle Chapter, No. 1, in Seattle.[1] A dispensation was granted to Walla Walla Chapter, No. 2, in Walla Walla, February 13, 1871. Charters were granted at the meeting of General Grand Chapter, September 20, 1871.[2]

From difficulties encountered within the first chapter it did not succeed, and its Charter was suspended by the General Grand High-Priest, May 25, 1873, and reported by him at the meeting held November 24, 1874.[3] The report of the committee to whom this action had been referred, as also a memorial from members of that chapter, recommended that the action of the General Grand High-Priest be approved; and that the memorial be referred to that officer with power to restore or arrest the Charter of said chapter, as in his judgment he may deem best for the interest of Royal Arch Masonry.[4]

On August 27, 1880, the Charter was declared forfeited and that number (1) of said chapter be assigned to Walla Walla Chapter.[5]

A dispensation was granted to Spokane Chapter, No. 2, at Spokane Falls, November 1, 1881; and one to Seattle, No. 3, at Seattle, January 2, 1883. At the meeting August 15, 1883, charters were granted to both of these chapters.[6]

A convention having been called to meet at Spokane Falls, June 6, 1884, the General Grand High-Priest decided that a letter of ap-

[1] Proceedings Grand Chapter, 1871, p. 33. [2] Ibid., p. 33.
[3] Ibid., 1874, p. 15. [4] Ibid., p. 55. [5] Ibid., 1880, p. 69. [6] Ibid., 1883, p. 97.

proval should first have been obtained before holding a convention, and gave his authority to hold a convention at Walla Walla October 2, 1884.[1] (May 10, 1884, the General Grand High-Priest had granted a dispensation to Tacoma Chapter, No. 4, which by order passed to the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter.)

This convention was held at that date by the three chapters above mentioned.

West Virginia.

After the State of West Virginia was erected and the Grand Lodge of the new State had been regularly organized, May 11, 1865, the Companions of the various chapters, numbering nine, who were under the Constitution of the Grand Chapter of Virginia, deemed it proper to follow the example of the lodges, and organize a Grand Chapter for the new territory. This movement started in Wheeling Union Chapter, No. 19, Wheeling. A memorial was issued by Wheeling Union Chapter, which sought permission to organize a Grand Chapter for the State. The following chapters approved the memorial: Jerusalem Chapter, No. 55, in Parkersburg, November 17, 1870; Star of the West Chapter, No. 18, at Point Pleasant, November 21, 1870; and Nelson Chapter, No. 26, at Morgantown, November 30, 1870. The Grand Chapter of Virginia took action upon the memorial, December, 1870, and gave consent, "upon the same terms and conditions, and with the same limitations, as the consent of the Grand Lodge of Virginia was given to the formation of a Grand Lodge for the State of West Virginia."

A convention was held November 16, 1871, in Wheeling, and the four chapters above mentioned were represented by their delegates; in addition to these were delegates from Lebanon Chapter, No. 9, at Martinsburg. The Grand Chapter of West Virginia was duly and constitutionally instituted, the Grand Officers were chosen and installed by Most Excellent John P. Little, Grand High-Priest of the Grand Chapter of Virginia, who took occasion to warn the Companions against a union with the General Grand Chapter.[2] This warning, like that which oftentimes only excites the curiosity

[1] Proceedings Grand Chapter, 1886, p. 20.
[2] "Masonic History of Concordant Orders," p. 636.

of the *Warnee*, has had the effect of bringing the Grand Chapter of West Virginia into the fold, which we trust will be followed by the Mother of the Old Dominion.

Wisconsin.

The Deputy-General Grand High-Priest, at the triennial meeting of the General Grand Chapter held September 10, 1844, reported having granted a dispensation to two chapters in Wisconsin Territory, viz.: February 16, 1844, to Milwaukee, No. 1; and Washington, No. 2, in Plattesville, July 2, 1844.[1] At the meeting September 14, 1847, the same officer reported having issued a dispensation to Southport Chapter, No. 3, in Southport (no date);[2] and also that his proxy had consecrated Washington Chapter, No. 2, at Plattesville, a Charter having been granted to said chapter, September 11, 1844.[3] A Charter was granted to Southport, No. 3, at the meeting held September 17, 1847.[4]

By authority of the Deputy-General Grand High-Priest under date of January 10, 1850, a convention was held in Madison of the delegates of the three chapters, and the Grand Chapter of Wisconsin was duly constituted, February 14, 1850.

The Deputy-General Grand High-Priest having received officially the printed proceedings and grand constitution under date of July 5, 1850, he authorized Argulus W. Stark to install the Grand Officers, which was done August 7, 1850.

Wyoming.

At the triennial meeting of the General Grand Chapter held September 19, 1871, the General Grand High-Priest reported that he had issued a dispensation to a constitutional number of Companions to form a chapter at Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, under the name of Wyoming Chapter, No. 1,[5] which was chartered, September 20, 1871.[6]

Evanston Chapter, No. 2, at Evanston, received a dispensation dated April 25, 1876;[7] and Lebanon, No. 8, at Laramie City, had

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1844, p. 182.
[2] Ibid., 1847, p. 209. [3] Ibid., 1844, p. 185, note. [4] Ibid., 1847, p. 228.
[5] Ibid., 1871, p. 15. [6] Ibid., p. 33. [7] Ibid., 1877, p. 92.

a dispensation granted March 15, 1877; and these two had charters granted August 24, 1877.[1]

Garfield Chapter, No. 4, at Rawlins, had a dispensation issued March 25, 1884; and a Charter granted October 1, 1886.[2] These chapters are under the immediate jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, never having organized a Grand Chapter.

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMORANDA OF IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS OF THE GENERAL GRAND CHAPTER.[3]

October 24, 1797.—Preliminary meeting of three chapters in Boston, Mass.

January 24, 1798.—Organization of the "Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States of America."

September, 1798.—First meeting after organization for the choice of Officers.

January 9, 1799.—Adjourned meeting; change of name to that of General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States of America.

January 9, 1806.—Change of name to that of General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons for the United States of America. September, 1812, was, by resolution, fixed as the time, and New York City as the place, for the next Septennial Session.

June 6, 1816.—Held in New York City, by reason of failure to meet in 1812. Constitution changed, so as to have a Deputy General Grand High-Priest.

September, 1819.—Held agreeably to adjournment.

February, 1823.—Adjournment was to Washington, District of Columbia, at this time, but not held.

September, 1826.—Met according to previous notice. Meetings made triennial.

November, 1832.—Held in this month on account of cholera in Baltimore during September.

September, 1862.—Appointed to meet at Memphis, Tenn., but not held on account of Civil War then prevailing.

September, 1871.—Constitution amended, admitting Past Grand High-Priests as permanent members.

November, 1874.—Constitution amended, making the first four Past General Grand Officers permanent members.

October 13, 1897.—Centennial Celebration at Baltimore, Md.

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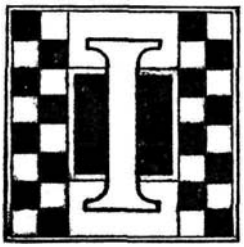
[1] Proceedings of General Grand Chapter, 1877, pp. 92, 93.
[2] Ibid., 1886, p. 125.
[3] Ibid., 1897.

CHAPTER LVII

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY INTO EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The Cryptic Degrees



N the *Freemason's Library and General Ahiman Rezon,* by Samuel Cole, P. M., published in Baltimore in 1826, we find a list of forty-three degrees which was taken from a "late publication, 1816," which the author states are conferred in the Sublime Grand Lodges in Charleston, S. C, in the city of New York, and in Newport, R. I., which we have heretofore quoted.

"Besides those degrees, which are in regular succession, most of the Inspectors are in possession of a number of detached degrees, given in different parts of the world, and which they generally communicate, free of expense, to those brethren who are high enough to understand them. Such as Select Masons, of 27, and the Royal Arch, as given under the Constitution of Dublin, etc., etc."

In a description of the degree of Select Master, the writer says: "There is reason to believe that this degree was in use long before those of Most Excellent or Mark Master."[1]

It is well enough to quote from the charge to a Select Master, to indicate its proper place in the "curriculum" of the degrees: "Companion—Having attained to this degree, you have passed the *circle of perfection* in Ancient Masonry."[2]

This indicates that the Select degree closed all the degrees appertaining to the "Secret Vault," as it really did, up to 1826 at least.

The edition of the above work of 1817 contains an article by Hezekiah Niles on the Select degree, in which he says: "Though this beautiful Degree is known to some persons in many parts of the

[1] "Freemason's Library," Cole, p. 220.

[2] Ibid., p. 223.

United States, we are not informed that it is worked anywhere but in Baltimore. We have been told that a regular Chapter of Select was held at Charleston, S. C, many years ago, but believe it has declined."[1]

Bro. John Dove, of Virginia, says: "This beautiful Degree is comparatively of Modern Origin, having been, with the Degree of Royal Master, in the possession of a distinguished Chief, in the State of Maryland, as a purely honorary Degree, elucidatory of, and appendent to Royal Arch Masonry, and by him conferred without fee; he delegated authority to others, to use them, in the same way, until the year 1824, when the Grand Chapter of Maryland, with his consent, took charge of the Degrees, and ordered them to be given before the Most Excellent Master; where all intelligent workers in the Royal Arch must at once perceive the propriety of their location."[2]

Brother A. G. Mackey says: "For many years there have been three distinct claims urged for jurisdiction over these degrees, in America—first, by the Supreme Council of the 33d Degree; next by some of the Grand Chapters; and lastly by the Grand Councils, composed of the subordinate Councils of each State."

"Connected with this question of jurisdiction is another in reference to the historical origin of the Degrees, and, as the person or persons, by whom they were first introduced into America. The Masons of Maryland and Virginia contend, that the Royal and Select Degrees were introduced by Philip R Eckel, of Baltimore, one of the most distinguished and enlightened Masons of his day, who, in 1817, communicated them to Jeremy L. Cross, and gave him authority to confer them in every Royal Arch Chapter which he might visit in his official character." This clearly shows that they were to be subsequent to the Royal Arch.

Dr. Robert Folger says: "The Masons of that day (1816) were divided in opinion concerning the proper place to which these degrees (Royal and Select) belonged. One party preferred that they should be kept separate, and left where they were—a separate system."

At the fourth meeting of the General Grand Chapter, June 6, 1816, a discussion took place upon the proposition for the admission of the Grand Chapter of Maryland and the District of Columbia,

[1] Schultz's "History of Masonry in Maryland," vol. i., p. 335.

[2] Ibid., p. 336.

WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN

Philip P. Eckel and Benj. Edes being the representatives of that Grand Chapter. We learn from the published minutes of that meeting, that a committee made the following report:

"The undersigned having been appointed a Committee for the purpose of conferring with M.·. E.·. Comps. Philip P. Eckel and Benjamin Edes, delegates of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Maryland, beg leave to report that they have had an interview with the above named Companions, from whom they received the following proposition, to wit: The Grand Chapter of the State of Maryland and District of Columbia is willing to support the Constitution of this General Grand Chapter. It will not grant any warrants out of its District and will discountenance all chapters formed contrary to the General Grand Constitution; but requests that it shall not be forced to alter its mode of working, if any difference should exist, at present, and to be received on an equality with the other Grand Chapters.

"Under a consideration of all the above circumstances, your Committee recommend that the said Grand Chapter of the State of Maryland be admitted to an union with this General Grand Chapter.

"(Signed by the Committee).

"The Undersigned, delegates from the Grand Chapter of Maryland and District of Columbia, agree to the above report.

"Signed P. P. ECKEL, G.·. H.·. P.·.

"BENJ. EDES."

This report being read and accepted, it was thereupon voted to receive the said Grand Chapter of the State of Maryland and District of Columbia under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter.[1] Folger, referring to this meeting of the General Grand Chapter, says: "The whole matter then came up for discussion, Mr. Eckel, of Maryland, taking a very prominent part in advocating the Union of these two degrees with the services of the Royal Arch Chapter. The discussion became warm and lasted the better part of two days, when the motion to unite them was rejected. Whereupon, immediately after adjournment, the State Grand Council of Royal Masters was formed, and the different Councils came under that governing power, and continued so up to 1828. It was this move

[1] Proceedings General Grand Chapter, 1816, p. 44.

on the part of the General Grand Chapter, in refusing a recognition of those degrees, that determined Mr. Cross in his future course.

"Mr. Eckel, the Baltimore delegate, then went home; and when Cross, who at that session of the General Grand Chapter had been appointed and confirmed as General Grand Lecturer, started on his lecturing tour, he stopped at Baltimore and purchased and received the privilege from Eckel and Niles to erect and establish councils of Royal and Select Masters throughout the Southern and Western States. This privilege he carried out pretty effectually, beginning with New Jersey; and all the councils in existence in those States, mentioned in his narrative, were established by himself, also the Eastern States, except Rhode Island." Bro. Edw. T. Schultz, in commenting upon what Folger had published as above, said:

"From the above quotations it will be perceived that it was the general belief that the control of the Royal and Select Degrees were vested in Eckel and Niles.

"But we think Bros. Dove, Mackey, and Folger, and others, make a great mistake in coupling the Royal Master's Degree with the Select, in connection with the names of Eckel and Niles; for there is no evidence whatever to show that these Brethren ever exercised or claimed control of the Royal Master's degree, or that they were even in possession of that degree, at the periods named by them."[1]

From Bro. Josiah H. Drummond we learn that, on apparently good authority, Eckel did not get the Royal Master's degree until 1819; when he and Benj. Edes, of Baltimore, received it from Ebenezer Wadsworth, of New York. Bro. Schultz thinks "this is probably true, for there is no mention of that degree being worked in this jurisdiction (Maryland) in any document, or upon the records of the Grand Chapter or its subordinates earlier than 1850. Bro. Cole, in 1817, speaks of it incidentally, but not as among the degrees conferred."[2]

Cole's edition of 1826 (p. 319), says: "Royal Master and Ark Master or Noachite."

These are considered as merely preparatory, and are usually conferred immediately before the solemn ceremony of exaltation.[3] It

[1] Schultz, "History," vol. i., p. 339. [2] Ibid., p. 338. [3] Cole, p. 319.

To all whom it may concern:

Imprest with a perfect conviction that a knowledge of the misteries of the degree of Royal Arch are eminently promoted by a knowledge of those revealed in the Council of Select Masons; and Whereas, the said degree of Select is not so extensively known as its wants and the good of the Craft require.—Therefore Know Ye, That reposing especial confidence in my beloved and trusty Companion, Jeremy L. Cross, I do hereby, by the high powers in me vested, authorize and empower him to confer the said degree as follows (viz.): In any place where a regular chapter of Royal Arch Masons is established, the Officers or Members approving, he may confer said degree according to its rules & regulations, but only on Royal Arch Masons, who have taken all the preceding degrees, as is required by the General Grand Chapter. When a competent number of Select Masons are thus made, he may grant them a warrant to open a Council of Select and confer the degree and do all other business appertaining thereto.

Given under my hand and Seal at Baltimore, the 27th day of May, A. D. 1817, and in the year of the Dis. 2817.

Sigm Philip L. Eckel.

Thrice Illustrious & Grand Puissant in the Grand Council of Select at Baltimore & Approved as G. G. Scribe.

Approved and attested as Ill. in the Grand Council.

H. Niles.

will be remembered that on page 220 of Cole we quoted him as saying that among those degrees communicated "to those brethren who are high enough to understand them, such as Select Masons of 27" and the Royal Arch, as given under the Constitution of Dublin, etc. This evidently shows that even as late as 1826 these two degrees of Royal and Select were not united; and also, that the Royal Master preceded the Royal Arch; and it was most likely that the Select degree followed the Royal Arch. We show herewith a facsimile copy of the original commission to Jeremy L. Cross, from Eckel and Niles.

The Select degree was recognized by the constitution of the Grand Chapter of Maryland adopted in 1824, but the Royal Master's degree is not mentioned.[1]

Bro. Schultz continues: "Furthermore, the Warrant granted to Cross, by Eckel and Niles, a copy of which, taken from a photograph copy of the Original, in the possession of Bro. Wm. R. Singleton, of Washington, is here inserted, and from which it will be seen that the Select Degree alone is mentioned."

In the first warrants issued by Cross under this commission, the Companions were empowered "to form themselves into a regular Council of *Select Masters*" but in the warrants issued by him in 1819 and thereafter, the High Powers in him vested, by the Grand Council at Baltimore, were *enlarged* to include the Royal Master's degree.[2]

It is well to state that from the action subsequently taken by Grand Chapter of Maryland in 1827, from documents submitted, "upon the subject of the institution of the Select Degree independent of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter," which were referred to a committee, who recommended that a circular be sent to the several Grand Chapters, regarding the matter, and which was adopted. Cross was charged with having abused the "authority delegated or meant to be delegated" to him, and it had been asserted that he had been expelled by the Grand Chapter, but Bro. Schultz assures us that there is nothing in the records to warrant such an assertion.[3] Moreover, Cross did not belong to any chapter under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter of Maryland.

Cross, it is said, established about thirty-three councils in various

[1] Schultz, p. 338. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

parts of the United States. He also delegated others, with power in like manner to issue warrants for councils of Royal and Select Masters.

"From all that has been stated, it is evident, not only that Eckel and Niles claimed to have had the supreme control and authority over the Select degree, but that this claim was generally regarded valid; and it is equally as evident, we think, that these Brethren never claimed the control of the Royal Master's degree." "It has always been a question of much interest with Masonic writers to know the source whence these Brethren received their authority, and the control of the Select degree. An old document, that most unexpectedly came to the knowledge of the writer about a year ago, settles that question beyond a doubt. It is as follows:

" 'Whereas, In the year of the Temple, 2792, our thrice illustrious Brother Henry Wilmans, Grand Elect, Select, Perfect Sublime Mason, Grand Inspector General, and Grand Master of Chapters of the Royal Arch, Grand Elect and Perfect Master's Lodges and Councils, Knight of the East, Prince of Jerusalem, Patriarch Noachite, Knight of the Sun, and Prince of the Royal Secret, did by and in Virtue of the powers in him legally vested, establish, ordain, erect and support a Grand Council of Select Masons in the City of Baltimore, and wrought therein, to the great benefit of the Craft, and to the profitable extension and elucidation of the Mysteries of Masonry:—and Whereas, we the subscribers to these presents are by regular succession possessors of all the rights, privileges and immunities and powers vested in any way whatsoever in the said Grand Council of Select Masons, considering the great advantages that would accrue to the Craft, in an extension of the knowledge of the Royal Secret, as introductory to, and necessary for, the better understanding of the Superior Degrees.

" 'Know all, whom it may concern, that we do hereby authorize and empower our trusty and beloved Companions K. S. . . . K. T. . . . H. A. . . . of the same, to open and to hold a Chapter of Select Masons in the City of Baltimore and under such By-Laws and regulations as may be enacted and established for the government of the same subject to the following general rules and regulations.' " (Which we omit.) * * * *

From some cause the dispensation was not used, but the fact is fully and emphatically stated by Eckel and Niles, under their hand

and seal, that *they* were, "*by regular succession, possessors of all the rights, privileges, and immunities and powers vested in any way whatsoever in the said Grand Council of Select Masons*" which has been instituted in the city of Baltimore, in the year 1792, by Henry Wilmans, "Grand Inspector General."

"This document, in connection with the Rules and Regulations of the Lodge of Perfection (referred to above), leave no room for doubt that Wilmans was an Inspector of the Rite of Perfection, and that he exercised, in the City of Baltimore, in 1792, the powers claimed by such Inspectors. But from whom did Wilmans acquire his powers of 'Grand Inspector General,' and the authority 'to establish, ordain, erect and support a Chapter of Select Masons?' "

"We regret that we can not answer the question, nor could the learned Brethren in various parts of the country, to whom we applied. The name of Wilmans does not appear upon any register or document in the archives of the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction, or upon any other known document or record containing the names of the early Inspectors. From the fact that in both the documents he is styled 'Grand Inspector General,' while those deriving their powers from Morin are styled 'Deputy Inspectors,' led to the supposition that he might have derived his powers from Europe; acting upon which supposition, letters were addressed to the Grand Lodges at Berlin and Bremen. While the result of the correspondence, which ensued, was of an interesting nature, nothing in regard to his Masonic character could be learned.

"It has been ascertained that Wilmans was a native of Bremen, and that he emigrated to this country as early at least as the year 1790, and settled in Baltimore. The first mention of his name, on the records of the Grand Lodge, is in connection with Concordia Lodge, in 1793, of which he was appointed the first or Charter Master. In the same year he was elected Deputy Grand Master, and in the following year, Grand Master of Masons in Maryland. The register of the Old Zion Lutheran Church, of this city, shows that he died in 1795."

"In a MSS. book of Moses Holbrook, of South Carolina, written in 1829, it is stated that Joseph Myers, a Deputy Inspector General, deposited in the year 1788, in the archives of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem at Charleston, 'a certified copy of the Royal and Select Master's degrees received from Berlin.' "

"This is evidently an error, so far as it relates to the Royal Master's degree. As intimated, the degree was first known in the Eastern States, and the earliest *reliable* mention of it there, is in the year 1809." "Bro. Holbrook wrote his book in 1829, at which time both degrees were conferred at Charleston, and naturally he connected the two in his statement, making a similar error that others do, when stating that Eckel and Niles claimed the control of the Royal Master's degree. The book referred to contains also the statement, that somewhere about the year 1788, Joseph Myers was for a time located at Baltimore."

"Did Wilmans receive the Select degree from Myers, or did Myers receive it from Wilmans?"

"If the degree came from Berlin, it is quite probable that Wilmans brought it with him, as he came from Germany, about the time mentioned for the deposit, in the MSS. of Holbrook."

"There is a tradition existing in the Eastern States, that Eckel received the degree from a Prussian, temporarily sojourning in Baltimore. The period of Wilmans' residence in Baltimore was perhaps not over eight years, and with some propriety, he might have been regarded as a sojourner—and a Prussian."

"It is stated, but upon what authority we know not, that the Royal and Select degrees were conferred by Andrew Franken at Albany in 1769, and that he conferred them upon Samuel Stringer, who afterwards removed to Maryland; but we have not been able to find this name upon any of the records of this jurisdiction."

"These statements or traditions, it will be seen, all point to Maryland as the source from whence the select degree, and (as the writers will have it) Royal Master's degree also, were subsequently introduced into other parts."[1]

Folger says Eckel, at the session of the General Grand Chapter, advocated the Union of the degrees with the services of the Royal Arch Chapter."

"From 1824 to 1852, the Select degree only was worked in the chapters in Maryland and District of Columbia. After 1852, both degrees were worked in Councils specially convened for the purpose, after the Most Excellent and prior to the Royal Arch."[2]

The true history of the origin and progress of the Cryptic Rite

[1] Schultz, "History of Maryland," vol. i., pp. 335 to 344.

[2] Ibid., p. 344.

in the several States, if it were possible to produce it, would prove of great interest to the Masonic student.

From the preceding pages, taken mostly from the labors of Companion Edw. T. Schultz in his valuable *History of Masonry in Maryland,* we learn that, while the degrees of Royal Master and Select of Twenty-seven may have been conferred in various places prior to 1792, yet we must concede that the organization of the Council of Select Masons in Baltimore by Philip P. Eckel and Hezekiah Niles, under the sanction of Henry Wilmans, was the very first organized effort to propagate the rite in this country. Companion Schultz has shown, very clearly, that we can not go beyond the date of that organization, so far as any ancient records have been discovered.

After Companion Jeremy L. Cross had been appointed the Grand Lecturer of the General Grand Chapter, at the session of 1816—we learn, from several sources, that Cross went to Baltimore in 1817—and there, no doubt, was initiated into the degree of Select Master and received the Warrant from Eckel and Niles which is referred to on the preceding page (1552) of this chapter. A photograph copy of the original is in the possession of the present writer. This photo copy was submitted to the daughter of Bro. Eckel, who was the wife of Brother, Hon. Elijah Stansbury, Ex-Mayor of Baltimore, and they both certified that they recognized his signature; and, moreover, sent the writer an original letter written by Bro. Eckel in 1819. These evidences were submitted to *experts* in handwriting, and the certificate to Cross was pronounced a forgery; because the real later signature was of so much better caligraphy than the signature in the suspected paper, as, according to the expert's idea, it should not have been better, being two years older!!! The writer has in his possession several other papers signed by Eckel, and in no two of them do his signatures correspond. Our duty as a historian requires this statement to be made. Our own opinion is yet, that the document shown by Cross was a veritable commission from Eckel and Niles to propagate the degree, and the Masonic World should be glad thereof; as by his means, the rite spread rapidly in the South and West. The writer was made a Royal and Select Master, in one of Cross's councils, in St. Louis, Mo., in 1841, about the time the Grand Council of the State was organized, as he then copied their records

into the record-book. The Grand Chapter of Maryland, having incorporated the Select degree into the chapter work in 1824, in 1828 that Grand Chapter sent communications to other Grand Chapters suggesting the propriety of the several Grand Chapters in the United States assuming jurisdiction over the degrees of Royal and Select Masters.

In the Grand Chapter of South Carolina, this matter was referred to a committee, who reported February 26, 1829, which report was unanimously adopted by the Grand Chapter:

"That Committee, after extensive and careful investigation, reported, that in February, 1783, Dr. Dalcho and many others received those degrees in Charleston in the sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection, then established in that city. That when the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem was established in Charleston, February 20, 1788, Joseph Myers, one of the Deputy-Inspectors who established it, deposited in the Archives certified Copies of the degrees of Royal and Select Masters from Berlin in Prussia, to serve for the future guidance and government of that new body. That from 1788, the Grand Officers and Supreme Council of Inspectors-General, at Charleston, had been steadily in the habit of conferring these degrees; and in 1828, numbers of councils of Select Masters were acting under their authority in the Southern and Western States.

"The Committee had seen and perused the first copy of those degrees that ever came to America, and old copies of Charters that had been returned by Councils, in States where Grand Councils had been formed, and Charters obtained from such Grand Councils. And the Committee reported, that these degrees had been under regular and independent Masonic protection and authority for more than forty-six years, and were so circumstanced in the United States, at a period long prior to the establishment of Grand or General Grand Royal Arch Chapters, or even of Chapters of Royal Arch Masons, in any part of the world; and that the Grand Chapter of South Carolina ought to avoid all collision with contemporary Masonic jurisdictions, regularly established, and much longer in existence than their own; and so reported a formal resolution (which the Grand Chapter unanimously adopted) that it was 'improper and inexpedient to assume a jurisdiction over the said degrees, and thus to interfere with the rights and privileges of our brethren in another and higher order of Freemasonry.'

"Of the Illustrious brothers Myers, Spitzer and Forst, that Committee said, 'the above named three respectable Brethren and Companions are, and steadily have been, Members and Officers of the said 'Council of Princes of Jerusalem. Their evidence therefore, must be conclusive upon these points.'

"The same Committee (Royal Arch Masons, be it observed, and a Committee of a Royal Arch Chapter, enquiring into its own jurisdiction) said of the Brothers and Companions, Dr. F. Dalcho, Dr. Isaac Auld, Dr. James Moultrie, Senior, and Moses C. Levy, Esq., who received these degrees in Charleston in 1783, from the sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection: 'Three of the above named Brothers are still living, venerable for their years and warm attachment to the glorious cause of Freemasonry, and highly respected and esteemed for their standing in the community where they have so long honorably sojourned, and they are still members of the same Sublime Body.' There is still further testimony to be adduced. The report to the Grand Chapter, which we have quoted, was made by Compn. Moses Holbrook, its Chairman, and unanimously adopted; the Grand Chapter thus affirming the veracity of the Masonic Witnesses, whose testimony was adduced. In 1830 the same Compn., Holbrook, was M.·. P.·. Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33° for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States at Charleston.

"In February, A. I. 2383, the M.·. E.·. G.·. High-Priest of the Grand Chapter of South Carolina, John H. Honour, who was then and still is (1853) M.·. P.·. W.·. Commander of the Sup.·. Council, S.·. G .·. I.·. G.·. of 33°, for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States at Charleston, stated in his address to the Grand Chapter, that he had in his possession a manuscript copy of the degrees of the Royal and Select Masters, in which there was a note in the handwriting of Brother Holbrook dated March 15, 1830, in these words: 'In Brother Snell's book is written the following:

" 'Supreme Council Chamber, Charleston, S. C, 10th Feb., 1827.

" 'I hereby certify that the detached degrees, called Royal and Select Master, or Select Masters of 27, were regularly given by the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection (No. 2 in the U. S. A.), established by Brother Isaac Da Costa, in Charleston, in Feb., 1783, one of the original Members of which Most Illustrious Brother

Moses C. Levy, is still alive and a Member of it to this day, without ceasing to be so for a day; and further, that at the first establishment of a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, in Charleston, February, 1788, by the Ill.·. Dep.·. Inspectors General, Joseph Myers, B. M. Spitzer, and A. Forst, Brother Myers (who succeeded Brother Da Costa after his decease) deposited a certified copy of the Degrees from Berlin, in Prussia, to be under the guidance and fostering protection of the government of the above Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem.'

"Brother Myers shortly after this (Feb. 20, 1788,) resided some time in Norfolk, Richmond, and Baltimore, previous to his removal to Europe, and he communicated a knowledge of these degrees to a number of brethren in those cities. The original copy is still in my keeping, and agreeably to the obligations of the same, and the Grand Constitutions governing those degrees, viz.: Royal and Select Mason of 27, it is correct and lawful to give them either to Sublime Masons, who have arrived to the Knights of the Ninth Arch (13th) or to the Companions of the 3d Arch (Royal Arch Masons)."

From this statement, of those who held the control originally, it will be observed that it was the design, always, to confer, at least the Select degree, only on those who had a knowledge of the Royal Arch degree; hence to impart the *mysteries* of the Ninth Arch to anyone "beneath the dignity of the Royal Arch," was to invert the true order of *succession*, so essential in all Masonic degrees.

It has been asserted by some that the Cryptic degrees had been worked in this country earlier than 1783; as early perhaps as 1766 in the city of Albany, and that they were brought from France, and not from Prussia. Brother Pike said in his report:[1]

"We can soon learn how it was that the Council degrees came about 1766 from France and not from Prussia. In 1761, the lodges and Councils of the superior degrees being extended throughout Europe, Frederic II. (or the Great), King of Prussia, as Grand Commander of the Order of Princes of the Royal Secret, or 32d degree, was by general consent acknowledged and recognized as Sovereign and Supreme Head of the Scotch Rite."

"On the 25th October, 1762, the Grand Masonic Constitutions

[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 649.

were finally ratified in Berlin, and proclaimed for the government of all Masonic bodies working in the Scotch Rite over the two hemispheres; and in the same year they were transmitted to Stephen Morin, who had been appointed, in August, 1761, Inspector General for the New World by the Grand Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret, convened at Paris, under the presidency of Chaillon de Joinville, representative of Frederic, and Substitute-General of the Order. It will be remembered that the 33° was not then created; and, under Frederic the Great, there was no rank higher than the 32°, nor any body superior to a Consistory. When Morin arrived in the West Indies, he, agreeably to his patent, appointed M. Hayes a Deputy Inspector General, with the power of appointing others when necessary. It was under this authority, coming, it is true, from the Consistory of Paris held by that consistory as the delegate and representative of Frederic the Great, that the Lodges of Perfection in Albany and Charleston were established, with authority to confer these detached degrees."

"Many rites flourished in Europe awhile and died. The French and Scotch Rites reduced the degrees practiced by their votaries, the former to seven, the Seventh being the Rose Croix, the latter to thirty-three and some auxiliary degrees. By common consent it became Masonic law that the first three degrees were the joint property of all, but the others, the peculiar property of the inventors. Royal Arch Masonry separated itself from 'Blue' Masonry, organized itself, invented three new degrees, and commenced an independent existence. The Royal and Select Masters formed themselves into councils, and after a time they, too, organized themselves into Grand Councils, and claimed an independent existence. The Supreme Council did not deny the right, but simply retained their original right to confer the degrees, and Charter councils in States where no Grand Councils have been organized."

The following is a copy of a decree issued by the Supreme Council A.·. A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite of the Northern Jurisdiction, the true copy of which was sent to the Southern Jurisdiction and was presented to the writer many years since by General Albert Pike.

"The Supreme Grand Council of Sov. Grand Inspectors General for the Northern Masonic District and Jurisdiction of the U. States of America duly, lawfully, and constitutionally assembled on the 10th day of June, 1850, at its Grand East, the City of

New York, in its Supreme Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem do declare and make known as follows:

"That in addition to the regular series of degrees and order of the ancient and accepted rite, the said rite had, from time immemorial, been in possession of, and claims as its exclusive property, a number of detached degrees which are illustrative of, connected with, and necessarily appendant to certain degrees in said right or departments thereof: and that the Supreme Grand Council, as the sole conservators of said rite, in said Northern Jurisdiction, is sacredly bound to preserve intact and free from any amalgamation with foreign rites or Masonic Bodies, not acknowledged by us or our said rite, all and every one of the detached degrees referred to.

"That two of such detached degrees, called 'Royal Master' and 'Select Master,' or 'Select Masons of 27,' having in various ways and at different times fallen into the hands of persons in no way connected with the sublime system of free Masonry, or the said 'ancient and accepted rite,' have been and are now cultivated in a garbled form, by bodies styling themselves Masonic, and working under self-assumed powers and authority in this regard, claiming the right to grant charters to confer them; and, moreover, that these degrees, in some places of this Jurisdiction, have become amalgamated with a Modern American rite, and are also claimed as the property of the American Royal Arch Chapters.

"This Supreme Grand Council therefore, as in duty bound, protests against this invasion of its rights and privileges, and further declares and makes known that the said degrees of Royal and Select Master, from their nature or character, and the history they develop, and circumstances upon which founded, can not, except in an anachronistic and improper manner be conferred disconnected from the ineffable degrees, and lodges of perfection (14th degree ancient and accepted rite) and that said degrees belong not only characteristically and historically, but legitimately, to 'Ineffable Masonry' and 'Lodges of Perfection,' and do not appertain and can not consistently and lawfully be made an appendage to any Masonic system except said 'Sublime System,' nor to any rite except said 'ancient and accepted rite.'

"And whereas, such assumed authority over the detached degrees aforesaid, may, as we have reason to believe in some instances, have been exercised in good faith, but without a due appreciation of

our rights and prerogative in regard to them, this Supreme Grand Council for the sake of harmony is willing to confer and advise with our illustrious Brethren, the Southern Supreme Grand Council at Charleston, S. Carolina, and act in concert with them in adopting such measures in reference to those degrees, as may be mutually adjudged most feasible and proper, without infringing in any way whatever upon our Supremacy over the said degrees.

" '*Deus meumque jus,*'

"J. J. J. GOURGAS,

Sovereign Grand Commander of 33d

for the Northern D. and J., U. S. A.

"JILES F. YATES,

Inspr. Lieut Grand Commander.

"N. B.—Signed on the original by Archd Bull, Sov. Gr. Insp. General 33d; K. H. Van Rensselaer, Sov. Gr. Insp. Gen1 33d, and Francis Turner, Prince of Jerusalem Rose✠H. R. D. M.; K. H.; S. P. R. S., and now a member of this Supreme Grand Council.

"To the Supreme Grand Council of the 33 degree, 'ancient and accepted rite,' at their Grand East, the City of Charleston, S. Carolina.

"Through their Illus. Brother, Albert G. Mackey, M.D., Grand Secretary General of their H. E."

A true copy,

W. R. SINGLETON, 33°.

The Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction held to the same contention until at a meeting of the Supreme Council at Baltimore, May, 1870, they surrendered all claim to these degrees.

Dr. Olivar, in his *Historical Landmarks*,[1] gives an account of the legend of the Secret Vault as discovered in the construction of the Second Temple, as follows:

"The foundations of the Temple were opened, and cleared from the accumulation of the rubbish, that a level might be procured for the commencement of the building. While engaged in excavations for this purpose three fortunate sojourners are said to have discovered our ancient stone of foundation, which had been deposited in the secret crypt by Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, to prevent the communication of ineffable secrets to profane or unworthy persons.

"The discovery having been communicated to the prince,[2]

[1] Vol. ii., p. 434. [2] Zerubbabel was Tirshatha (Governor).

prophet, and priest of the Jews, the stone was adopted as the Chief Corner-Stone of the re-edified building, and thus became, in a new and more expressive sense, the type of a more excellent dispensation. An avenue was also accidentally discovered, supported by seven pairs of pillars, perfect and entire, which, from their situation, had escaped the fury of the flames that had consumed the Temple, and the desolation of war that had destroyed the city.

"The Secret Vault, which had been built by Solomon as a secure depository for certain secrets that would have inevitably been lost without some such expedient for their preservation, communicated by a subterranean avenue with the King's palace; but at the destruction of Jerusalem, the entrance having been closed by the rubbish of falling buildings, it had been discovered by the appearance of a keystone among the foundations of the Sanctum Sanctorum. A careful inspection was then made, and the invaluable secrets were placed in safe custody."

Brother Mackey says:[1]

"To support this legend there is no historic evidence and no authority except that of the Talmudic writers. It is clearly a mythical symbol, and as such we must accept it. We can not altogether reject it, it is so intimately and so extensively connected with the symbolism of the Lost and recovered Word, that if we reject the theory of the Secret Vault we must abandon all of that symbolism, and with it the whole of the science of Masonic symbolism. Fortunately there is ample evidence in the present appearance of Jerusalem and its subterranean topography to remove from any tacit, and as it were, conventional assent to the theory, features of absurdity and impossibility.

"Considered simply as a historic question, there can be no doubt of the existence of immense vaults beneath the superstructure of the original Temple of Solomon. Prime, Robinson, and other writers, who in recent times have described the topography of Jerusalem, speak of the existence of these structures, which they visited, and, in some instances, carefully examined." Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*) describes in many places of his interesting topography of Jerusalem, the vaults and subterranean chambers which are to be found beneath the site of the Old Temple.

[1] "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry," p. 852.

"In the earliest ages the cave or vault was deemed sacred. The first worship was in cave-temples, which were either natural or formed by art to resemble the excavations of nature.

"The vault was, in the ancient mysteries, symbolic of the grave; for initiation was symbolic of death, where alone Divine Truth is to be found. The Masons have adopted the same idea. They teach that death is but the beginning of life; that if the first or evanescent temples of our transitory life be on the surface, we must descend into the *Secret Vault* of death before we can find that sacred deposit of truth which is to adorn our second temple of eternal life. It is in this sense an entrance through the grave into eternal life, that we are to view the symbolism of the Secret Vault. Like every other myth and allegory of Masonry, the historical relation may be true, or it may be false; it may be founded on fact, or be the invention of imagination, the lesson is still there, and the symbolism teaches it, exclusive of the history."

The above quotations have been made because the present writer had devoted many years to the study of the topography of Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity in connection with his studies in the various Masonic rites which locate their mysteries in that city and in and about the Temple area now called *Harem-esh Sheriff.* His conclusions are that not a single degree in Masonry can properly be located near the city of Jerusalem nor on or in the "Sacred Area" of the Temple.

So far as the caves or cisterns which are to be found under the surface of the "Area" at the present day did give a key to those who formulated the Cryptic degrees, he feels assured that the originators of those degrees did have some knowledge of their existence—but with accurate maps of that "Area" and the location of every vault or cistern before us, furnished by the accurate survey of Captain Chas. Warren in 1867, we could not for one moment entertain the belief that such a system of vaults or arches ever existed there, as described in our lectures of any of the Rituals—but we do believe that these rituals, being symbolic and allegorical, were founded upon the fact of vaults found in that locality We can refer to the legend of Enoch and his vaults, erected to conceal the sacred delta, constructed by him and his son Methuselah, after the ineffable NAME of Deity had been revealed to him, and which name he had engraved upon the delta, which by the command of God,

he was to conceal and secure, for future generations to discover. These vaults, nine of them, were securely constructed, and two pillars were erected, and placed near, with inscriptions to indicate the locality of the vaults. It is possible that the pillars were destroyed and carried away by the flood. The fable further states that when King Solomon commenced the preparation of the ground on Mount Moriah for the temple, his workmen broke into these vaults and found certain mysterious things there; and upon reporting to King Solomon what they had found, he directed them to cease their labors, as he supposed the vault had been a secret place for the worship of the gods of the original inhabitants of Canaan. God, however, notified him in a dream that he should proceed; as he had designed that spot for the erection of the Temple for his worship, as it had been thrice dedicated, first by Enoch when he constructed the vaults and made the deposits of these mysterious emblems—second, on this spot Abraham erected the altar to sacrifice his son Isaac[1]—and third, by his father David, where he erected the altar on the threshing floor of Arauna and sacrificed to stay the hand of the destroying Angel.[2]

There is no doubt whatever in the mind of the writer but that the inventors of the degrees above the three original degrees—such as the Royal Arch and Select, designed to demonstrate to the postulant the value of the great and now ineffable and mysterious name of Deity.

It is well known to all students of the ancient mysteries of the Orient that after the initiation of a candidate in the lower mysteries, and a certain period having elapsed, by many severe tests, lustrations by the four elements and trials, he was invested with the great WORD in a very solemn and mysterious manner, by the Archi-Magus, who alone could communicate this word to the postulant. In receiving this word, was conveyed to him by its interpretation, the meaning of all the preceding ceremonies.

Those who arranged the series of degrees as above mentioned, from the Entered Apprentice to the Select Master, designed that in the last degree there should be a full explanation of all that which was concealed in the various forms and ceremonies, and in our present lectures in that degree it is very evident that such was the de-

[1] Gen., ch. xxii.

[2] I. Chron., ch. xxi., verses 25 to 27.

sign of closing the Ancient Craft Masonry with the Select of Twenty-seven, "to pass the Circle of Ancient Craft Masonry."

GENERAL GRAND COUNCIL.

In 1871 the Grand Council of Massachusetts undertook the task of bringing order out of the disordered condition of the Cryptic Rite in the United States, and having enlisted the valuable services of our most distinguished Companion, Hon. Josiah H. Drummond, of Maine,[1] who, in compliance with their request, called a convention, and fourteen Grand Councils were represented at the meeting in New York City, June 12, 1872, at which the following was adopted:

"*Whereas,* In some jurisdictions the question has been mooted of surrendering the Cryptic Degrees to the Chapters; and

"*Whereas,* There are many Companions who have received the degrees in Chapters or from Sovereign Inspectors of A.·.A.·.S.·. Rite, therefore

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of this Convention that the Cryptic degrees should be under the exclusive jurisdiction of Grand Councils, and that no one should be recognized as a regular Companion of the Rite who had not received the degrees in a lawfully constituted Council or by authority of the Supreme Council of the A.·.A.·.S.·. Rite previous to the date, or has been lawfully healed."

The convention adopted a uniform system of nomenclature, which has since been generally adopted.

In June, 1873, another meeting of the Convention was held in New York and nineteen Grand Councils were represented. The following was adopted:

"That the order of the succession of the degrees be: First, Royal Master's; second, Select Master's; and that it be left optional with each Grand Council to confer the super-excellent Master's degree as an honorary degree."

The convention announced as its opinion that a General Grand Council of the United States should be formed. Subsequently meetings were held, December, 1874, in New Orleans; August, 1877, in Buffalo, N. Y.; at which latter meeting twenty-two Grand Councils were represented, and also Ontario, Canada. The con-

[1] Drummond, "History of Grand Council in United States," p. 89, in the Cryptic Rite.

vention met at Detroit, August 23, 1880, when a constitution was adopted which it was required should be adopted by not less than nine regular Grand Councils, and then should become operative. The General Grand Recorder, George W. Cooley, gave notice, February 23, 1881, that the Grand Councils of New York, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Alabama, and Louisiana had ratified the constitution. On March 1, 1881, Hon. Josiah H. Drummond, General Grand Master, issued his circular to the officers, and also announced that the Grand Council of South Carolina had adopted the constitution.[1] The first session was held pursuant to this circular, at Denver, Col., August 14, 1883, and the following Grand Councils were represented: California, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, New York, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Vermont. (Forever blessed be their memory.) Of those seventeen who originally acceded to the first formation of the provisional General Grand Council, in 1880, these were absent: Georgia and Alabama; and South Carolina had since given her adhesion. Alabama, having been with the seventeen Grand Councils to join in the formation of the provisional General Grand Council in 1880, was never represented at any subsequent assembly.

We will now, in a more regular manner, give the history of the formation of the General Grand Council. The General Grand Council of the United States was organized at a convention of delegates of seventeen Grand Councils which met at Detroit, Mich., August 23, 1880.

The action of this convention was at once approved by the following Grand Councils: New York, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Alabama, and Louisiana.

South Carolina Grand Council soon thereafter organized, and ratified the constitution of the General Grand Council and resumed work. In the address of the General Grand Master, Josiah H. Drummond, at the first Triennial Assembly, held at Denver, Col, August 14, 1883, he states: "At the time of the formation of the provisional General Grand Council there were twenty-three Grand Councils, which had not adopted the 'Mississippi Plan.'

[1] Proceedings, 1883. p. 20.

"Of these, seventeen, *viz.*, Alabama, California, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, and Vermont, have become constituents of the General Grand Council.[1]

"Of the other six, five continue to exist, but have not become constituents of this body, *viz.*, Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Some of these, however, have the matter under consideration. It is understood why Connecticut has not given her adhesion is, the law of this body, that persons receiving the degrees in Chapters, or in Councils appurtenant to Chapters, can not be recognized.

"The remaining one of twenty-three, North Carolina, at its session held in June last undertook to dissolve and turn the degrees over to the Chapter. While this occasions regret, it is no matter of surprise, because Royal Arch Masonry is at an exceedingly low ebb in that State, and it sometimes seems a matter of doubt whether the Grand Chapter itself will be able to maintain its existence.

"Grand Councils at the advent of the 'Mississippi Plan' existed in other States, as follows: Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, South Carolina, and Wisconsin. All of which accepted in some form the general features of the "Mississippi Plan.'

"The Grand Councils of Arkansas, Illinois, and Kentucky have reorganized, but have not as yet ratified and adopted the General Grand Constitution. The Grand Council of Illinois never formally dissolved, but maintained its existence and undertook to surrender the degrees to the Grand Chapter; this action had been rescinded by both grand bodies, and the Grand Council now exists with all its powers, and I trust with its pristine vigor."[2]

We have followed thus far the history of the Cryptic Rite as given by Companion Josiah H. Drummond in his address to the General Grand Council at the first Triennial Assembly, three years after the inauguration of that body. He further stated the following Grand Councils had taken no definite action, *viz.*, Iowa and Nebraska. Mississippi had taken action in reference to the overwhelming sentiment of the Craft, which looks toward reorganizing the Grand Council System. The situation in Wisconsin is anomalous; the Grand Council surrendered the degrees to the Grand Chap-

[1] Proceedings General Grand Council, 1883, p. 7.

[2] Ibid., General Grand Master's Address.

ter, which authorized the conferring of them in a council appurtenant to a chapter,[1] so that in theory, if not in practice, each chapter had a council appurtenant to it, the chapter officers being the officers of the council. But in 1881, in consequence, as I understand, of objections to the recognition of persons receiving the degrees in such councils, a convention of the delegates of *these councils* was called, and a Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters was organized.[2]

We have given the above very interesting information as to the several States wherein the Cryptic Rite was worked in this place rather than in the separate individual jurisdictions, as it greatly saves space and time, reserving both of these for the details properly belonging to each subordinate jurisdiction as to the organization of the constituent councils in each, as it will appear under the alphabetical arrangement.

Note.—Companion Drummond in the above sketch begins with Alabama, but that Grand Council never appears in any subsequent proceedings as a constituent of the General Council.

Alabama.

The information which we have been enabled to obtain concerning Cryptic Masonry in Alabama is somewhat vague. It is supposed that John Barker, of the A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. Southern Jurisdiction, started the first councils of Royal and Select Masters, under his authority as Deputy Inspector-General. It is conceded that a Grand Council was organized in 1838 (December 13th).[3] This Grand Council repudiated, very properly, the course of the Grand Chapter of Virginia, in capturing the degrees of the council, and incorporating them with the chapter work, in 1843. The council also, in 1849, protested against the Grand Consistory of Charleston granting (of) these degrees in its jurisdiction.[4]

This Grand Council met, with some omissions, as in 1840, 1861, 1862 or 1863, until in 1886 it was dissolved, when all branches of Masonry in that State were much depressed. Since then, however, matters have greatly improved. This Grand Council was never connected with the General Grand Council after 1881, although one of the first to join in the organization in 1880.

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[1] Charters issued to chapters in 1848-49 provided for this usage—EDITOR.
[2] Ibid. [3] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 661. [4] Ibid.

Arizona.

The proceedings of the Triennial Assembly of the General Grand Council of 1897 show that the following councils secured their warrants:

	Dispensation Granted.	Chartered.
Olive Council, No. 1.	At Prescott, July 1, 1893.	August 22, 1894.
Phoenix, U. D.	At Phœnix, April 4, 1895.	Surrendered February 17, 1897.
Tucson, U. D	At Tucson, April 5, 1895.	Surrendered September 2, 1897.

Arkansas.

Four subordinate councils were, at an early date, chartered by the Supreme Council A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. of the Southern Jurisdiction. These four councils were formed by the State Grand Council, November 6, 1860. In 1878 the Companions adopted the system of incorporation with the chapters; but in 1881 resumed the independent form; and in 1886 united with the General Grand Council, and is yet within that organization. On the 25th of April, 1899, they had the sad misfortune to lose their Grand Recorder Companion James A. Henry.

California.

The Grand Council of Alabama granted charters to organize two councils in California. One council was chartered by the Grand Council of Tennessee, and one by the Grand Council of Texas. These four councils organized a Grand Council, June 26, 1860. In 1880 this Grand Council united with the General Grand Council in its organization.

Colorado.

The following councils were organized in Colorado under the General Grand Council:

	Dispensation Granted.	Chartered.
Denver, No. 1	Denver, January 16, 1892.	August 21, 1894.
Rocky Mountain, No. 2	Trinidad, March 24, 1893.	August 21, 1894.
Durango, No. 3	Durango, May 16, 1893.	August 21, 1894.
Akron, No. 4	Akron, May 23, 1893.	August 21, 1894,
Canon City, No. 5	Canon City, June 5, 1893.	August 21, 1894.
Gunnison, U. D.. . .	Gunnison.	
Pueblo, No. 7..	Pueblo, April 10, 1894.	August 21, 1894.

All of these councils are reported as being in existence at the Triennial held in 1897. At that session the General Grand Master reported that he had issued dispensations as follows:

To Hiram Council, at Greely, with sixteen members, December 8, 1894; but no interest being taken, the dispensation was surrendered, December 9, 1896.

To Zabud Council, at Colorado Springs, with thirty-two members, May 27, 1895. This council made reports for 1895, 1896, and 1897; paid dues for 1895 only, and asked for a Charter; but does not appear in the list of councils whose dispensations were continued; nor was it chartered.

To Leadville Council, at Leadville, June 10, 1895, and dispensation was surrendered, November 10, 1896.

Hiram, U. D., Greely, December 8, 1894, and surrendered.

Zabud, U. D., Colorado Springs, May 27, 1895, and continued.

Leadville, U. D., Leadville, June 10, 1895, surrendered.

Connecticut.

In 1818 Companion Jeremy L. Cross was very industrious in propagating the Cryptic Rite, and succeeded in forming ten councils in Connecticut. The first Grand Council of Select Masters for the State was organized by that name as claimed. There are no records of this body up to 1830. In 1825 the two degrees of Royal and Select Masons were recognized. From 1826 to 1846, in consequence of the Morgan episode, very little if anything was done in this as well as other branches of Masonry.

Since the revival, in all the States where the anti-Masonic spirit had prevailed, Masonry has taken a "new and prolonged lease," and flourishes to a much greater degree than ever before in its history. The sons and grandsons of the bitterest anti-Masons of 1830 are now the most zealous in their efforts to spread abroad the "glad tidings of peace on earth and good-will toward men."

Connecticut Grand Council does not belong to the General Grand Council, which is much to be regretted. The benefits of her union with that body would be mutual.

Delaware.

It is said that Jeremy L. Cross, when on his lecturing tour in the early days, visited Delaware and conferred the degrees in Wilmington and Newcastle. We have no further information from that State.

District of Columbia.

The Cryptic degrees are first mentioned, in the history of Masonic degrees in the District of Columbia, in the records of the Grand Chapter which was organized in 1822. At the Semi-Annual Convocation held June 9, 1829, the report of the Committee on Correspondence refers to a circular letter which had been sent by the Grand Chapter of Maryland to each Grand Chapter in the United States; which is as follows:[1]

"M. E. Sir and Companion:

"I am instructed by the Grand Chapter over which I have the honor to preside, to address you, and through you your Grand Chapter, upon the unsettled state of the degree of Select Mason, a subject deemed by us of sufficient importance to claim the particular attention of your Grand Chapter.

"This degree existed under the authority of a distinguished Chief in the State of Maryland, but without the recognizance of our Grand Chapter for many years; until, in the year 1824, upon the revision of our Constitution, it appearing evident that the Select Degree not only has an intimate connection with, but is in a measure necessary, as preparatory to and elucidatory of that of the Royal Arch; it was formally recognized by our Grand Chapter, and required to be given by our subordinate Chapters in its proper order immediately preceding that of the Royal Arch. Under this arrangement we have since progressed, much to our satisfaction; but it is with regret that we have learned that Councils or Chapters of Select Masons have been established in some of our sister States, *independent of Royal Arch Masonry,* avowedly in pursuance of, but, as we are satisfied, through a great mistake or actual abuse of any authority delegated, or meant to be delegated, in relation to the Select Degree. We would, therefore, beg leave respectfully to

[1] Proceedings of Grand Chapter of District of Columbia, 1822-1833, p. 108.

recommend to your Grand Chapter the consideration of this degree, and the circumstances under which it exists, within your jurisdiction; with the hope that you will see it to be for the general interest of the Craft to take the degree under your recognizance and control, to whom of right it belongs, and thereby do away with what is felt to be a grievance, by those distinguished Chiefs, whose authority, delegated to a limited extent, and for special reasons, has been perverted for sordid purposes, by the creation of an independent order, never contemplated by them; and which we believe to be inconsistent with the spirit and best interests of our institution.

"Respectfully and fraternally, &c."

This was never officially communicated to the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia by the Grand Chapter of Maryland, but was taken from the printed proceedings of that body, pp. 15, 16, and 17.

That committee also reported: "The Grand Chapter of North Carolina had determined that the degree should come under the jurisdiction of State Grand Chapters, and recommended it to the favorable consideration of the General Grand Chapter. The Grand Chapter of Maine had referred the subject to a Committee. It remains for the Grand Chapter to take such orders in the premises as it shall seem proper."

The Grand Chapter of Ohio has passed a resolution of which the following is a copy, and which has officially been communicated to this Grand Chapter for its consideration. "At a regular communication of the Grand Chapter [of Ohio] in January, 1829, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Grand Chapter that the General Grand Chapter of the United States ought to be dissolved.

"BELA LATHAM,
"Grand Secretary."[1]

A committee to whom the subject was referred reported:[2]

"That they are decidedly of the opinion that the Royal and Select Master's Degrees should be recognized by and conferred under the direction of the several Grand Chapters of the respective States and Territories of the Union. With regard to the proper time when

[1] Proceedings of Grand Chapter of District of Columbia, p. 109. [2] Ibid., 113,

these degrees should be conferred, whether before or after the Royal Arch Degree, they decline expressing an opinion, preferring that this point should be left to the determination of the General Grand Chapter; and they recommend that the representatives from this Grand Chapter to that body, at its Triennial meeting, in September, be instructed to conform in their proceedings on this subject, to the tenor of the foregoing." This was laid on the table for the present. When taken up again, it was "*Resolved*, That the further consideration thereof be postponed till the first Tuesday in August next; and that in the meantime the Grand Secretary be directed to forward a copy of the report this day made on that subject to the several Councils of Royal and Select Masters in the District of Columbia."[1]

At the special convocation, held August 31, 1829, the following appears: Companion Baldwin, from a committee appointed by the Council of Royal and Select Masters of the City of Washington (which body had been addressed on the subject by the Grand Secretary, pursuant to order) presented to the Grand Chapter the following letter and report, viz.:[2]

"WASHINGTON, August 31, 1829.

"At a special meeting of the Council of Royal and Select Masters, held at the Central Masonic Hall, on Saturday, the 29th of August, instant, the written report having been presented and read, was, on motion, ordered to be transmitted to the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia at their next meeting.

"JOHN CAROTHERS, *T. I. G. M.*

"W. W. BILLINGS, *Recorder*."

Report.

"The Committee appointed by the Council of Royal and Select Masters of the City of Washington, to whom was referred the propriety of extending the jurisdiction of the General, Grand, and Subordinate Royal Arch Chapters so as to embrace the Degrees of Royal and Select Masters, have the honor to report:

"That they have had the subject under consideration, and are duly impressed with its vast importance. After the most mature deliberation they have come to the following conclusions: That Masonic light in its principles, and the order of its development, is fixed and unchangeable! That whatever power the Fraternity may

[1] Proceedings of the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia, p. 115. [2] Ibid., 119.

have over forms and ceremonies, yet no body of Masons, however exalted, neither have nor can assume the power of changing the original landmarks, or altering its elements. Your committee are confident, from an intimate acquaintance with all the degrees, that those of 'Royal and Select Master' are not only posterior in order to the 'Royal Arch,' but that in our opinion it would not be consistent with ancient Masonry to make them previous.

"Whether the interests of the Craft would be promoted by this extended jurisdiction, your Committee are unable to say; but should that course be thought advisable, by the General Grand Chapter, in its solemn deliberation, your Committee are decidedly of the opinion that it can only be done under the following restrictions:

"1st. That the Degrees of Royal and Select Masters can only be conferred on Royal Arch Masons.

"2d. No one can be an officer of any Chapter who is not both a Royal and Select Master.

"Without these restrictions your Committee can never consent to a change in the present established mode of proceeding.[1]

"All of which is most respectfully submitted.

"E. BALDWIN,
"W. W. BILLINGS, } *Committee*."
"J. A. KENNEDY,

The report of a committee made in June last on the subject of the degree was taken up and read, and was passed by a majority of one vote only, and on motion it was

"*Resolved*, That the Grand Secretary transmit to the General Grand Secretary copies of the two reports above stated, together with the proper credentials of the proxies appointed to represent this Grand Chapter in the General Grand Chapter of the United States, at its ensuing meeting in New York; and that the Grand Secretary do prepare the proper instructions."

At the meeting of the General Grand Chapter, September 11, 1829, this question came up for action on a communication from Comp. J. K. Stapleton, upon which a suitable committee made the following report, and it and the resolutions were adopted:

"*Whereas*, It is satisfactorily proved to this General Grand Chapter, that the Constitution of the Councils of Royal and Select

[1] Proceedings of the Grand Chapter of District of Columbia, p. 120.

Master Mason, in different parts of the United States, by sundry-persons, has been without any legitimate authority,

"And *Whereas,* Those degrees are conferred in some chapters, under the authority of the General Grand Chapter; and whereas it was proved that it was the only and sole intention of the Most Excellent Companions from whom these degrees emanated that they should be conferred under the authority of Royal Arch Chapters; therefore,

"*Resolved,* That this General Grand Chapter cordially recommend to the different Councils in the United States to adopt measures to place those degrees under the authority of the State Grand Chapters.

"*Resolved,* That authority be, and is hereby, granted to the several Grand Chapters, under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, to make such arrangements as shall be found necessary for conferring the degrees of Royal and Select Masters in Royal Arch Chapters; provided always that no Grand Chapter, within the limits of which is a Grand Council, shall authorize the Royal Arch Chapters under the jurisdiction to confer such degrees without the consent of such Grand Council."

We have no records or accounts whatever in the District of Columbia as to what became of the "Council," or Councils, if more than one, which is referred to above.

The chapters in the District continued to confer the Royal and Select degrees prior to the Royal Arch, until in 1833, when the Grand Chapter was dissolved. Several of the chapters again joined the Grand Chapter of Maryland, which body, thereafter, in 1844, added to its nomenclature "the District of Columbia," and the Council degrees were worked within the chapters prior to the Royal Arch, until May 23, 1867, when the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia was again organized; and on that day, the new Grand Chapter, by resolution, unanimously dropped those degrees from the curriculum of the chapter work, being well satisfied that they did not properly belong to the chapters. Soon after the organization of the Grand Chapter in 1867, Companion Benjamin B. French, the Inspector-General of the Southern Jurisdiction for the A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·., for the District of Columbia, issued three dispensations to form three new councils of Royal and Select Masters, for the District of Columbia.

Those who had received those degrees in regular organized councils refused to join in this movement. Soon after this, the question was agitated as to the legality and propriety of thus inaugurating a new method of propagating the Cryptic degrees, and the result was, these three councils went into "innocuous desuetude." When the time was deemed judicious, the present writer, with eight others, who had been regular Council Masons, prepared a petition to the Grand Council of Massachusetts for a dispensation to open LaFayette Council. This was granted August, 1870, with the writer as Most Illustrious Master. The Grand Officers of the Grand Council of that State came to Washington and opened LaFayette Council.

Inasmuch as the great body of Royal and Select Masons in the District had received the degrees of Royal and Select Masters in their several chapters prior to the Royal Arch, it was decided that all such Royal Arch Masons, as well as those who had never received the Council degrees, should be received at a nominal price (five dollars) for those degrees. Accordingly, in two nights sessions the Grand Officers conferred the Royal, Select, and Super-excellent degrees upon 158 R. A. Masons. A Charter was granted December 14, 1870, and the council started with flying colors and great success. This council continued with some measure of prosperity for several years, when from internal dissensions the members lost their interest and in a few years ceased to attend, and the council died out.

When the General Grand Council of the United States was organized in 1881, the present writer, after correspondence with Companion Josiah H. Drummond, the General Grand Master, and a few members of the defunct body, petitioned for another council to be called "Washington," with the principal officers of the deceased LaFayette Council at the head. A dispensation was granted, and started with good prospects. At the next meeting of the General Grand Council a Charter was granted. Since that time Washington Council, No. 1, has continued to grow, but not as rapidly as she should. Indeed, the District of Columbia should have several councils in prosperous operation, and that, too, under the constitution of a Grand Council for the District.

Florida.

The Southern Supreme Council, exercising its undoubted right of control at that time over the degrees of Royal and Select Masons, through some one of her inspectors, perhaps in South Carolina, had, previous to 1858, issued at different times warrants to form three councils in Florida. The present writer is personally aware of the one existing at Warrington, adjoining the navy-yard at that locality, as he reported for duty as Chief Constructing Engineer at that naval station February, 1857, and found a thriving lodge, chapter, and council in full operation, and it was his great pleasure to assist in the work in all of these bodies at that time.

January 13, 1858, these three councils organized a Grand Council, at the time of the agitation of who should control these degrees. After much discussion the Grand Chapter of Florida declined to act. The Grand Council became a member of the General Grand Body.

There have been no proceedings of the body issued since 1882, and there have been no meetings since 1884. In the proceedings of the General Grand Council for 1897 there is a broad black mark across the page opposite to Florida, where the Grand Recorder's name should have been, but in the tables of annual assemblies from 1894 to 1896 Florida appears with names of the Grand Officers.

Georgia.

We learn that one of the deputies of the Southern Supreme Council, Abram Jacobs, conferred the degree of Select of Twenty-seven in the State of Georgia. On May 2, 1826, a Grand Council was organized by the authority of the Inspector-General of the Supreme Council, which is noticed in the publications of that day. June 25, 1841, three councils met, and a Grand Council was established by the authority of the Supreme Grand Council of the 33°, in Charleston, S. C. They adopted the constitution of the former Grand Council of 1826. That body, having ceased to work, became dormant, and the records were lost. In the revised constitution of 1842 they claimed to be the highest source of legitimate Masonic authority in the State of Georgia, and of right ought to have the government and superintendence of all councils of Royal and Select

Masters within its jurisdiction.[1] This Grand Council belongs to the General Grand Council and is reported in the proceedings of 1897.

Idaho.

A council was organized in Idaho by a dispensation from the Officers of the General Grand Council, *viz.*, Idaho Council, No. 1, at Pocatillo, December 15, 1896—which was annulled afterward; also a dispensation for Adoniram Council, at Boise, January 30, 1896. Dispensation continued until next assembly.

Illinois.

The Grand Council of Kentucky having issued charters to several councils in the State of Illinois, a Grand Council was organized March 10, 1854. In 1877 the degrees were surrendered to the control of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, notwithstanding that in 1854 it refused to heal Royal and Select Masters who had been made in the chapters. The Grand Council, however, continued its annual sessions, its constituents being composed of the mixture of regularly made Council Masters and those made in the chapters. This did not prove satisfactory, and in 1882 the Grand Council and Grand Chapter agreed to resume their old condition. Illinois Grand Council is an independent Grand Body.

Indiana.

In the State of Indiana the Council degrees were given in the chapter work. After the General Grand Chapter's decision, councils were chartered by the Grand Councils of Kentucky and Ohio. Chapter Royal and Select Masons were "healed" and the Grand Council of Indiana was organized December 20, 1855.

Iowa.

When Royal Arch Masonry was first planted in Iowa, the Council degrees were part of the chapter work. After the decision of the General Grand Chapter, in regard to these degrees, Companions were "healed" by the authority of the Grand Master of the

[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p, 662.

Grand Council of Illinois. Charters were issued by that Grand Council to councils in Iowa, which subsequently organized the Grand Council of Iowa, January 2, 1857. In 1878 the Grand Council merged itself into the Grand Chapter of Iowa, nineteen councils having been duly organized prior to that time. To the present day those degrees are merged into the chapter of Royal Arch

Kansas.

Three councils of Royal and Select Masters were chartered by the Grand Council of Missouri, in the State of Kansas, and December 2, 1867, these three councils organized a Grand Council of Royal, Select, and Super-excellent Masons.

Kentucky.

The Select degree was carried into the State of Kentucky by J. L. Cross, when in 1817 he made his official tour through the Western States as General Grand Lecturer of the General Grand Chapter. December 10, 1827, six councils met by their delegates and organized a Grand Council of the State, which is said to be the result of John Barker's efforts in behalf of the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction, A.˙. A.·. S.·. R.·. This jurisdiction felt the effects of the Morgan anti-Masonic period from 1830 to 1840, when the Grand Council met only once. The degrees were merged into the chapter from 1878 to 1881. After the organization of the General Grand Council the Grand Council of Kentucky was re-organized. Companion H. B. Grant, M.·. Ill.·. Gr.·. Master, in his annals mentions the case of a Thrice Illustrious Master of a council who *communicated* the degrees outside of a council, and who construed his obligation to mean that he could not *confer* the degrees except in a council, but could communicate the degrees, and so directed the record to be made as if conferred in a council. This was declared by the Grand Master to be irregular, and required recognition to be refused until they were "healed" in open council. The Grand Council of Kentucky is an independent body.

Louisiana.

It is stated that John Barker in 1827 organized Holland Council, No. 1, in New Orleans, and in the "tableau" of the Grand

Chapter of Louisiana in 1828 it is referred to. When in or about 1850 Capitular Masonry was re-organized, Cryptic Masonry was also revived. Four councils formed a Grand Council February 10, 1856. One of these was Holland, No. 1. The others had been chartered by the Grand Councils of Kentucky and Alabama.

Maine.

At an early period a council had been organized in Maine, working under the General Grand Chapter. The Grand Council of Massachusetts organized three councils, and these, by their delegates, formed the Grand Council, May 3, 1855.

Maryland.

In the introduction of this history of the Cryptic Rite, the connection of Eckel and Niles, as leaders at an early date, was noticed.[1] The Select degree was then only recognized as an appendant to the regular curriculum of degrees of the A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. which was controlled by the Deputy Inspectors of that rite. This was prior to 1800, and perhaps extended into the present century, as late as the date of the certificate, or dispensation, given to Cross. We have seen, under District of Columbia, the steps which were taken, as early as 1824, to incorporate these degrees with the chapter work and to precede the Most Excellent Master's degree. This union of the Cryptic with the Capitular system continued until 1872, when, by law, the Grand Chapter separated them. Six councils after this (May 12, 1874) organized the present Grand Council of the State, which became a member of the General Grand Council and so continues.

Massachusetts.

In 1817 a voluntary council of Royal Masters was organized by Benjamin Gleason and others, and subsequently obtained the sanction of Columbian Council of New York. A Select council was formed at Springfield, May 28, 1818, by J. L. Cross. Six councils, at different times, having been organized, their delegates met February 8, 1826, and on June 15, 1826, completed the formation of a Grand Council. The records of this body having been lost during

1 See pp. 1549, 1550.

A ∴ A ∴ SCOTTISH RITE


CONSISTORY
OF
NEW YORK CITY

the anti-Masonic period, nothing is known concerning these degrees until the re-organization in 1847. From the year 1853 the Grand Council has met regularly and great prosperity has followed. It is asserted that Hiram Council, at Worcester, with 1,070 members in 1897, is the largest council of Royal and Select Masters in the world.

Michigan.

The Grand Council of Connecticut had chartered three councils in the State of Michigan, and these, by their delegates, met in convention on January 13, 1858, and organized a Grand Council for the State. In 1856 that Grand Council granted a Charter for a council at Detroit. This Grand Council is independent, and chapter-made Royal and Select Masons are not in favor.

Minnesota.

The Grand Council of Iowa having chartered three councils in Minnesota, December 12, 1870, these three by their delegates organized a Grand Council. The council which had been chartered by the Grand Council of New York in 1855 soon became dormant. This Grand Council is a member of the General Grand Council.

Mississippi.

From our careful examination into the early history of Cryptic Masonry in the State of Mississippi, we find that John Barker, before mentioned as agent for the Southern Supreme Council, established at Natchez, Miss., a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem in 1829, which assumed the control of the Royal and Select Master's degrees, and under the auspices of the Council of Princes of Jerusalem seven councils were organized, and these by their delegates organized a Grand Council January 19, 1856. After the close of the war, in 1865, a number of the councils having surrendered their charters, and others having become dormant, the Grand Council, which had assembled annually, in 1877 adopted a plan which became widely known as the "Mississippi Plan," which provided:

"Each Royal Arch Chapter shall hereafter open within its bosom, under its charter, as a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, a Council of

Royal and Select Masters; the officers of the Chapter corresponding in rank to those of the Council.

"All the Royal Arch Masons who have not received the degrees of Royal Master and Select Master shall be entitled to have the same conferred or communicated on their request and without charge; but candidates who shall hereafter receive the Royal Arch degree shall, immediately thereafter, and in connection with the Royal Arch degree, receive the degrees of Royal and Select Master without additional charge."

The Grand Council was dissolved, and this plan was adopted in many jurisdictions, the General Grand Chapter having placed on record at Lexington, Ky., at the meeting September 16, 1853, the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That this General Grand Chapter and the governing bodies of Royal Arch Masonry affiliated with, and holding jurisdiction under it, have no rightful jurisdiction or control over the degrees of Royal and Select Master."

"*Resolved,* That this General Grand Chapter will hereafter entertain no question or matter growing out of the government or working of these degrees while in their present position."[1]

All of the independent jurisdiction except Iowa, which adopted the "Mississippi Plan," have rescinded the same and returned to the council organization. In 1888 the Grand Council of Mississippi at its session that year adopted the following:

"*Resolved,* That the Grand Royal Arch Chapter hereby releases control of the Cryptic Degrees and recommends that the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters resume its former jurisdiction of the degrees.

"That Chapters are hereby prohibited from communicating and conferring the Cryptic Degrees, recognizing the authority of the Grand Council in all matters pertaining to said degrees." In February, 1888, the Grand Council of Mississippi met, six of the officers being of those elected in 1877. Six councils were represented.

At the sixth triennial assembly of the General Grand Chapter, which met in Baltimore, Md., October 11, 1897, the following paper was unanimously adopted:

"*Whereas,* The report of Companion Josiah H. Drummond as

[1] Proceedings of the General Grand Chapter, 1856, p. 317.

chairman of the Committee on Correspondence of the Grand Council of Maine for the year 1894, and the Address of Companion Frederic Speed, Grand Master of the Grand Council of Mississippi for the year 1895, present facts that conclusively show that a misunderstanding has existed in the minds of our Companions in Mississippi for some years past, as to the attitude of General Grand Council towards the Grand Council of Mississippi; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the General Grand Council, through its Grand Master, extend to the Companions of the Grand Council of Mississippi its fraternal greetings and its best wishes for the prosperity of the Cryptic Rite in Mississippi."[1]

Also this minute appeared: "Most Illustrious Frederic Speed, Grand Master of the Grand Council of Mississippi, was announced and received with the Grand Honors, escorted to the East, and greeted by the Most Puissant Grand Master in a happy and felicitous manner.

"Companion Speed thereupon addressed the General Grand Council in very eloquent language; thanking the Puissant Grand Master for the cordiality of his reception, etc. The above preamble and resolution was then read and Companion Speed spoke feelingly as follows:

" 'Most Illustrious Sir and Companions:

" 'When I say that the reading of the resolution, which I have just heard, affords me the most sincere satisfaction and pleasure, I but feebly voice the emotions of my heart. If I know myself or the great-hearted men who comprise the Cryptic Masons of Mississippi, I can honestly say that we have taken no pleasure in the long estrangement which has unfortunately divided us, and I am sure they will receive with no less happiness than I now do, the message of peace and good will which come to us, through the action of this most illustrious Body. Receive then, Sir, this right hand as a pledge, in their name, of reconciliation and peace, given with a determination to forget the past, and to strive in the bonds of friendship and brotherly love, with you, for the upbuilding of the temple of the Lord, letting the past bury its dead, and acting in the living present, heart within and God overhead. Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."[2]

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Council, 1897, p. 79.

[2] Ibid., p. 82.

Missouri,

It is said by very good authority that Cross, in his tour through the West, conferred the Select degree in Missouri; in what year is uncertain. Also it is said that the Royal degree was introduced as early as 1828. In 1841 there were three councils in the State: one in St. Louis, one at Palmyra, and where the other was located the present writer can not recollect. At that time, 1841-42, he was in St. Louis and received the Royal and Select degrees in Missouri Council, No. 1, at St. Louis, about the time the Grand Council met. Immediately after the Grand Council closed he wrote up and recorded the transactions of the Grand Council.

These bodies became extinct, as well as some councils which had been chartered by the Grand Council of Kentucky. May 21, 1864, the Grand Council was organized.

In 1848, the writer having gone to Independence to construct a local railroad, found the Council degrees incorporated in the chapter by the Charter, to be worked subsequent to the Royal Arch.

Montana.

The following councils in Montana received dispensations from the General Grand Council, *viz.:*

Glendive, at Glendive……	April 22, 1896. Dispensation. October 12, 1897. Chartered.
Custer, at Miles City……..	October 24, 1897. Dispensation. Annulled.
Adoniram, at Livingston ……...	May 13, 1897. Continued.
Mystic, at Bozeman ……..	May 20, 1897. Continued.
Zabud, No. 2, at Butte ……..	May 22, 1897. October 12, 1897.
Montana, at Dillon ……	October 24, 1897. Annulled.
Deer Lodge, at Deer Lodge ……...	June 10, 1897. Annulled.
Anaconda, at Anaconda ……	June 11, 1897. Annulled.
Hellgate, at Missoula	September 1, 1897 Continued.
Hiram, at Kalispell	September 2, 1897 Annulled.

These councils were all reported at the triennial of the Supreme Council in 1897.

Nevada.

The following councils were organized by dispensations issued by the Grand Officers of the General Grand Council for Nevada.

	Dispensation.
Carson, at Carson ……..	September 3, 1896. Continued.
Mountain, at Virginia City ……	September 4, 1896. Continued.
Reno, at Reno ……	September, 1896. Continued.
Eureka, at Eureka ……..	September 21, 1896. Continued.

These were reported to the triennial of the General Grand Council in 1897.

New Mexico.

The following councils were granted dispensations, by the Officers of the General Grand Council, for New Mexico, *viz.:*

Deming, No. 1, at Deming ……...	April 8, 1887. November 19, 1889.
Las Vegas, at Las Vegas ……..	March 16, 1895. Annulled.
Santa Fé, at Santa Fé	May 1, 1895. Continued.
Hiram, at Albuguerque …….	May 7, 1895. Annulled.
Alpha, at Raton …….	May 11, 1895. Annulled.

Nebraska.

Omaha Council was organized July 8, 1867, by a Charter from the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction. Two other councils were chartered by the Grand Council of Kansas. The Grand Council was formed by the delegates of the above-mentioned three councils, November 20, 1872. In 1878 the councils adopted the "Mississippi Plan." In 1886 the Grand Council was revived, and then afterward joined the General Grand Council, where she is now.

New Hampshire.

August 5, 1815, four Companions organized a council of Royal Masters at Hopkinton, N. H. J. L. Cross, in 1819, instituted another council of Select Masons, at Hopkinton; these two were united in 1822. On July 9, 1823, a Grand Council was formed. During the period from 1835 to 1855 the councils were dormant. The above two councils, Orphan and Columbian, after 1855 were revived, and Adoniram Council, which had been chartered by the Grand Council of Connecticut, united and formed a Grand Council, June 11, 1862.

New Jersey.

Kane Council, No. 11, was chartered by the Grand Council of New York; and two other councils, *viz.*, Scott, No. 13, at New Brunswick, and Gebal, No. 14, at Trenton, were chartered by the Grand Council of Pennsylvania. These three councils organized the Grand Council, November 26, 1860. It has always been an independent Grand Council.

New York.

The earliest time when we find any organization in the State of New York of the Council degrees is September 10, 1810; at which time a meeting of Royal Masters was held in St. John's Hall, in New York City, and a council of Royal Masters was opened, with Companion Thomas Lowndes presiding; and it was determined to organize a Grand Council to be called Columbian Council of Royal Master Masons for the City of New York. Thomas Lowndes was elected and installed Thrice Illustrious Grand Royal Master. Nineteen members, Royal Master Masons, were present. It is thought, and no doubt correctly so, that this was the very first council formed, and was regarded as authority, as on the evening of December 6, 1817, a petition was received from a council organized in Boston, asking the sanction of Columbian Council for its formation. This was granted, and Benjamin Gleason was recognized as T. I. G M. of the said new council.

From the records of Columbian Council it appears that a council of Knights of the Round Table was convened, as also a Chapter of

Illustrious Knights of the Holy Order of the Garter, wherein Companions were installed Knights of the Illustrious and Invincible Order of St. George of Cappadocia, by which latter title the Order was sometimes known.

Thomas Lowndes was annually elected T. I. G. R. M. from the organization, September 2, 1810, to July 9, 1820, and presided at every meeting. Five Companions received the degree of Super-excellent Master December 22, 1817. There is no record of the Select Master's degree earlier than November 25, 1821. In January, 1823, it was "*Resolved,* That it is expedient to form a Grand Council of Royal Master Masons and Select Masons for the State of New York, and that T. I. G. R. M. Thomas Lowndes be requested to call a convention of all the present and past Grand Royal Masters and Deputy Grand Royal Masters and Grand Wardens in this city, in order to carry into effect the formation of said Grand Council." A convention was held January 25, 1823, and a Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters was formed Thomas Lowndes being elected M. I. R G. M., which council continued until June 4, 1860, when it united with a Grand Council which had been organized in the city of New York, May 27, 1854, by delegates from councils of Royal and Select Masons working under the authority of the Grand Council of Connecticut. In the formation of the General Grand Council the New York Companions took a very active part.

North Carolina.

At a very early date Masonry was introduced into North Carolina. A Warrant for a lodge, called "Royal White Hart Lodge," at Halifax, was granted August 21, 1767, and the first Grand Council was formed at Fayetteville, June 21, 1822. At the convention for the organization of this body five councils were represented, they having all been chartered by the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction. The effort to incorporate the degrees with the chapter did not succeed. The Grand Chapter had endeavored to control the degrees, but in 1859 "*Resolved,* That this Grand Chapter, after due consideration, hereby disclaims for itself and subordinates any and all control over the Royal and Select Master's degrees." The Supreme Council of Southern Jurisdiction chartered, by Dr. A. G. Mackey, as agent, three councils, and a Grand

Council was organized June 6, 1860. In consequence of the War no meeting was held until 1868. This body was dissolved in 1883, and the degrees were turned over to the Grand Chapter. In 1887 the Grand Council was re-organized. It is now an independent body.

Ohio.

John Barker, the agent of the Supreme Council Southern Jurisdiction, at a very early day organized five councils in Ohio. J. L. Cross had been in Ohio perhaps as early as 1817; some authors say 1816; we think not, as he had not received his commission as General Grand Lecturer until the session of the General Grand Chapter, June 8, 1816. Moreover, as the General Grand Chapter refused the proposition, at that session, to incorporate the degrees in the chapter work, and as it is asserted by Folger that Cross went to Baltimore, and the paper issued by Eckel and Niles is dated in 1817 (May 27th), the very fair presumption is that Cross did not attempt to confer the Select prior to the date of his authority, whether that "paper" was genuine or a forgery, as Companion Josiah H. Drummond has pronounced it to be. Companion Drummond has traced the "itinerary" of Cross through Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and thence to Baltimore, May, 1817. In 1827 a council was established at Cleveland by Charter from the Grand Council of New York. A Grand Council for the State was organized January 6, 1830, by the five councils organized by John Barker.

North Dakota.

The following councils received their dispensations from the Officers of the General Grand Council, *viz.:*

	Dispensation.	Charter.
Casselton, No. 1, at Casselton, December 7, 1888.		November 10, 1889.
Hilkiah, No. 2, at Jamestown, September 1, 1893.		August 21, 1894.
	Dispensation.	
Hiram Council, at Valley City ……...	December 31, 1895. Continued.	
Rae Council, at Grand Forks …….	January 2, 1896. Annulled.	

	Dispensation.
Zabud Council, at Devil's Lake …….	January 3, 1896. Annulled.
Towner Council, at Towner ……..	January 6, 1896. Continued.
Adoniram Council, at Fargo ……..	February 15, 1896. Continued.
Damascus Council, at Wahpeton ……	February 18, 1896. Annulled.
Mizpah Council, at Park River ……..	March 15, 1896. Annulled.
Tyrian Council, at Lisbon ……..	April 6, 1896. Continued.
Bismarck Council, at Bismarck …….	April 20, 1896. Continued.

Oregon.

By authority of the General Grand Master of the General Grand Council, Companion A. H. Hodson was authorized to convene not less than five Royal and Select Masters, and to confer the degrees upon not exceeding nine Royal Arch Masons. A dispensation was issued to Pioneer Council, U. D., at McMinnville.

Three councils convened February 3, 1885, and formed a Grand Council for Oregon under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Council.

Pennsylvania.

October 26, 1847, two councils in Pennsylvania, and one in Texas, formed the Grand Council. This Grand Council disbanded and was re-organized in 1854. Papers of the meetings from 1847 to 1851 have been found, but it seems no regular records were ever kept. It was proposed in the Grand Council, in 1854, to turn the degrees over to the control of the Council of Princes of Jerusalem, which, however, was not accepted; and December 30, 1854, the Grand Council was re-organized. It is an independent jurisdiction, but does not recognize those who have received the degree in chapters.

Rhode Island.

A meeting of Royal Masters was convened in Providence, R. I., March 28, 1818, and May 19th "*Resolved*, That the degree of Select Master be attached to this Council." J. L. Cross gave that council

a Charter in 1819. For many years this council was dormant, and no meeting was held until 1841. The Grand Councils of Massachusetts and Connecticut issued charters to other councils, and the Supreme Council of Northern Jurisdiction A.·.A.·.S.·.R.·. gave authority to confer the degrees of Royal and Select Master upon a Charter for a Lodge of Perfection at Newport, which in 1870 was revoked, a Grand Council having been organized on October 30, 1860, from which a Charter was obtained. This Grand Council is independent.

South Carolina.

In the preface to this chapter much of the early history of the Cryptic degrees has already been given in detail. The Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction had great influence in the direction of the government of the Cryptic Rite in South Carolina. Nine councils of Royal and Select Masons were chartered in the years of 1858 and 1859. The Supreme Council in 1860 waived its rights, and a Grand Council was regularly formed, February 15, 1850. In 1880 the "Mississippi Plan" was adopted. However, in 1881, the Grand Council was re-organized and became a member of the General Grand Council.

South Dakota.

The following councils received dispensations from the Officers of the General Grand Council in South Dakota:

Alpha Council, No. 1, at Sioux Falls		……...	D. April 11, 1891. C. July 21, 1891.
Lakota	" "	Deadwood ……	September 7, 1895. Annulled.
Black Hills Council	"	Hot Springs ……..	September 9, 1895. Annulled.
Zabud	" "	Yankton ……	September 25, 1895. Annulled.
Scotland	" "	Scotland ……	October 1, 1895. Surrendered.
Omega	" "	Salem ……	October 10, 1895. Continued.
Hiram	" "	Canton ……..	October 30, 1895. Annulled.
Koda	" "	Flandreau ……..	October 31, 1895. Surrendered.

Brookings Council, No. 1, at Brookings ……..			November 1, 1895. Annulled.
Aberdeen	"	" Aberdeen ……	November 4, 1895. Annulled.
Adoram	"	" Webster ……..	November 6, 1895. Annulled.
Emanuel	"	" Millbank ……	November 14, 1865 Annulled.
Mitchell	"	" Mitchell ……..	November 28, 1895. Annulled.
Oriental	"	" Pierre ……..	December 12, 1895. Annulled.
Mystic	"	" Huron ……..	December 30, 1895. Surrendered.
Faulk	"	" Faulkland ……	December 31, 1885. Annulled.

Tennessee.

Two councils derived their authority to organize councils in the State of Tennessee from the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction. Two other councils had obtained charters from the Grand Council of Kentucky, and one other had received a dispensation from the Grand Council of Alabama. These five councils by their delegates organized a Grand Council, October 13, 1847.

This Grand Council united with the General Grand Council.

Texas.

From the history of the Cryptic Rite in Pennsylvania we learn that a council of Texas united with two councils in Pennsylvania in the organization of a Grand Council in 1847; hence these degrees must have been worked in a council in Texas at that time. June 24, 1856, a Grand Council for Texas was organized, which was disbanded in 1864, and the degrees remanded to the chapters, which can be conferred upon Royal Arch Masons only.

Utah.

The following dispensations were issued by the Grand Officers of the General Grand Council to form councils in Utah, *viz.:*

Summit Council, at Park City, September 2, 1895, which was very soon surrendered.

Utah, No. 1, at Salt Lake City, dispensation granted February 13, 1892, and chartered August 21, 1894.

Vermont.

After J. L. Cross had made his tour in the South and West he was in Vermont in July, 1817. In a letter from Haverhill, N. H., he says: "I made no further tarry until I arrived at Windsor, Vermont, where I established a council of Select Masons. They, finding that the degree was full of information, and that it could not be given antecedent to that of the Royal Arch, wished for a warrant to empower them to confer it, upon which I granted them one in the words following." (Omitted.)

Cross was made a Royal Arch Mason in Champlain Chapter, No. 1, at St. Albans, Vt, July 11, 1815, while engaged as a lecturer to the lodges.

Companion Drummond claims that the first permanent body of Select Masters was the council formed by Cross at Windsor, Vermont, July 5, 1817. He founded a council at Bradford, also, in 1817.

By himself or by his deputy, John H. Cotton, Cross organized nine councils.

The Warrant of the council at Bennington having been preserved, we give it, as follows:

"To all whom these presents may come, GREETING:

"Know ye, that by the high powers in me vested by the Thrice Illustrious and Grand Puissant in the Grand Council of Select Masters, held at the City of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, North America, I do hereby constitute and empower the within named Companions to form themselves into a regular Council of Select Masters, and I do hereby appoint my worthy Companion Samuel S. Young to be first Thrice Illustrious Grand Master, Zacheus Hovey, to be first Illustrious Deputy Grand Master, and Oliver Abell to be the Principal Conductor, and I do grant them full power, with their constitutional number, to assemble, open, and confer the Degree of Select master, and do all other business appertaining to said degree, for which this shall be their warrant, until revoked by the Grand Puissant. And I do further direct said Council to hold its meetings at Bennington, Bennington County, and State of Vermont. Given under my hand at Bennington this twenty-third day of May, A.D. 1818, and of the Discovery 2818.

"Signed JOHN H. COTTON,

"*Acting Deputy Puissant in Grand Council*"

These councils continued until 1826-1828. During the Morgan anti-Masonic period, like all other branches of Masonry, nothing was done. A re-organization took place in 1849, under their original warrants, until 1854. Four of these councils organized a Grand Council August 10, 1854. Vermont united with the General Grand Council.

Virginia.

In the previous history of the rite we have shown that Myers remained for some time in Virginia and was in Norfolk and in Richmond, where he communicated the degrees of Royal Master and Select of Twenty-seven, under his authority as Inspector of the A.·.A.·.S.·. Rite. Jeremy L. Cross, it is said, established a council of Select Masters in December, 1817, in Richmond, and soon thereafter in Portsmouth and other towns.

A Grand Council was formed in 1820 and often failed to meet, as in 1829 to 1839, and in 1847 was dissolved, and the degrees were remanded or rather turned over to the chapters, where they have remained to the present time.

These degrees are conferred in the chapter preceding the Royal Arch under the mistaken idea that the incidents therein related occurred at the building of the Temple, and those of the Royal Arch were laid at the rebuilding thereof, forgetting that, as allegorical representations, they should of necessity for proper instruction be, as they were originally designed, subsequent to the "Mason of the Royal Arch," or thirteenth of the A.·.A.·.A.·.R.·.

Washington.

The General Grand Council by its Officers issued dispensations to Washington to organize councils as follows:

	Dispensation.	Chartered.
To Tacoma, No. 1, at Tacoma ……..	February 9, 1891.	July 21, 1891.
To Colfax, No. 2, at Colfax ……..	June 9, 1893.	August 21, 1894.
To Mt. Baker, No. 3, at New Whatcom.....	June 14, 1893.	August 22, 1894.
To Spokane, No. 4, at Spokane …….	July 8, 1893.	August 21, 1894.
To Pomeroy, No. 5, at Pomeroy ……	July 16, 1893.	August 22, 1894.
To Seattle, No. 6, at Seattle ……..	May 9, 1894.	August 21, 1894.

These councils, by order of the General Grand Master, issued May 31, 1895, were assembled by their representatives, June 5, 1895, and the adoption of a constitution and the election of their Officers were duly and regularly constituted, and the Officers were installed by the Special Deputy, Elijah M. Beatty, and so reported to the General Grand Recorder.

Zabud Council, No. 7, at Walla Walla, had a dispensation granted December 8, 1874, and was reported for 1895. This council became a constituent, under a Charter, of the Grand Council of the State, chartered June 8, 1896.

Wisconsin.

The Grand Council of Ohio chartered three councils in Wisconsin, and a Grand Council was organized by the delegates of these three October 28, 1857. By arrangement and consent the degrees were turned over to the Grand Chapter in 1878. In 1881 a Grand Council was again organized by delegates from forty-nine councils.

Wisconsin is an independent Grand Council.

Wyoming.

The following dispensations were issued by the Grand Officers of the General Grand Chapter for Wyoming, *viz.:*

Cheyenne Council, at Cheyenne	.....	June 24, 1895. Surrendered June 5, 1896.
Laramie " " Laramie	.....	July 4, 1896. Annulled.
Zabud " " Evanston	.....	September 2, 1895. Annulled.
Tyrus " " Green River	.....	September 3, 1896. Surrendered.
Sheridan " " Sheridan	.....	May 12, 1896. Annulled.

ABSTRACT OF RETURNS OF SUBORDINATE COUNCILS FOR THE YEAR 1896.

Name of Grand Lodge.	Held at.	Membership.
Washington, No. 1	Washington, D. C.	125.
Olive, No. 1	Prescott, Ariz	10
Phœnix, U. D	Phœnix, Ariz	. . .
Tucson, U.D.	Tucson, Ariz	. . .
Cañon City, No. 5	Cañon City, Col	32

Name of Grand Lodge.	Held at.	Membership.
Hiram, U. D.	Greeley, Col	16
Zabud, U. D	Colorado Springs, Col	35
Leadville, U. D.	Leadville, Col	30
Glendive, U. D	Glendive, Mont	12
Custer, U. D.	Miles City, Mont	9
Adoniram, U.D.	Livingston, Mont	18
Mystic, U. D.	Bozeman, Mont	15
Zabud, U. D	Butte, Mont	22
Montana, U.D.	Dillon, Mont	12
Deer Lodge, U. D.	Deer Lodge, Mont	11
Anaconda, U. D.	Anaconda, Mont	12
Deming, No. 1	Deming, N. M.	37
Las Vegas, U. D.	Las Vegas, N. M.	. . .
Santa Fé, U. D	Santa Fé, N. M	16
Hiram, U. D	Albuquerque, N. M.	. . .
Alpha, U. D	Raton, N. M	15
Casselton, No. 1	Casselton, N. Dak.	23
Hilkiah, No. 2	Jamestown, N. Dak	20
Hiram, U.D.	Valley City, N. Dak	22
Rae, U. D	Grand Forks, N. Dak	19
Zabud, U. D	Devil's Lake, N. Dak	13
Towner, U.D.	Towner, N. Dak	11
Adoniram, U. D.	Fargo, N. Dak	17
Damascus, U. D.	Wahpeton, N. Dak	10
Mizpah, U. D.	River Park, N. Dak	9
Tyrian, U. D	Lisbon, N. Dak	11
Bismarck, U. D.	Bismarck, N. Dak	18
Alpha, No. 1	Sioux Falls, S. Dak	23
Lakota, U. D.	Deadwood, S. Dak	21
Black Hills, U. D	Hot Springs, S. Dak	16
Zabud, U. D	Yankton, S. Dak	16
Scotland, U. D.	Scotland, S. Dak	11
Omega, U. D.	Salem, S. Dak	10
Hiram, U. D	Canton, S. Dak	14
Koda, U. D	Flandreau, S. Dak	17
Brookings, U. D.	Brookngs, S. D.	16
Aberdeen, U. D.	Aberdeen, S. D.	14
Adoniram, U. D.	Webster, S. Dak	14
Emanuel, U. D.	Milbank, S. Dak	10
Mitchell, U. D	Mitchell, S. Dak	19
Oriental, U. D	Pierre, S. Dak	15
Mystic, U. D.	Huron, S. Dak	14
Faulk, U. D	Faulkton, S. Dak	13
Utah, No. 1	Salt Lake city, Utah	38
Summit, U. D.	Park City, Utah	22
Cheyenne, U. D.	Cheyenne, Wyo	...
Laramie, U. D.	Laramie, Wyo	18
Zabud, U. D	Evanston, Wyo	13
Tyrus, U. D.	Green River, Wyo	17
Sheridan, U. D	Sheridan, Wyo	12

SUBORDINATE COUNCILS UNDER THE IMMEDIATE JURISDICTION OF THE GENERAL GRAND COUNCIL, 1896.

Council.	Location.	Date of Dispensation.	Date of Charter.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.			
Washington, No. 1 …….	Washington …….	No dispensation	August 14, 1883.
ARIZONA.			
Oliver, No. 1 ……..	Prescott ……...	July 1, 1893.....	August 22, 1894.
Phœnix, U. D …….	Phœnix ……	April 4, 1895.....	Surrendered.
Tucson, U. D. ……	Tucson ……	April 5, 1895.....	Surrendered.
COLORADO.			
Denver, No. 1 …….	Denver ……	Jan. 16, 1892.....	August 21, 1894.
Rocky Mountains, No. I…..	Trinidad ……..	March 24, 1895..	August 21, 1894.
Durango, No. 3 ……...	Durango ……..	May 16, 1893 …	August 21, 1894.
Akron, No. 4 ……..	Akron ……..	May 23, 1893 …	August 21, 1894.
Cañon City, No. 5 ……..	Cañon City ……..	June 5, 1893.....	August 21, 1894.
Pueblo, No. 7 …….	Pueblo …….	April 10, 1894…	August 21, 1894.
Hiram, H. D. ……..	Greeley ……	Dec. 8, 1894.....	Surrendered.
Zabud, U. D ……...	Colorado Springs….	May 27, 1895….	Dispensation continued.
Leadville, U. D	Leadville …….	June 10, 1895….	Surrendered.
IDAHO.			
Idaho, U. D. ……	Pocatillo ……..	Dec. 15, 1896…	Annulled.
Adoniram, U. D. ……	Boisé ……...	Jan. 30, 1897 …	Dispensation continued.
MONTANA.			
Mystic, U. D	Butte ……	May 22, 1896…	October 12, 1897.
Glendive, U. D. ……..	Glendive ……..	April 22, 1896…	Dispensation continued.
Custer, U. D. ……..	Miles City ……...	April 24, 1896…	Annulled.
Adoniram, U. D. ……	Livingston ……...	May 13, 1896….	Dispensation continued.
Mystic, U. D. ……..	Bozeman …….	May 20, 1896 …	Dispensation continued.
Montana, U. D. ……..	Dillon ……..	May 24, 1896 …	Annulled.
Deer Lodge, U. D	Deer Lodge …….	June 10, 1896….	Annulled.
Anaconda, U. D. ……	Anaconda ……	June 11, 1896….	Annulled.
Hellgate, U. D. ……...	Missoula ……..	Sept. 1, 1896 ….	Dispensation continued.
Hellgate, U. D	Kalispell ……..	Sept. 2, 1896.....	Annulled.
NEVADA.			
Carson, U. D	Carson …….	Sept. 3, 1896.....	Dispensation continued.
Mountain, U. D. …….	Virginia City ……...	Sept. 4, 1896.....	Dispensation continued.
Reno, U. D. ……	Reno ……	Sept. 19, 1896 ...	Dispensation continued.
Eureka, U. D. …….	Eureka …….	Sept. 21, 1896 ...	Dispensation continued.
NEW MEXICO.			
Deming, No. 1 ……	Deming ……...	April 25, 1887…	November 19, 1889.
Las Vegas, U. D. ……	Las Vegas ……	March 16, 1895..	Annulled.
Santa Fé, U. D. ……...	Santa Fé	May 1, 1895…...	Dispensation continued.
Hiram, U. D. ……..	Albuquerque ……...	May 7, 1895.....	Annulled.
Alpha, U. D	Raton ……...	May 11, 1895….	Annulled.

Council.	Location.	Date of Dispensation.	Date of Charter.
	NORTH DAKOTA.		
Casselton, No. 1 …….	Casselton …….	Dec. 17, 1888….	November 19, 1889.
Hilkiah, No. 2 ……	Jamestown ……...	Sept. 1, 1893…..	August 21, 1894.
Hiram, U. D. ……..	Valley City ……..	Dec. 31, 1895….	Dispensation continued.
Rae, U. D. ……..	Grand Forks …….	Jan. 2, 1896 …...	Annulled.
Zabud, U. D ……	Devil's Lake …….	Jan. 3, 1896 …...	Annulled.
Towner, U. D. …….	Towner ……	Jan. 6, 1896 …...	Dispensation continued.
Adoniram, U. D. …….	Fargo ……...	Feb. 15, 1896….	Dispensation continued.
Damascus, U. D. …….	Wahpeton ……	Feb. 18, 1896….	Annulled.
Mizpah, U. D ……..	Park River ……...	March 15,1896.	Annulled.
Tyrian, U. D. ……..	Lisbon …….	April 6, 1896 ..	Dispensation continued.
Bismarck, U. D. ……..	Bismarck …….	April 20, 1896 .	Dispensation continued.
	SOUTH DAKOTA.		
Alpha, No. 1……	Sioux Falls ……...	April 11, 1891 .	July 21, 1891.
Lakota, U. D	Deadwood ……...	Sept. 7, 1895 ..	Annulled.
Black Hills, U. D	Hot Springs …….	Sept. 9, 1895..	Annulled.
Zabud, U. D	Yankton ……...	Sept. 25, 1895..	Annulled.
Scotland, U. D. ……...	Scotland ……...	Oct. 1, 1895 ..	Surrendered.
Omega, U. D. …….	Salem ……...	Oct. 10, 1895 ..	Dispensation continued.
Hiram, U. D	Canton …….	Oct. 30, 1895 ..	Annulled.
Koda, U. D …….	Flandreau …….	Oct. 31, 1895 . .	Surrendered.
Brookings, U. D. ……	Brookings ……	Nov. 1, 1895...	Annulled.
Aberdeen, U. D. …….	Aberdeen …….	Nov. 4, 1895...	Annulled.
Adoniram, U. D. …….	Webster ……...	Nov. 6, 1895...	Annulled.
Emanuel, U. D. ……...	Milbank ……...	Nov. 14, 1895..	Annulled.
Mitchell, U. D	Mitchell ……...	Nov. 28, 1895..	Annulled.
Oriental, U. D. ……	Pierre ……...	Dec. 12, 1895..	Annulled.
Mystic, U. D	Huron ……..	Dec. 30, 1895..	Surrendered.
Faulk, U. D	Faulkton …….	Dec. 31, 1895. .	Annulled.
	UTAH.		
Utah, No. 1 …….	Salt Lake City …….	Feb. 13, 1892..	August 21, 1894.
Summit, U. D. ……	Park City …….	Sept. 2, 1895 ..	Surrendered.
	WASHINGTON.		
Zabud, U. D.....	Walla Walla ……	Dec. 8, 1894....	Became Constituent Grand Council of Washington.
	WYOMING.		
Cheyenne, U. D. …….	Cheyenne …….	June 24, 1895..	Surrendered.
Laramie, U. D. ……	Laramie ……...	July 4, 1895 ...	Annulled.
Zabud, U. D	Evanston ……..	Sept. 2, 1895...	Annulled.
Tyrus, U. D. ……	Green River …….	Sept. 3, 1895...	Surrendered.
Sheridan, U. D. ……..	Sheridan ……..	May 12, 1896..	Annulled.

SUMMARY OF GRAND COUNCIL RETURNS FOR THE YEAR 1896.

From the Proceedings of the General Grand Council, 1897.

Grand Council.	Held at.	Membership.
Arkansas	Little Rock	321
California	San Francisco	901
Florida	Milton	72
Georgia	Macon	518
Indiana	Indianapolis	2,525
Indian Territory	Muskogee	97
Kansas	Wichita	797
Louisiana	New Orleans	207
Maine	Portland	2,189
Maryland	Baltimore	555
Massachusetts	Boston	5,294
Minnesota	St. Paul	734
Missouri	Springfield	704
Nebraska	Omaha	371
New Hampshire	Concord	1,416
New York	New York City	3.932
Ohio	Sandusky	4,222
Oregon	East Portland	189
South Carolina	Charleston	133
Tennessee	Nashville	507
Vermont	Burlington	1,056
Washington	Seattle	215
Subordinates of General G. Council		962

INDEPENDENT GRAND COUNCILS.

Grand Council.	Held at.	Membership.
Alabama	Montgomery	
Connecticut	Hartford	
Illinois	Chicago	
Kentucky	Covington	
Michigan	Coldwater	
Mississippi	Jackson	
New Jersey	Trenton	
North Carolina	Wilmington	
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	
Rhode Island	Providence	
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	

FOREIGN GRAND COUNCILS.

Canada, Ontario	Barrie, Ontario	
England and Wales	London	
New Brunswick	St. John	

CHAPTER LVIII

HISTORY OF THE GRAND AND SUBORDINATE COMMANDERIES IN THE SEVERAL STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Templar.

HE records of the early conclaves of the General Grand Encampment are the only sources of any definite information in regard to the introduction of the Templar Order into the several Masonic jurisdictions. Whoever, therefore, has gone over the pages of those early records for any *extended* information will say, that for want of order and exactness they will compare with any other *defective* records now extant. Discrepancies in dates continually occur, even within a few pages of each other, so that the compiler, after a diligent search and memoranda taken, will very soon have to alter the same. We can refer any reader, for example, to the statistical tables of the dates of organization of the several Grand Commanderies in the Proceedings of 1880 and of 1895, for comparison. In many cases in the reports of the General Grand Officers, as to the formation of the subordinate commanderies, it is said frequently: "Since the last conclave I have issued dispensations to the following subordinate Commanderies," without giving any dates whatever, leaving the compiler the difficult task of searching in the future pages for the definite years, months, and dates to find when these commanderies had their dispensations issued to them. This was a constant source of error in dates, and, frequently, was a great annoyance in the preparation of this sketch. We trust that should errors in dates be found hereafter the finder will consider the quandaries of the compiler, and especially if he should undertake to rectify our errors.

We have endeavored sedulously and faithfully, as historian, to gather all the facts upon record, to give a truthful narrative of the formation of the subordinate bodies, as well as the constitutions of them also; and the organization of the Grand Commanderies in the

several jurisdictions. While all this has been an arduous task, there has been mingled with the task quite a pleasurable sensation in traveling over the "sacred ground" of "Templarism"; and our "pilgrimage" has yielded much satisfaction in making the acquaintance of so many distinguished knights who wrought so hard in building up an institution, which from the small beginnings of the eighteenth century, at its end, has resulted, in the close of the nineteenth century, in one of the most magnificent "Orders" the world has ever witnessed.

The Knight Templar Order, as it is now constituted in the United States, has no rival in the world, and to emphasize its influences for good the Grand Encampment of the United States should, at its very next conclave, carry out the design of our most distinguished and lamented Knight, J. Q. A. Fellows, to make the city of Washington the permanent headquarters, and erect such a Temple as would be commensurate with the dignity and importance of the Magnanimous Order of Knights Templars of the United States of America.

Note.—Dates of all the blanks marked with an asterisk could not be ascertained.

Alabama.

The Grand Commandery of Knights Templars for the State of Alabama was organized December 1, 1860, by the representatives of five commanderies, *viz.:*

Washington (Marion), at Marion; chartered in 1844. (No history.)

Mobile, No. 2, at Mobile; formed April 7, 1848, and chartered May 8, 1851.

Tuscumbia, No. 3, at Tuscumbia; formed August 1, 1848; chartered October 12, 1850.

Montgomery, No. 4, at Montgomery; formed October 17, 1850; chartered September 19, 1853.

Selma, No. 5, at Selma; formed May 15, 1838; chartered September 16, 1859.

Arizona.

The Grand Commandery of Arizona was formed by Warrant from the Grand Encampment of the United States November 16, 1893.

The first commandery was Arizona, No. 1, at Tucson, February 22, 1883;[1] by dispensation, which was surrendered September 2, 1897. Then followed:

Ivanhoe, No. 2, at Prescott, by dispensation September 30, 1892, and chartered December 2, 1892.

Phoenix, No. 3, Phœnix, by dispensation October 7, 1892, and chartered November 14, 1892.

Arkansas.

The Grand Commandery of Arkansas was constituted May 25, 1872.

The first commandery organized was Hugh de Payens, No. 1, at Little Rock, December 20, 1853,[2] which received a Charter September 10, 1856.

Hugh de Payens, No. 3, at Fort Scott; dispensation granted April 13, 1867; chartered September 18, 1868; constituted October 11, 1868.[3]

Jacques De Molay, No. 3; dispensation granted December 30, 1868,[4] and chartered September 21, 1871.[5]

Baldwin, No. 4, Fayetteville; dispensation April 28, 1871;[6] chartered September 21, 1871.[7]

Bertrand de Guesclin, Camden; dispensation issued April 13, 1867;[8] chartered September 10, 1868.[9]

California.

The Grand Commandery of Knights Templars for California was organized August 10, 1858, under the Warrant of the then Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, Sir William B. Hubbard.

The first commandery formed in California was San Francisco, No. 1, at San Francisco, November 10, 1852, and chartered November 1, 1853.

The second was Sacramento, No. 2, at Sacramento, May 23, 1852, and chartered February 6, 1854.

The third was Pacific, No. 3, at Columbia, February 20, 1856, and chartered September 10, 1856.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1883, p. 19. [2] Ibid., 1865, p. 114.
[3] Ibid., 1868, p. 63. [4] Ibid., p. 30. [5] Ibid., 1871, p. 224. [6] Ibid. p. 31.
[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid., 1868, p. 13. [9] Ibid.. p. 65.

Colorado.

The Grand Commandery was constituted March 14, 1876. The commanderies were:

Colorado, No. 1, at Denver; dispensation granted January 13. 1866, and chartered September 10, 1868;[1] constituted January 26, 1869.

Central City, No. 2, at Central City; dispensation granted November 8, 1866,[2] and chartered September 18, 1868.[3]

Pueblo, No. 3, at Pueblo; dispensation granted September 10, 1874, and chartered December 3, 1874.

Connecticut.

The Grand Commandery was constituted between 1829 and 1832, according to the list in the Proceedings of 1856, p. 358; but in the Proceedings of 1898 the date is given September 13, 1827. We assume the first date to be correct, as in the Proceedings of the Grand Encampment we find the Grand Encampment of Connecticut represented at the fifth meeting, held November 29, 1832, but not so represented at the fourth meeting, September 14, 1829, nor is any mention made of the formation of the Grand Body in the minutes of said meeting of 1829, which would have been if the Grand Commandery had been organized. The first commandery formed was Colchester, at Colchester; Charter dated September, 1819. The second was New Haven, at New Haven; dispensation issued November 5, 1825, and chartered September, 1826.

Note.—At the second meeting of the Grand Encampment, Proceedings of September 16, 1819, p. 6, say: "*Resolved*, That a charter of *recognition* be granted to the encampment of Colchester in Connecticut."

At the conclave held in Pittsburg, 1898, the tabular statement for that year shows eleven subordinate commanderies.

Note.—The report of the General Grand Recorder for 1880, in tabular statement, p. 136, under Grand Commandery of Connecticut, says: "Organized July, 1796."

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1868, p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 12. [3] Ibid., 1871, p. 29.

Dakota Territory.

Dakota, No. 1, at Deadwood; constituted August 14, 1881. Cyrene, No. 2, at Sioux Falls; dispensation was granted August 14, 1881, and was formed November 22, 1881; chartered August 23, 1883.

February 25, 1882, dispensation was granted to De Molay, No. 3, at Yankton; formed March, 1882; chartered August 23, 1883.

March 23, 1883, dispensation granted to Tancred, No. 4, at Bismarck; formed April 12, 1883; chartered August 23, 1883.

Fargo, No. 5, at Fargo; dispensation issued June 24, 1883.

Delaware.

The first commandery formed in Delaware was St. John's, No. 1, at Wilmington; dispensation dated March 10, 1868; chartered September 18, 1868.

District of Columbia.

The first commandery organized in the District of Columbia was Washington, No. 1, in Washington City, December 31, 1824; chartered January 14, 1825.

Columbia, No. 2, received a dispensation January 18, 1863, and a Charter September 7, 1865.

Potomac, No. 3, in Georgetown, received a dispensation March 4, 1870, and a Charter September 22, 1871.

De Molay, in Washington City, received a dispensation February 19, 1872, and a Charter December 3, 1874. This commandery is mounted.

Orient Commandery, in East Washington, received a Charter August 29, 1895, and was constituted October 19, 1895.

Four of these commanderies, *viz.:* No. 1, No. 2, No. 4, and No. 5, met in convention January 14, 1896, and organized the Grand Commandery of the District of Columbia by authority of a Warrant of the Grand Encampment dated December 2, 1895.

Potomac, No. 3, united with the Grand Commandery at its Organization under the Warrant, January 4, 1896.

Florida.

The Grand Commandery was organized August 15, 1895, by a Warrant dated August 1, 1895. The following commanderies were organized:

Cœur de Lion, No. 1, at Warrington; dispensation June 20, 1868; Charter * 1868; renewed December 3, 1874.

Damascus, No. 2, Jacksonville; dispensation May 18, 1870; chartered September, 1871.

De Molay, No. 3; dispensation March 17, 1851.

Olivet, No. 4; dispensation * 1889.

Pulaski, No. 5; dispensation February 21, 1893.

Plant City, No. 6; dispensation March 10, 1895.

Georgia.

The Grand Commandery was organized April 25, 1860, by authority approved September 16, 1859.

Georgia Encampment, No. 1, at Augusta, received a dispensation dated in 1823, and chartered May 5, 1823.

St. Omar, No. 2, at Macon; dispensation granted July 26, 1848, and chartered September 11, 1850.

St. Aldemar, at Columbus; dispensation dated December 1, 1857.

Cœur de Lion, at Atlanta; dispensation dated May 14, 1859, and chartered September 17, 1859.

Idaho.

The following commanderies have been instituted in Idaho:

Idaho, No. 1, at Boise City; dispensation May 24, 1882; formed September 13, 1882; chartered August 23, 1883.

Lewiston, No. 2, at Lewiston; chartered August 11, 1892.

Moscow, No. 3, at Moscow; chartered August 11, 1892.

Gate City, No. 4, Pocatello; chartered August 29, 1895; instituted December 14, 1895.

Illinois.

The Grand Commandery was organized October 27, 1857, by authority of the Grand Encampment June 27, 1857, and duplicated September 15, 1857. The subordinate commanderies were:

Apollo, No. 1, at Chicago; by dispensation 1844 to 1847, and

chartered September 14, 1847. The tabular statement in Proceedings for 1856, p. 358, is indefinite.

Belvidere, No. 2, Alton; by dispensation March 25, 1853, and chartered November 1, 1853.

Central, or Centre, No. 3, at Decatur; by dispensation July 26, 1856; extended October 24, 1856; and by order of Grand Encampment continued until the ensuing session of the State Grand Commandery.

Peoria, No. 4, at Peoria; by dispensation July 25, 1853, and Charter September 19, 1853.

Freeport, No. 5, at Freeport; by dispensation June 10, 1857, and Charter September 16, 1859.

Indiana.

The Grand Commandery of Indiana was organized May 16, 1854, by authority of the Grand Encampment April 24, 1854. The commanderies in Indiana were:

Roper, No. 1, at Indianapolis; by dispensation May 14, 1848, and Charter October 16, 1860.

Greensburg, No. 2, at Greensburg; by dispensation January 25, 1851, and Charter September 19, 1853.

La Fayette, No. 3, La Fayette; by dispensation April 2, 1852, and Charter September 19, 1853.

Fort Wayne, No. 4, at Fort Wayne; by dispensation May 13, 1853, and Charter September 19, 1853.

Indian Territory.

The Grand Commandery was instituted by authority of the Grand Encampment December 17, 1895, the Warrant being issued November 28, 1895, at Muscogee. The subordinate commanderies were:

Muscogee, No. 1, at Muscogee; by dispensation dated December 6, 1892, and Charter *

Chickasaw, No. 2, at Purcell; by dispensation dated May 31, 1894, and Charter August 29, 1895, and constituted October 29, 1895.

McAllester, No. 3, at McAllester; by dispensation dated July 14, 1894, and Charter August 29, 1895, and constituted October 14, 1895.

Iowa.

The Grand Commandery of Iowa was organized June 6, 1864, by authority of the Grand Encampment September 19, 1859. The subordinate commanderies were:

De Molay, of Iowa, No. 1, at Muscatine; by dispensation March 14, 1855, and Charter September 10, 1856.

Palestine, No. 2, at Iowa City; by Charter at once, September 15, 1856.

Siloam, No. 3, at Dubuque; by dispensation February 9, 1857, and Charter September 16, 1859.

Des Moines, No. 4, at Des Moines; by dispensation July 10, 1857.

Kansas.

The Grand Commandery was constituted December 29, 1868, by Warrant from the General Grand Master, Sir William Sewall Gardner, December 2, 1868. The subordinate commanderies were:

Leavenworth, No. 1, at Leavenworth; dispensation issued February 10, 1864; chartered September 6, 1865.

Washington, No. 2, at Atchison; dispensation issued June 5, 1865; chartered September 6, 1865.

Hugh de Payen, No. 3, at Fort Scott; dispensation issued April 13, 1867; chartered September 18, 1868.

De Molay, No. 4, Lawrence; dispensation issued March 10, 1868; chartered September 18, 1868.

Kentucky.

The Grand Commandery was constituted October 15, 1847, by Warrant from the Grand Encampment. The subordinate commanderies were:

Webb, No. 1, at Lexington; by Charter at once, January 1, 1826.

Louisville, No. 2, at Louisville; by dispensation January 2, 1840, and by Charter September 17, 1851.

Versailles, No. 3, at Versailles; by dispensation April 26, 1842, and Charter * 1844.

Frankfort, No. 4, Frankfort; by Charter September 15, 1847.

Montgomery, No. 5, at Mt. Sterling; dispensation[1] some time between 1842 and 1847; by Charter September 15, 1847.

There is no note of a dispensation issued to Frankfort Encampment, but in the account current of the G. G. Recorder we find that Frankfort Encampment, Kentucky, paid for dispensation $90, also that Montgomery Encampment did the same, and as in the latter case the tabular statement, p. 358, mentions that dispensation as between 1842 and 1847, Frankfort Encampment may have been in the "same boat." We have been forcibly impressed, in reading over these old records, how very careless the General Grand Officers and also the recorders and committees were in omitting important dates in their reports, which omissions have cost this writer many, many weary hours in hunting up such data as would enable him to supply these important dates for the benefit of the future student of Masonic history.

Louisiana.

The Grand Commandery of Louisiana was organized by the Warrant of the Grand Encampment February 12, 1864.

The Invincibles, at New Orleans, was organized between 1826 and 1829, and a Charter was issued some time in 1829.

Indivisible Friends, No. 1. This encampment was chartered by the Grand Encampment of New York in 1826. Jurisdiction was transferred to the General Grand Encampment in 1838 and accepted.[2]

Jacob de Molay, No. 2, New Orleans; dispensation April 15, 1850; continued by order September 12, 1850, and chartered April 25. 1851.

Maine.

The Grand Commandery was constituted May 5, 1852, for the State of Maine.

Portland Encampment, No. 2, is the first one on the printed list

[1] From Proceedings of Grand Encampment, 1847, we copy this:

"*Resolved,* That the Report of the Committee of Dispensations and New Encampments be so amended as to permit Frankfort and Montgomery Encampments to join in the petition for the formation of a Grand Encampment in the State of Kentucky." Which was rejected.

[2] Note at bottom of p. 358, Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1856.

of 1856 at Portland; dispensation issued between 1842 and 1847, and chartered September 14, 1847.

St. John's, No. 3, at Bangor; dispensation February 18, 1850, and chartered September 17, 1850.

We can not find any evidence in the body of the Proceedings of No. I, but the "Register" at end of 1847 and 1850 Proceedings gives "Maine," No. 1, at Portland, * 1844, and chartered September 14, 1847.

Maryland.

The Grand Commandery was constituted January 23, 1871.

The first commandery instituted was Maryland, No. 1, at Baltimore. This encampment was first chartered by the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania May 2, 1814, and it appears on the record of 1832 of the Grand Encampment of the United States. A resolution was passed admitting it under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Encampment, and directing that its Charter be endorsed by the General Grand Officers.[1]

Baltimore, No. 2, Baltimore; by dispensation June 17, 1859, and Charter September 16, 1859.

We shall now follow the history of the Knight Templar Order in Maryland by Sir Knight Edward T. Schultz, to whom the whole world of Masonry is indebted for his four volumes of the history of Masonry in that State. The result of his labors to himself has been almost total blindness, brought about by his incessant application in search of the facts connected with Masonry in Maryland.

Sir Knight Schultz says:

"The writer has for many years given much time and attention to the investigation of the origin of Encampment No. 1 of this city, and while he has been fortunate in obtaining documents which clearly establish the date of its organization, and many interesting facts in reference to its early history, he has not, he regrets to state, anything but *theories* to offer in regard to the source whence it emanated."

He had been furnished by the Grand Recorder of the Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania, Bro. Creigh, with certified copies of several documents in his office, written in 1814 and 1815, by the

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1832, p. 32,

Officers of Encampment No. 1 of Maryland to the Grand Officers of the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, which had been recently formed and in which formation Encampment No. 1 had participated and was then a constituent. Here follow copies of several old documents under seal to prove the facts set forth.

In one of these documents is a Charter of "recognition" which allowed their claim to an original organization prior thereto—dated in 1790—as the letter from Archbishop Dobbin says: "I am induced to state that this Encampment insists in receiving its number and rank according to the date of its institution, the complete organization of which took place in the year 1790." Consequently we must class Maryland among the early jurisdictions where Templary had its origin. This Charter of "recognition," we must observe, was issued to "*Encampment of Knight Templars,* No. 1, Maryland," thus showing that the demand made by the encampment, to have its rank and number agreeable to the date of its institution, was admitted to be a valid claim by the Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania, and thereby the year 1790 was fully recognized to be the date of the *complete organization* of Encampment No. 1, of Maryland.

Sir Knight Schultz shows by documents that this encampment has had a continued existence from 1790 to the present day, and is yet known by the same name. There is a *facsimile* of a Templar diploma shown and a copy of its text in print which shows that this Encampment No. 1 was in 1802 attached to Washington Lodge, No. 3, as Royal Arch Chapters and Encampments of Knights Templars in those early days were generally, if not wholly, held under warrants of Master Masons' Lodges.

In Webb's Monitors of 1802 and 1805 are shown three encampments in Maryland, *viz.:* Nos. 3, 13, and 24, and Sir Knight Schultz thinks they were Washington Lodge, No. 3; Concordia, No. 13; and Zion Lodge, No. 24; the first two located in Baltimore, and the last in Havre de Grace, Cecil County.

There is shown also another *facsimile* diploma issued by Encampment No. 1 to Philip P. Eckel, which Sir Knight Schultz thinks indicates that the encampment had severed its connection with Lodge No. 3 and had an independent organization, and says it must have been certainly as early as 1807, from a Masonic notice in the City Directory for that year, *viz.:* "Maryland Encampment

No. 1, Knights Templars, meets on the second Tuesday in every second month."

The copper-plate from which this diploma was printed is in the Archives of Maryland Commandery. It was designed by Philip P. Eckel and engraved by John Bannerman. An old lady named Elizabeth Sadds, living in Baltimore in 1881, aged ninety-four years, informed Sir Knight Schultz that she knew Bannerman well; that he came from Scotland in 1773 and was the first engraver who lived in Baltimore, and he died in 1809. The seal is the same on all the documents and was used until about 1814, when a new seal was made (which is shown). This latter seal was used until 1854, when the name was changed to its present title, "Maryland Commandery, No. 1." Sir Knight Schultz has only theories to suggest as to the source from which the encampment was originally formed. From traditions among the old members of the commandery it was supposed that the orders came from San Domingo with immigrants from that island. He says: "We for along time were inclined to believe that the encampment originated in the Rose Croix Chapter 'La Verite,' which was brought to Baltimore by the refugees from San Domingo; but the discovery of the 1802 diploma would indicate that, at that time at least, the Encampment was held under the authority of a Master Mason's Lodge."

Sir Knight Schultz refers to the list of degrees published by Cole and mentioned by us in Chapter LI.[1] In this list we enumerated the orders of the Red Cross, Knights Templar, and Knights of Malta, that were said to have been conferred by the Sublime Lodges, at Charleston, New York, and Newport in 1816.

Sir Knight William B. Hubbard, who was Grand Master of Templars, said: "I suppose that we owe the origin of Templar Masonry in the United States to a distinguished Sov.·.Ins.·. of the Scottish Rite."[2] Bro. A. G. Mackey thought that the Orders of Knighthood were introduced through the A.·.A.·.R.·., not the A.·.A.·.S.·.R.·., for that system dates only from 1801, when it is well known that the Templar and Red Cross had both been worked as early as the South Carolina patent shows, in 1783. Bro. Robert Macoy, in his sketch of the Knights Templar of New York, says: "After a very careful examination of this important subject, we

[1] Ch. LI. of this work, p. 1310.

[2] Letter to T. S. Gourdin.

are impressed with the conviction that the introduction of the Order into this country was brought about somewhat in this wise: That a few Sir Knights, having received the Order in England, or Ireland, and having immigrated to this country, met together, as they became known to each other, by appointment, in a secluded place in New York and other parts of the country; and after testing each other by the best evidence in their possession, organized themselves into 'encampments' or 'conclaves,' and assumed control of 'territorial jurisdiction,' conferred the Orders, elected officers, issued diplomas, etc." "For the present, or something more reliable than any 'statement' yet presented can be accepted, we can offer nothing better as *authentic* history for the introduction of the Order of Knights Templar upon this Continent; nor do we deem it derogatory to the legitimacy of the 'transmission' or of the merits of the system of Templarism, to admit these conclusions. During the early period of the institution there was no organized body that possessed absolute authority to issue warrants, hence it was recognized as legal for any number of Sir Knights, having the *inherent right* to assemble in a secure place, apply the essential tests to each other, open an encampment, receive petitions and create Knights Templar."

Sir Knight Schultz concurs, somewhat, in the *theories* of Sir Knight Macoy, which he thinks "most worthy of acceptance," and says: "In every instance in which there is a mention of the Templar degree being conferred in this country prior to the year 1800, it is in connection with a Master Mason's Lodge. St. Andrew's, of Boston, and St. Andrew's Lodge, of Charleston, as has been stated, conferred the Order—the former in 1769 and the latter in 1783. The early encampments in Pennsylvania, Bro. Creigh says, were held under warrants of a Master's Lodge; and Encampment No. 1, of Maryland, as shown by the first diploma, was attached to Washington Lodge, No. 3."

After the organization of the Supreme Council of the A.˙. A.·. S.·.R.·. at Charleston, in 1802, the Inspector-General took charge of all the degrees having no governing head, and as was stated by Cole, above referred to,' "the Sublime Lodges at Charleston, Albany, and Providence conferred as many as fifty-five degrees."[1]

[1] "Freemason's Library," 1826, p. 317.

Subsequent to 1800, "Encampments were formed by Knights who received the Orders from an Inspector, or *High Grade* Mason."

At the constitution of the Grand Encampment of New York, Elias Hicks, Orator of the day, said: "The numerous Encampments of Knights Templar now existing within this State being self-created bodies, are consequently governed by their own private and individual law, acknowledging no superior authority, because, in fact, none heretofore existed.[1]

Sir Knight Schultz concludes, therefore, that Encampment No. 1 was organized in the same manner as those in New York were.

At the convention for the organization of the Grand Encampment in Pennsylvania, which met February 15, 1814, Sir Henry S. Keating was the delegate from Encampment No. 4, of Baltimore, Md.; who, on the election of Officers, which followed, was made G. St. B. Under the provision adopted therefor, a Charter of Recognition was granted to Encampment No. 1, of Baltimore, which has been referred to in this chapter.

After the organization of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, in New York City, June 20, 1816, Encampment No. 1, of Baltimore, came under its jurisdiction, but not until November 29, 1832, and an endorsement was made on the Charter of Recognition received from the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania in 1814.

Sir Knight Schultz claims that Encampment No. 1 "is the oldest existing body of Knights Templar upon the American Continent."[2]

After Baltimore Commandery, No. 2, was chartered, there was no other commandery formed until Monumental, No. 3, of Baltimore, was organized by virtue of a dispensation issued by the Grand Master of Templars May 16, 1866. At the next triennial conclave, September, 1868, at St. Louis, a Charter was granted, and on November 6, 1868, the commandery was duly constituted.

July 12, 1870, resolutions were adopted to organize a Grand Commandery of the State. This occurred January 23, 1871.

Jacques De Molay, No. 4, of Frederick City, was organized by virtue of a dispensation issued November 23, 1867, by Sir Henry L.

[1] Schultz, "History," vol. i., p. 367.

[2] Ibid., p. 376.

MELROSE ABBEY

Palmer, Grand Master of Templars, which occurred March 2, 1868. At the triennial conclave of the Grand Encampment of the United States, September, 1868, a Charter was ordered, and continued until the formation of the State Grand Commandery, when it came under its jurisdiction.

Grand Master William Sewall Gardner issued a dispensation March 29, 1869, to form Crusade Commandery, No. 5, of Baltimore, and April 26, 1869, the first meeting was held. The Officers were selected, all of whom were members of Maryland Commandery.

Three chartered commanderies met in convention by their representatives in Baltimore, Md., December 12, 1870, and elected Grand Officers. The Grand Master was duly notified and requested to grant his Warrant for the formation of the Grand Commandery of Maryland.

The three commanderies were: Maryland, No. 1, Baltimore; Baltimore, No. 2, Baltimore; Monumental, No. 3, Baltimore.

The Warrant of the Grand Master was dated January 3, 1871. January 23, 1871, the Grand Commandery was then dedicated in ancient form to St. John the Almoner. The first Grand Conclave of the New Grand Commandery was held January 23, 1871.

May 11, 1871, Crusade Commandery, No. 5, of Baltimore, was constituted, under Charter granted by the Grand Commandery May 10, 1871.

Antioch Commandery, No. 6, of Cumberland, by dispensation issued August 26, 1871, was organized August 27, 1871. A Charter was issued, and January 14, 1873, the commandery was duly constituted.

Palestine Commandery, No. 7, at Annapolis, was organized April 14, 1873, a dispensation having been issued by Grand Commander Mann. A Charter was granted May, 1873. June 2, 1873, this commandery was duly constituted.

Beauseant Commandery, No. 8, received a dispensation May 27, 1875, to form a commandery in Baltimore, and was organized June 15, 1875. A Charter was granted May 10, 1876, and the commandery was duly constituted May 11, 1876.[1]

[1] Schultz, "History of Masonry in Maryland," vol. iv., p. 659.

Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island was formed May 6, 1805, which was the first Grand Encampment to be organized in the United States, according to the authorities in Massachusetts, which statement has been challenged by the Templars in Pennsylvania, who claim that the very first Grand Encampment was organized in Philadelphia May 12, 1797, as will be shown under that head. Sir William Sewall Gardner, M. E. Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at the semi-annual meeting in Boston, May 5, 1865, in his address said: "This day completes the sixtieth year of our existence as a Grand Encampment, and marks an epoch in our history. . . ." "On the 6th of May, 1805, Sir Thomas Smith Webb, of Providence; Sir Henry Fowle, of Boston; Sir Jonathan Gage, of Newburyport, with other Templar Masons, assembled in the Masonic Hall at Providence and formed this Grand Encampment." "There they assembled and laid the foundation of Templar Masonry, as we recognize it to-day." "This Grand Encampment was the germ of Templar Masonry as now organized in the United States, and the *ritual as adopted here* has been taken as the true Templar Work throughout the jurisdiction of the Grand Encampment of the United States. I am aware that in Pennsylvania there was a Grand Encampment in the early part of this century, and that it professed to confer the Order of the Temple. It is impossible to tell now what its ritual was, but there is evidence tending to show that it was entirely different from that taught by this Grand Body." . . .

Perhaps no person in the United States had more to do with the formation and renovation of this ritual than Sir Henry Fowle. His judgment, therefore, upon the ritual as exemplified by the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania in 1816 in his presence, is of great weight, and leads to the conclusion that the work as used by that Grand Body, whereon it originated, was entirely different from that in use in this jurisdiction.

"We have then for our gratification, not only the fact, which is now universally conceded, that this Grand Encampment is the oldest Grand Body of Masonic Knighthood upon this continent, but also that *it has furnished the ritual* which is now used in all the bodies, both Grand and Subordinate, within the United States.

"The English Order, *from which our fathers in this Grand Encampment derived the elements of our ritual*, is termed the 'Masonic Knights Templar's Conclave' in open and avowed confession of the dependence of the Order upon the Masonic institution. I need but allude to the ritual to convince you that it was built upon Masonry, and that the form and manner of our work are eminently Masonic. In its teachings and its ceremonials, this Order of the Temple which we confer is but Masonry Christianized; a complete acknowledgment of and a full belief in the divine Mission of the risen Messiah, engrafted upon the Masonic forms, precepts, and ritual."

"It is worthy of notice, *from the establishment* of this Grand Encampment to the present time, it has been one of the most conservative bodies of Knighthood in the United States."[1]

Mexico.

A Warrant was issued to organize a commandery called "Popocatapetl," No. 1, for the Federal Districts of Mexico, dated September, 1893.

Michigan.

The Grand Commandery of Michigan was instituted by the Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment, in person, who installed the Grand Officers January 11, 1858. The first Warrant was issued February 13, 1857. The first commandery organized was Detroit, No. 1, at Detroit; by dispensation November 1, 1850, and Charter September 19, 1853. Then followed Pontiac, No. 2, at Pontiac; by dispensation March 25, 1852, and Charter October 27, 1853.

Eureka, No. 3, at Hillsdale; by dispensation February 13, 1854, and Charter September 10, 1856.

Peninsular, No. 4, at Kalamazoo; by dispensation March 3, 1856, and Charter September 10, 1856.

Monroe, No. 5, at Monroe; by dispensation March 29, 1856, and Charter September 12, 1856.

De Molay, No. 6, Grand Rapids; by dispensation May 9, 1856, and Charter September 12, 1856.

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[1] Creigh, "History of Knight Templars," ch. v., pp. 501 and 502.

Peninsular, No. 4, it appears from the record,[1] declined to place herself under the Grand Commandery of the State and regularly sent her returns and dues to the General Grand Recorder, acknowledging no other superior than the Grand Encampment from which she received her Charter on September 10, 1856. The controversy was referred to the Committee on Jurisprudence, which thoroughly examined the whole matter and the principles of State-Sovereignty in a report and offered the following:

"*Resolved,* That the Grand Commandery of Michigan, from the date of its formation, has of right exercised sole and exclusive jurisdiction over all subordinates in that State.

"*Resolved,* That all dues paid by Peninsular Commandery, No. 4, to the Grand Recorder of this Grand Encampment, occurring since the formation of the Grand Commandery of Michigan, be paid to the Grand Recorder of that body."[2] Which resolutions were adopted. The following was then adopted:

"*Resolved,* That at the formation of a State Grand Commandery, it is the right as well as the duty of every subordinate in the State, whether Chartered or under Dispensation, to enroll itself under such State Grand Commandery, and respect and obey its laws and regulations."[3]

Minnesota.

The Grand Commandery of Minnesota was constituted October 23, 1865. The following were the subordinate commanderies:

Damascus, No. 1, at St. Paul by dispensation July 12, 1856, and Charter September 10, 1856.

Cœur de Leon, at Winona; dispensation issued May 13, 1864; chartered September 6, 1865.

Mankato, at Mankato; dispensation issued April 5, 1865; chartered September 6, 1865.

Zion, at Minneapolis; dispensation issued May 19, 1863; chartered September 6, 1865.

Mississippi.

The Grand Commandery of the State of Mississippi was constituted January 21, 1857. The order to establish the Grand Commandery

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1859, p. 39.
[2] Ibid., p. 53. [3] Ibid., p. 56.

was first issued December 5, 1856, and renewed December 22, 1856. The subordinate commanderies were:

Mississippi, No. 1, at Jackson; by dispensation July 5, 1844, and Charter September 12, 1844.

Magnolia, No. 2, at Vicksburg; by dispensation October 10, 1850, and Charter January 4, 1854.

Lexington, No. 3, at Lexington; by dispensation July 22, 1856, and Charter September 1, 1856.

Missouri.

The Grand Commandery for the State of Missouri was constituted May 22, 1860. Approved September 16, 1859.[1]

St. Louis, No. 1, at St. Louis; no dispensation; chartered September 17, 1847.

Weston, No. 2; dispensation March 9, 1853, and chartered September 19, 1853.

Lexington, No. 3; dispensation September 30, 1853, and chartered September 10, 1856.

Montana.

The Grand Commandery of Montana was constituted May 14, 1888. Constituent commanderies:

Virginia City, No. 1, at Virginia City; dispensation August 27, 1860; chartered September 23, 1868.

Helena, No. 2, at Helena; dispensation January 21, 1869; chartered September 21, 1871.

Montana, No. 3, at Butte; by dispensation June 26, 1878, and chartered August 20, 1880; constituted June 24, 1881.

Damascus, No. 4, at Miles City; by dispensation March 8, 1886; formed March 16, 1886, and chartered September 23, 1886.

Nebraska.

The Grand Commandery of Nebraska was constituted December 27, 1871 (statement of 1895). (Statement of 1880 has 28th.)

The first commandery was Mount Calvary, No. 1; organized

[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1859, p. 50.

July 24, 1865; chartered September 6, 1865. The second was Mount Olivet, No. 2, at Nebraska City; organized January 25. 1867;[1] chartered September 18, 1868.[1] In the Proceedings of the nineteenth triennial of the General Grand Encampment for September 15, 1871,[2] it is recorded under "Proxies to constitute New Commanderies," "V.·. E.·. Sir George W. Belt constituted and installed the officers of Mount Olivet Commandery, No. 2, Nebraska City, January 25, 1868." In the Proceedings of 1868, September 18,[3] it is recorded that a Charter was ordered to be issued to Mount Olivet, No. 2, Nebraska City (September 18, 1868). Here appears to be a discrepancy, as a Charter was granted after the commandery was constituted (January 25, 1868). The third commandery was Mount Carmel, No. 3, at Brownsville; organized July 22, 1870; chartered September 21, 1871. The fourth was Mount Moriah, No. 4, at Lincoln; organized February 17, 1871; chartered September 21, 1871.

Nevada.

The first commandery organized in Nevada was De Witt Clinton, No. 1, at Virginia, February 4, 1867, and chartered September 18, 1868; constituted and officers installed, January 8, 1869. The second was Eureka, No. 2, at Eureka; dispensation granted June 6, 1880; chartered August 18, 1880, and constituted October 15, 1880.

New Hampshire.

The Grand Commandery of New Hampshire was constituted September 28, 1897.[4]

The first subordinate encampment which was warranted was Trinity, No. 2, located at first at Hanover, March 24, 1824.[5] It was dormant for some time, and was re-chartered September 19, 1853; and removed to Manchester.[6]

De Witt Clinton, No. 1, Portsmouth; Charter January, 1826.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1871, p. 28.

[2] Ibid., p. 30. [3] Ibid., p. 65.

[4] The General Grand Encampment approved the formation of a State Grand Encampment for New Hampshire September 14, 1859 (see p. 50 of the Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1859); but it was never formed until 1897.

[5] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1826, p. 12. [6] Ibid,, 1853, p. 192.

Mount Horeb, No. 4, Hopkinton; Charter May 21, 1826; became dormant in 1856.

North Star, No. 3, Lancaster; dispensation May 2, 1857; chartered September 16, 1859.

St. Paul, No. 4, at Dover; dispensation November 7, 1857; chartered September 16, 1859.

Mount Horeb, No. 5, at Concord; dispensation May 31, 1859. As above shown the original Charter was issued May 21, 1826, and was restored September 16, 1859.[1]

New Jersey.

The Grand Commandery of New Jersey was constituted February 14, 1860, by the approval of the General Grand Encampment dated September 16, 1859.

The first subordinate commandery was Hugh de Payens, No. 1, at Jersey City; by dispensation March 12, 1858, and Charter September 16, 1859; constituted November 25, 1859.

St. Bernard, No. 2, at Hightstown; by dispensation March 27, 1859, and Charter September 16, 1859; constituted October 12, 1859.

Helena, No. 3, at Burlington; by dispensation September 16, 1859, and chartered September 16, 1859;[2] constituted October 12, 1859.

New Mexico.

The first commandery organized in New Mexico was Santa Fé, No. 1, at Santa Fé; dispensation granted May 31, 1869; organized May 31, 1869, and Charter September 21, 1871.

The next was Las Vegas, No. 2, at Las Vegas; dispensation April 10, 1882; chartered August 23, 1883.

Pilgrim, No. 3, at Albuquerque; dispensation April 4, 1883; chartered August 23, 1883.

McGorty, No. 4, at Deming; dispensation July 13, 1886; chartered September 23, 1886.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, p. 358, in note to table (*K*).

[2] The record shows that the dispensation and Charter were issued on the same day —Proceedings, 1859, p. 358.

Aztec, No. 5, at Raton; dispensation November 16, 1892; chartered August 29, 1895, and constituted December 20, 1895.

Rio Hundo, No. 6, at Raswell; dispensation June 17, 1895; Charter August 29, 1895; constituted November 30, 1895.

New York.

The Grand Encampment of New York was formed *ab origine,* June 18, 1814.[1]

There is no history of the regular formation of this Grand Encampment. In the history of the organization of the General Grand Encampment we have shown how the formation occurred. We are reminded of the remark of an old negro, who said: "Poor Marse Greely, he never had no father or mother, 'kase he said hisself that he was a 'self-made man.' " Nevertheless, he was the great editor of the great State of New York. Moreover, the Templars of that State can refer to another illustrious example, *viz.,* "Melchizedek, King of Salem, the Priest of the Most High God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him. Without father, and without mother, without *descent* (pedigree), having neither beginning of days, nor end of life."[2]

The commencement of the Templar Order in New York is involved in great obscurity; yet there were several bodies, having no authority whatever, which were organized at an early date. Sir Knight Robert Macoy bestowed great labor in endeavoring to arrive at the very first history of the Order in New York.

In the volume of *Proceedings of the Grand Commandery,* there is a history of the Templar Order in New York State, prepared by the Grand Recorder. In a subsequent report he states that "Several of the Grand Recorders, committees, and reporters have embodied valuable historical hints in their several papers, which throw light upon the origin of Templary, . . . but none thus far have satisfactorily supplied the link that separates the Templars of the Crusades from the modern Templars or Templarism as it exists in the United States, England, and Canada."

Sir Knight Macoy said that "Sir Knights anywhere in the United States could and probably did meet and increase their num-

[1] *Ante*, pp. 1390, 1391. [2] Heb., ch. vii., vs. I, 3.

bers or dignify their worthy companions by the authority of inherent rights, keeping few and probably no records. We are certain that those who lived and labored in the days referred to have passed to their final rest and have left few traces behind."

Sir Knight Parvin, on commenting upon Sir Knight Macoy, says: "And yet the few traces they have left did not confirm the position assumed by Sir Knight Macoy, but rather go to prove that the Sir Knights made in those days were made in Lodges or Chapters working under Lodge Warrants, except possibly in a few instances, where the degree of Knight Templar was conferred by officers of some of the bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Scotch Rite."[1]

In this we agree with Sir Knight Parvin.

Sir Knight Macoy, in his efforts to prove priority for New York in Templary, supports his statement as to the existence of the Order prior to 1785, quotes from old newspapers published in New York City, verified by reference to the reprint of the Grand Lodge Proceedings from 1781 to 1815, published in 1876, by authority of the Grand Lodge.[2]

This is shown in the order of procession on St. John's Day (December 27, 1785), providing that Knights Templars with drawn swords were to be in the procession. Also from the "Independent Journal," December 28, 1785, is a notice of "the proceedings of the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist," and that it gave the same programme or form of procession as was provided by the Grand Lodge; and then states, "that whilst the members of the fraternity celebrated the natal days of their patron saints, Sir Knights as a body seldom appeared in public."

Sir Knight Macoy says further: "We refer to what was known as Old Encampment, Grand Encampment, and sometimes as Morton's Encampment, of which General Jacob Morton was for many years Grand Master. The date and circumstances under which this Grand Encampment was established are not definitely known. The general belief is that it was the body of Knights Templars that participated in the celebrations of St. John's Day, December 27, 1785, June 24, 1789, and again in 1795. The first published list of this

[1] "History of Masonry," p. 539.

[2] Reprint of Proceedings of New York, December 21, 1785, p. 42.

Commandery appeared in 1796, when Jacob Morton was Grand Master. The body continued to hold stated meetings until 1810, when it disappeared. Gen'l Jacob Morton was admitted an honorary member of the Grand Encampment of the State in 1815."

Reference is also made in these transactions of the Grand Lodge to the attendance of the "Knights Templars in the form as directed by their presiding officer," etc., at the observance of "the solemn funeral rites in commemoration of our illustrious Brother, George Washington, with a procession," etc.

At the first conclave after the formation of the Grand Encampment of the State, in June, 1814, the Grand Orator "delivered a discourse in which he gave a historical sketch of the foundation of the Order of Knights Templars, in a style calculated to excite the liveliest interest, which was manifested by reiterated applause; and in order, at the same time, to perpetuate the motives that *led* to the establishment of this Grand Encampment as the ground-work of our future operations. He concluded by giving the following concise account of the proceedings and the ceremonial that took place at its formation by the Sov.·. Grand Consistory of Chiefs of Exalted Masonry for the United States of America, its Territories and Dependencies, at their Asylum, held in the City of New York, on the 22d day of the month *Shebath*, of the Hebrew year, 7813, corresponding with the eleventh month, A.L. 5813; January A.D. 1814, and the foundation of our order the 694th year, and at which most, if not all, the members here present assisted.

"The numerous Encampments of Knights Templars now existing within this State, being self-created bodies, are consequently governed by their own private and individual laws, acknowledging no superior authority, because, in fact, none heretofore existed."[1]

The consistory itself which authorized this Grand Encampment was a *self*-constituted body of the Cerneau creation without any authority, and pirated degrees which never belonged to the Ancient and Accepted Rite, and there is no evidence whatever that Cerneau or any of the members of *that* consistory had ever received the Templar or Red Cross degree. At this conclave De Witt Clinton was chosen Thrice Illustrious Grand Master, who was not present; and by reference to all the Proceedings from 1814 to 1826 we do

[1] The pot called the kettle *black!*

not find him as being present at a single conclave, although he was re-elected at every election until his death, which occurred in 1828.

At the conclave held May 22, 1815, Columbian Encampment, No. 5, was voted to have a Charter of Recognition, and it was also voted "that the numerical characteristics 1, 2, 3, 4, be kept in reserve for the several encampments already established within this State, and in the order which they now respectively stands should they or any of them apply for a renewal of their Charters under the Grand Encampment."[1]

At the conclave held May 4, 1816, a Charter was granted upon the petition of "a collective body of Sir Knights Templars, Royal Arch Masons and Members of the Sov.·. Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret for the State of Louisiana, sitting at New Orleans, authorizing them to open and to hold, in a regular and authentic manner, an encampment of Sir Knights of the Red Cross, Most Holy and Illustrious Knights of Malta, Knights of the Mediterranean Pass and Invincible Knights Templars, to be under and subject to the jurisdiction of that Grand Encampment and who had formed themselves into a provisory association under the title of Louisiana Encampment, No. —, until the pleasure and sanction of the Supreme Body be known and obtained. This was known as No. 6.

At the conclave held June 9, 1816, a delegate was chosen to represent the Grand Encampment in the convention of representatives from the Grand Encampments of the several States in the Union, to be held at Philadelphia on Tuesday next, and Thomas Lowndes was selected.

The history of that convention has already been written in Chapter LIII.

At the annual conclave held June 29, 1816, Columbian Encampment, was the first encampment to be represented in any conclave. A Charter was also issued for an encampment of Knights Templars and Appendant Orders, sitting at New Orleans.

By a special conclave the Grand Recorder was instructed to "correspond with Sir Thomas Smith Webb, Deputy General Grand Master, requesting copies of the Constitution of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, for the purpose of so modifying

[1] Proceedings of Grand Encampment of New York, from 1814 to 1859, p. 14.

the Constitution of this Grand Encampment that it may conform thereto."

At the annual conclave a committee reported and submitted a form of new constitution and it was adopted.

The preamble sets forth:

"The Grand Encampment of the State of New York having by its representatives assisted to form the General Grand Encampment of the United States of America, and having acknowledged the supreme authority of the same, did, on the nth day of December, A.D. 1820, in full session, upon report of a committee appointed to revise the former constitution, adopt the former constitution for its future government."[1]

From the minutes of the special conclave held on Trinity Sunday, June 17, 1821, for the purpose of installing the Grand Officers, after which a resolution was adopted to transmit certain copies of the constitution to different parties, the only subordinate encampments mentioned are Columbian, No. 5, in New York, and Indivisible Friends, No. 6, in New Orleans, which No. 6 was originally chartered as Louisiana Encampment. Copies were also sent to the encampments at Albany and Stillwater, in that State, which had not yet united with the Grand Encampment.[2]

At the special conclave held February 8, 1823, upon application therefor, a Warrant was issued to Utica Encampment, No. 7, at Utica.[3] At a special conclave February 18, 1823, a Warrant was ordered to be issued, upon application therefor, to Temple Encampment, No. 2, at Albany.[4]

At the special conclave held August 16, 1823, upon application therefor, a Warrant was issued to form Morton Encampment, No. 4, in the city of New York. This encampment was regularly installed by the Grand Encampment August 18th following.

At the special conclave held September, 1824, upon application therefor, a Warrant was issued to LaFayette Encampment, No. 7, in the city of Hudson.

At the annual conclave there were present the representatives or proxies of Columbian, No. 1; Utica, No. 3; Morton, No. 4; and LaFayette, No. 7. At the annual conclave held December

[1] Proceedings Grand Encampment of New York, p. 28.
[2] Ibid., p. 34. [3] Ibid., p. 41. [4] Ibid., p. 42.

16, 1825, warrants were issued to Plattsburg Encampment, No. 8, at Plattsburg; to Cherry Valley, No. 9, at Cherry Valley, and Genesee, No. 10, at Le Roy.

At the annual conclave held June 9, 1826, a Warrant was issued to Watertown Encampment, No. 11, at Watertown, to which a dispensation had been granted previously (no date mentioned). At the special conclave held September 18, 1826, an order was passed to authorize a dispensation to be issued to form an encampment in the village of Rochester. At the annual conclave held June 8, 1827, there were represented: Columbus, No. 1; Temple, No. 2; Utica, No. 3; Morton, No. 4; LaFayette, No. 7; Plattsburg, No. 8; Cherry Valley, No. 9; Genesee, No. 10; Watertown, No. 11.

A Warrant was issued to New Jerusalem Encampment, No. 13, in Ithaca.

A Warrant was also issued to Monroe Encampment, No. 12, a dispensation having been granted to this encampment in Rochester, ordered September 16, 1826.

Genesee Encampment was authorized to change its location from Le Roy to Batavia.

At a special conclave held February 20, 1808, resolutions were adopted on the death of their distinguished Chief, De Witt Clinton.

At the annual conclave held June 6, 1828, a Warrant was ordered to be issued to Clinton Encampment, No. 14, in Brooklyn, a dispensation having been previously issued.

We have now brought the history of this important Grand Encampment down from its doubtful origin to the death of the distinguished Chief, who was also the Head and Mainstay of the General Grand Encampment until his death, and our limits in this chapter will not permit us to proceed any further, and we close by observing that no single Grand Commandery has exerted greater influence for good and the prosperity of Templar Masonry than the Grand Commandery of the Empire State.

"Esto perpetua."

North Carolina.

The Grand Commandery of North Carolina was constituted May 10, 1881.

The first official notice of Templarism is found in the Proceed-

ings of the Grand Encampment of the United States, Septembeï 19, 1826, where it is reported that a Charter had been granted, among many others, to Fayetteville Encampment, at Fayetteville, December 21, 1821.[1]

In the report of the General Grand Recorder at the tenth meeting, held September 14, 1847,[2] he stated that a dispensation had been issued to that Encampment, but whether a Charter was granted he is unable to say. "Certain it is, the encampment is known to have ceased all operations many years ago, although it is said a Charter was known to have existed."

The General Grand Recorder also stated:[3]

"Some time in 1845 a Sir Knight from Richmond, Virginia, and another from another State, not now recollected, assisted by a most respectable Sir Knight of Wilmington, North Carolina, who, it is said, had seen the Charter which had there been consumed by fire, held a meeting and conferred the degrees of Knighthood upon so many Royal Arch Masons as seemed to them sufficient to form an Encampment; and, having done so, they proceeded to elect officers and to organize an encampment. This being done, the Recorder of that body so formed wrote to the undersigned, requesting that another Charter might be furnished them. Being informed that all their proceedings were irregular, it is believed they proceeded no further, but he can not assert with certainty that such is the fact."

Fayetteville Encampment, at Fayetteville, was originally chartered December 21, 1821; as before stated.

Wilmington Encampment, at Wilmington, was chartered originally at an early date, but there is no record in the Proceedings of the General Grand Encampment except in 1874, where it is said the dispensation was renewed March 18, 1872.

The following was adopted at the conclave of the General Grand Encampment September 16, 1850.

"*Resolved*, That the letter of P. W. Fanning, dated Wilmington, North Carolina, September 8, 1850, with its enclosure, being referred to the General Grand Recorder, to reply to the same, and with the view of authorizing the Sir Knights of Wilmington and

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1826, p. 20.
[2] Ibid., 1847, p. 114. [3] Ibid., p. 147.

Fayetteville to resume their labors as Encampments subordinate to this General Grand Encampment; and that the Most Excellent General Grand Master is empowered, in his discretion and upon examination into the merits of the case, the authorizing of a charter in the place of the one lost, without other than the Recorder's fee as to him may appear just and expedient."[1]

Charlotte, No. 2, at Charlotte; dispensation was issued June 14, 1875, and chartered August 30, 1877.[2]

Durham, No. 3, at Durham; was constituted October 14, 1880.

North Dakota.

The Grand Commandery of North Dakota was constituted June 16, 1890.

Ohio.

The Grand Encampment of the State of Ohio was constituted October 24, 1843. The General Grand Encampment voted for the constitution of the Grand Encampment September 17, 1841.[3]

The first subordinate encampment was established at Worthington by dispensation June * 1818, and chartered September 16, 1819.

The second was Miami, at Lebanon; by Charter May 14, 1826.

The third was Clinton, No. 1, at Mount Vernon; by dispensation 1826 and 1829, and was represented in the General Grand Encampment in 1829.

The fourth was Lancaster, No. 2, at Lancaster. There does not appear on record any dispensation, but a Charter was granted December 9, 1835.

The fifth was Cincinnati, No. 3; by dispensation December, 1839, and Charter September 17, 1841.

The sixth was Massillon, No. 4, at Massillon; by dispensation July 5, 1843, and Charter September 12, 1844.

The seventh was Mount Vernon, No. 5, at Mount Vernon; by dispensation July 22, 1843, and Charter September 12, 1844, which was originally Clinton, No. 1.

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[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1850, p. 150.

[2] Ibid., p. 192. [3] Ibid., 1841, p. 79.

Oklahoma.

The Grand Commandery of Oklahoma was constituted by authority of the Grand General Encampment February 10, 1896. Warrant to form Grand Commandery dated November 8, 1895.[1] The subordinate commanderies were:

Guthrie, No. 1, at Guthrie; by dispensation November 17, 1892, and Charter December 22, 1892.

Oklahoma, No. 2, at Oklahoma; by dispensation October 7, 1892, and Charter November 12, 1892.

Ascension, No. 3, at El Remo; by dispensation May 8, 1893, and Charter August 29, 1895, and was instituted December 3, 1895.

Oregon.

The Grand Commandery of Oregon was constituted April 13, 1887.

Ivanhoe, No. 2, at Eugene City; by dispensation April 6, 1883, and chartered August 23, 1883.

Temple, No. 3, at Albany; by dispensation June 5, 1886, formed July 8, 1886, and chartered September 24, 1886.

Pennsylvania.

The commencement of the Templar Order in Pennsylvania was at an early day, and a contest was vigorously prosecuted between the Templars of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Pennsylvania as to when a Grand Commandery was formed and in which jurisdiction. We shall quote from Sir Alfred Creigh's work on *Templarism in Pennsylvania* to show what he has written on that point in his reply[2] to Sir Wm. S. Gardner, of Massachusetts, in his address at the semi-annual meeting in Boston, May 5, 1865.[3]

"The history of Templarism in Pennsylvania is one of peculiar interest to every Sir Knight of the Order, whether enrolled under *our* banner, or waging war in sister jurisdictions in defence of innocent maidens, helpless orphans, destitute widows, and the Christian religion. To Pennsylvania and *Pennsylvania* alone are we indebted

[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1898, p. 62.

[2] "Templarism in Pennsylvania," 2d series, p. 504.

[3] Ibid., p. 502.

for the first Grand Encampment which was ever constituted in the United States. She therefore has no competitor for the honor, the glory, and the immortality which is emblazoned upon her Templar history; and the 12th day of May, 1797, when the Convention met in Philadelphia, composed of delegates from Nos. 1 and 2 of Philadelphia, No. 3 of Harrisburg, and No. 4 of Carlisle (whose respective organizations took place from 1793 to 1797),[1] should be held as sacred as the 4th of July, 1776—the one having given birth to the Orders of Christian Knighthood, and the other to our political existence. It required sober thought, sound judgment, mature reflection, discriminating mind, and far-seeing perception in the Sir Knights composing that convention as they were about to inaugurate a system of Christian Ethics which would have an influence for weal or for woe upon the dissemination of the principles of Christian Knighthood. The idea was happily conceived, and the Sir Knights who risked their Masonic and Templar representation upon its success have rendered the name of Pennsylvania eternal in the annals of Templarism."

Sir Knight Creigh then enters into a statement of some historical and other dates to show that the four subordinate encampments which organized the Grand Encampment were regularly constituted prior to the formation of the Grand Body. But, however, he finds that from the published By-Laws of Nos. 1 and 2, of Philadelphia, that on December 27, 1812, these two united as No. 1, and from this encampment and also No. 2, of Pittsburg, was formed a second Grand Encampment, on February 16, 1814, with the addition of delegates from Rising Sun Encampment, No. 1, of New York; Washington Encampment, No. 1, of Wilmington, Del.; and Baltimore Encampment, No. 1, Baltimore, Md. The style of the second Grand Encampment was the "Pennsylvania Grand Encampment with Masonic Jurisdiction thereunto belonging." The second Grand Encampment existed until June 10, 1824, or at least its Grand Master, Sir Anthony Fannen, exercised his authority as such, for on that day he issued a dispensation to the officers of St. John's Encampment, No. 4, which was instituted June 8, 1819, "to dub and make John E. Schwartz a Sir Knight of our most illustrious Order of Knights Templar." The original of No. 1, of 1794, kept

[1] It is very remarkable that in those ancient times the years never had any months or days.—EDITOR.

up a complete and unbroken organization until June 13, 1824, and No. 2 was merged into it December 27, 1812, as above noticed.

St. John's, No. 4, after the parent body had ceased in 1824, still existed and recognized as her superior the source of all Masonic authority within the State, the R. W. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. It was upon this Rock that the delegates of the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment of 1814, and the delegates of the New England States which assembled in convention on June 16, 1816, in Philadelphia, split, and the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment charged the other delegates with seceding from the convention, while the New England delegates (consisting of Sir Knights Webb, Fowle, and Snow) reported that the reason why Pennsylvania would not enter into the union for a General Grand Encampment were: 1st, "That the Encampments in Pennsylvania avow themselves as being in subordination to and under the Grand Lodge of Master Masons;" and 2d, "Their unwillingness to the arrangement or order of succession in conferring the degrees," as practised by the New England States, "especially to the Mark and the Excellent Master, as unnecessary and not belonging to the system of Masonry." The delegates of the New England States then adjourned to meet on June 25, 1816, in New York, and *there* formed the present General Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the United States.

After 1824 all the subordinate encampments ceased to labor except St. John's, No. 4, and she, with views as above expressed, continued to be loyal to the Grand Lodge until February 12, 1857.

In May, 1852,[1] St. John's, No. 4; Philadelphia, No. 5; Union, No. 6; and De Molay, of Reading, established a Grand Encampment, under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, but the Grand Lodge on February 16, 1857, resolved (very wisely, *if* very late) that they had no authority over the degrees of Knighthood, but that its legitimate sphere was the primitive degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry; a union was therefore effected, and both Grand Encampments of Pennsylvania since 1857 acknowledge as their legal head the Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the United States.

Prior to April 12, 1854, the subordinate encampments had no

[1] We suppose again, May had no days then!

governing head. Their charters were derived either from the General Grand Encampment of the United States, or by the authority of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

Pittsburg Encampment, No. 1; Jacques De Molay (of Washington), No. 2; and St. Omer's (of Uniontown, but afterward of Brownsville), No. 3, all were chartered by the General Grand Encampment. Hubbard Commandery, of Waynesburg, was under *Dispensation* from the same body. St. John's Encampment, No. 4, derived her Charter from the Grand Encampment of 1814; Philadelphia Encampment, No. 5; Union Encampment (of Philadelphia), No. 6; and De Molay (of Reading), No. 7, were under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

It was firmly believed and maintained by the Brethren of Pennsylvania that the R. W. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was the source of all Masonic authority within her geographical limits, and they were sustained by reference to the fact that Templar Encampments were held under Blue Lodge Warrants; that in Ireland the Grand Encampment was formed as early as 1818, yet several encampments continued to work under their old lodge warrants, as was also the fact in Scotland and in Canada. All encampments thus constituted in Europe were considered legal.[1]

A Warrant was issued by the General Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment, authorizing the formation of a Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania.[2] A convention met at Brownsville April 12, 1854, and organized the present Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania, subordinate to the Grand Encampment of the United States.[3]

The other encampments met in Philadelphia May 10, 1854, and organized a Grand Encampment, and after the adoption of a constitution and election and installation of officers, instructed the Grand Recorder to notify the Grand Lodge of their organization.[4]

After some time, committees of conferences having been appointed by both bodies[5] and duly considered the condition of Templary with two contending rival bodies, good counsel prevailed. The supremacy of the General Grand Encampment was acknowledged[6] and the union was finally accomplished, which was officially

[1] Templarism in Pennsylvania," 2d series, p. 20. [2] Ibid., p. 77.
[3] Ibid., p. 127. [4] Ibid., p. 118. [5] Ibid., 1st series, pp. 131-35.
[6] Ibid., 2d series, p. 135.

proclaimed by R. E. Sir W. W. Wilson, Grand Commander of the Grand Commandery, June 1, 1857, and subsequently by M. E. Sir William B. Hubbard, Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of the United States.[1]

South Carolina.

It is claimed for South Carolina that the Templar Order was first duly organized in that State as shown in the old patent which we have previously described in Chapter LI., pages 1377-78.

In the work by Theodore S. Gourdin, from which we have quoted, we derive the principal sources of our information, and also from the address of the Grand Master of Templars to the Grand Encampment August, 1883, as well as from Companion Albert G. Mackey's *History of Freemasonry in South Carolina*, are we indebted for what is now considered a very near approach to the period of the introduction of the Order of the Temple, and we may, with some degree of exactness, say that an encampment did exist prior to the date of the patent referred to, which was issued August 1, 1783. As this document has been fully described, we need not here dwell upon it, and rest the case.

The following are the commanderies now in that State, which are subordinate to the General Grand Encampment:

South Carolina, No. 1, whose original Warrant was destroyed by fire in 1843, and a dispensation was issued May 17, 1843.[2]

On September 29, 1823, a Charter of Recognition was issued, as the encampment had been working for many years prior to the organization of the General Grand Encampment.[3]

Columbia No. 2, at Columbia; dispensation June 11, 1875; chartered August 30, 1877.[4] A previous Charter of Recognition had been issued January 24, 1824.[5]

Spartanburg, No. 3, at Spartanburg; dispensation granted October 1, 1891; chartered August 29, 1895.

Note.—There was an encampment named LaFayette at Georgetown chartered March, 1825,[6] but there is no further notice of it in the Proceedings and it is not now in existence.

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[1] Templarism in Pennsylvania, 1st series, p. 22.
[2] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1844, p. 81. [3] Ibid., p. 21.
[4] Ibid., 1877, p. 192. [5] Ibid., p. 20. [6] Ibid., p. 20.

South Dakota.

The Grand Commandery of South Dakota was constituted May 14, 1884; being within the boundaries of the State of South Dakota, it continues under the name and style of the Grand Commandery of South Dakota.[1]

Tennessee.

The Grand Commandery of Tennessee was constituted October 12, 1859. Approved September 16, 1859.

The subordinate commanderies were:

	Dispensation.	Chartered.
Nashville, No. 1, at Nashville	Between 1844-47.	September 14, 1847.
Yorkville, No. 2, at Yorkville	July 10, 1857.	September 17, 1859.
De Molay, No. 3, at Columbia	December 20, 1859.	September 16, 1859.
Cyrene, No. 4, at Memphis	March 27, 1859.	September 16, 1859.

Texas.

The Grand Commandery of Texas was constituted January 18, 1855. A Warrant had been issued by the General Grand Master to form and establish this Grand Encampment December 31, 1853.[2]

The subordinate commanderies were San Filipe de Austin, No. 1, at Galveston, by Charter December 10, 1835.

Ruthven No. 2, Houston; by dispensation February 2, 1848, and Charter September 11, 1850.

Palestine, No 3, at Palestine; by dispensation May 16, 1853, and Charter September 19, 1853.

Utah.

The following subordinate commanderies were organized in Utah under warrants from the General Grand Encampment:

Utah, No. 1, at Salt Lake City; dispensation granted December 20, 1873, chartered December 3, 1874.

El Monte, No. 2, at Ogden; had a dispensation granted October 22, 1885, which was opened November 11, 1885; chartered September 23, 1886.

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[1] Proceedings General Grand Encampment, 1892, p. 41.

[2] Ibid., 1856, p. 248.

Vermont.

The Grand Encampment of Vermont was constituted August 14, 1851.[1]

December, 1850, consent was given to three encampments to form a Grand Commandery.

Vermont, at Windsor; chartered February 23, 1821.

Green Mountain, at Rutland; chartered March 12, 1823.

Mount Calvary, at Middlebury; chartered February 24, 1824.

Burlington, No. 2, at Burlington; dispensation June 28, 1849; chartered September 17, 1850.

LaFayette, No. 4, at Berkshire; dispensation November 9 1850; old Charter endorsed October 27, 1853.

Calvary, at Middlebury; old Charter of Mount Calvary renewed.

Virginia.

The Grand Encampment of Virginia was constituted November 27, 1823.

The history of the old encampments is very interesting, but is too lengthy for our pages. (See Proceedings of General Grand Encampment.) The subordinate encampments in the State were:

Richmond, at Richmond; chartered May 5, 1823.

Warren, at Harper's Ferry; chartered July 4, 1824.

Winchester, at Winchester; chartered July 4, 1824.

These three encampments were erased September 17, 1847.[2]

Wheeling, No. 1, at Wheeling; dispensation issued August 31, 1838, and afterward extended six months.

It appears from all that can be learned in the Proceedings of the General Grand Encampment from 1823, that the Grand Encampment of Virginia, which in the Proceedings is only recorded as having been organized "prior to 1826," did not continue very long. The encampments at Richmond, Harper's Ferry, and Winchester, two of which held charters of recognition, and one of constitution from the General Grand Encampment, the report of a committee in 1847[3] says: "About 1826 these three Encampments

[1] The Table in Proceedings of General Grand Encampment for 1895 says June 27, 1824.

[2] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1847, p. 110.

[3] Ibid., 1847, p. 119.

formed a Grand Encampment for the State, which, in that year, was represented in the General Grand Encampment (Sir James Cushman).[1]

"Nothing further is known of this Grand Encampment, but it is presumed to have ceased to exist soon after its organization; for it appears that in 1858 a dispensation, and subsequently a Charter, was granted by this General Grand Encampment to a commandery to be located at Wheeling in that State. Matters continued in this condition until this nth of December, 1845, when delegates from sundry Encampments, including the three owing their allegiance to the General Grand Body, met at Richmond, and having resolved that it was impossible to revive the extinct Grand Encampment, proceeded to form a new one for the State.

"Such is a brief Statement of the facts. Your Committee are of the Opinion that when the original Grand Encampment of Virginia ceased to exist, jurisdiction over the State reverted to this body.

"And this seems to have been the view entertained in 1838, when this General Grand Encampment established an Encampment at Wheeling.

"They are also of the opinion that immediate jurisdiction over, at least, the three Subordinate Encampments, which derived their authority from this body, also reverted to its original source. This being true, there was no power vested in the Subordinate Encampments in Virginia to organize a Grand Encampment without the consent of the General Grand Encampment as provided by this Constitution. This consent or approval was never obtained or even asked for.

"It follows, therefore, that the body now existing, and styling itself the Grand Encampment of Virginia, is irregular and unauthorized. It refuses allegiance to this General Grand Encampment, and denies its authority in the State of Virginia."

In 1871, at the Triennial Encampment, a memorial from the Grand Commandery of Virginia was presented by Sir Knights W. B. Isaacs and R. E. Withers "Asking leave to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Grand Encampment of the United States." The memorial is quite too lengthy for our pages. This was referred to a committee of three.[2]

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[1] Proceedings of General Grand Encampment, 1826, p. 9.

[2] Proceedings, 1871, pp. 175 to 180.

This committee made a lengthy report, in which they answered the reasons for a separation as set forth in the memorial, and presented the following:

"*Resolved*, That the Grand Encampment entertaining for the Grand Commandery of Virginia the most courteous and friendly feeling of fraternal brotherhood, and being anxious to preserve intact the knightly array of the constituent Grand Commanderies and to continue to preserve the good, well-being, and perpetuation of 'Templar Masonry,' does decline and refuse 'to allow the Grand Commandery of Virginia, in peace, in honor, and in recognition, to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Grand Encampment' as prayed for in its memorial.

"Respectfully submitted by the Committee,

"THEODORE S. PARVIN,
"CHARLES W. WOODRUFF,
"RICHARD F. KNOTT."

N. B.—Subsequently Sir Knight Isaacs was made the General Grand Recorder, and Sir Knight Withers the General Grand Master, of the General Grand Encampment.

Washington Territory.

The Grand Commandery was organized June 2, 1887.

Washington Commandery, No. 1, at Walla Walla; dispensation issued April 19, 1882, and a Charter was granted August 23, 1883.

Seattle, No. 2, had a dispensation issued February 22, 1883, and was chartered August 23, 1883.

Cataract, No. 3, at Spokane, had a dispensation issued to it July 30, 1885, and was organized August 14, 1885; and chartered September 23, 1886.

Ivanhoe, No. 4, at Tacoma; a dispensation was issued March 23, 1886, formed April 27, 1886, and chartered September 23, 1886.

West Virginia.

West Virginia was a part of the State of Virginia until June 20, 1863. As we have shown, under Virginia, the Grand Encampment was organized November 27, 1823, and from October, 1824, under various changes, and frequently being dormant for years, and

having no communion with the majority of Templars of the General Grand Body, that Grand Encampment, now Commandery, has existed as under and by virtue of the constitution of the Grand Encampment of the United States. It has exercised exclusive jurisdiction over the territory now included in the State of West Virginia, with a single exception under the constitution of the Grand Encampment of the United States. The Grand Commandery of Virginia continued to exercise jurisdiction over it the same as theretofore. In the list of its subordinate commanderies, the Grand Commandery of Virginia classed Wheeling, No. 1; Palestine, No. 9, at Martinsburg.; Star of the West, No. 12, at Morgantown, and in 1868 a dispensation was issued by the Grand Commander of Virginia for a new commandery at Monongahela,[1] all in West Virginia.

After the formation of West Virginia State the Grand Encampment did not claim the commanderies therein as its immediate subordinates, nor exercised any power in West Virginia hostile to the jurisdictional claim of the Grand Commandery of Virginia.[2] The Grand Commandery of West Virginia was organized by P. G. M. James H. Hopkins, February 25, 1874. In the history of the Grand Commandery of Virginia we have shown the subordinate commanderies which were located in the present State of West Virginia, viz., Warren, at Harper's Ferry; Winchester, at Winchester; and Wheeling, No. 1, at Wheeling.

Wisconsin.

The Grand Commandery of Wisconsin was organized October 20, 1859. Wisconsin, No. 1; dispensation, no date found, and Charter granted September 11, 1850.

Note.—We have been unable to find any reference in the Proceedings of the General Grand Encampment prior to 1859 of any other encampment in Wisconsin.

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[1] Proceedings, 1871, p. 55. [2] Ibid., p. 56.

Wyoming.

The Grand Commandery of Wyoming was organized by authority of the General Grand Encampment September 23, 1886, and constituted March 8, 1888.

The constituent commanderies were:

	Place.	Dispensation.	Charter.
Wyoming, No. 1 …….	Cheyenne.....	March 15, 1873.	December 3, 1874.
Ivanhoe, No. 2 ……	Rawlins.....	February 9, 1885. February 16, 1885.	September 23, 1886.
Immanuel, No. 3 …….	Laramie.. ...	May 1, 1886. May 18, 1886.	September 23, 1886.

CHAPTER LIX

HISTORY OF COLORED MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES

HE action taken by the Grand Lodge of the State of Washington, wherein the legality of the organization of Prince Hall Lodge was duly recognized, renders it proper that, in the history of Masonry in the United States, some notice should be taken of that lodge and its successors in the present work. In our examination of this matter we have found the subject so well treated by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Brother William Sewell Gardner, in an address delivered before that Grand Lodge, in 1870, that we shall use the same as a foundation, and largely as the structure of this article, for the reason that he has fully and thoroughly covered the entire ground and answered all the arguments employed by the friends of that famous body of negro Masons, within the years 1898 and 1899 in almost every Grand Lodge in the United States, by the Grand Masters, and committees appointed, to respond to the action of the Grand Lodge of Washington in 1898, who have clearly set forth their views, in opposition to the recognition of negro Masonry in this country. The views set forth in this address have been referred to by most of those writers, and there is nothing new for the present writer to urge in opposition to recognition. In his own response in the report on correspondence in the "Annual Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia," for the year 1898, one point insisted upon by him was, that the charters of the Grand Lodge of England issued to Military Lodges did not authorize said lodges to make Masons of citizens in any country where there were already duly constituted lodges under Grand Lodge jurisdiction. The argument used was, that a lodge could not go beyond the letter and terms of the Charter by whose authority it worked. We laid this down as a necessary and fundamental principle, and we have been pleased to notice very many of our correspondents agree

with us in that position; and, finding that Grand Master Gardner uses the same point, we have thought it best to follow out his address as being more comprehensive and more strictly adhering to the true history of the first introduction of this foul blot upon the escutcheon of our Masonry, all through its succeeding ramifications, and subsequent discoloring of our fair fame and otherwise pure record in the United States.

It is due to our Brethren in Washington to say, that when it became known to the Craft at large in that State that the movement, on the part of their leading men, thus to drag in the dust the proud banner of Masonry had aroused the ire of every Grand Lodge in the country, at the succeeding Communication in June, 1899, the obnoxious resolutions were annulled and former harmonious and cordial relations have been restored.

We now proceed to use Brother Gardner's admirable address to give a true history of Prince Hall Lodge:

Address.

BRETHREN: In the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, at its session held at Manchester on the 18th of June, 1869, "the Committee on Foreign Correspondence offered their report, and, on motion, it was voted, That the reading of the report be dispensed with, and that it be published with the printed proceedings."

In this report the following statements are made:

"In Massachusetts there was no legal Grand Lodge till the Union in 1792."

"The American doctrine of Grand Lodge jurisdiction has grown up since" the establishment of the African Lodge at Boston, by authority of a Charter from the Grand Lodge of England, "and is not elsewhere fully received even now; besides, there was then no Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, or in that State, whose rights could be interfered with; for, notwithstanding the claim to antiquity of that Grand Lodge, it was not formed till 1792, and the two Provincial Grand Lodges, before existing in that Colony, both expired in 1775 by the death of their Provincial Grand Masters. The Massachusetts Grand Lodge did not pretend to meet after the death of Warren, and although St. John's Grand Lodge did have some sort of meetings, probably no law that ever existed in Masonry anywhere would hold such meetings regular."

If this report had been read to the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, its venerable Past Grand Masters, Israel Hunt and Horace Chase, then present, could have informed the Committee on Foreign Correspondence that they were treading upon dangerous ground, and alluding to a delicate subject.

The Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was organized on the 8th of July, 1789, by four Deputies from St. John's Lodge of Portsmouth, chartered by the Massachusetts "St. John's Grand Lodge" June 24, 1734, and one Deputy from Rising Sun Lodge of Keene, chartered by the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" March 5, 1784—five Deputies from two Lodges. All Masonic authorities claim that, to organize a legitimate Grand Lodge, there must be present the representatives of "not less than three Lodges holding Charters or Warrants from some legal Grand Lodge."

All the Lodges in New Hampshire existing prior to the year 1790, with the single exception of St. John's of Portsmouth, received their Charters from the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge."

St. Patrick's was chartered and established at Portsmouth, March 17, 1780. It continued in existence until the latter part of the year 1790, when it ceased working, most of its members joining St. John's Lodge, which was revived about that time. It never acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire.

November 8, 1781, the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" chartered a Lodge at Cornish, then claimed to be a part of Vermont, but now set off to New Hampshire. It met at Cornish a few times, and when Cornish was decided to be in New Hampshire, it moved to Windsor, Vt., on the opposite side of the Connecticut River, and took the name of Vermont Lodge, No. 1.

Rising Sun, of Keene, well known as the Lodge which gave Masonic light to Thomas Smith Webb, was chartered by the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" March 5, 1784. It surrendered its Charter to the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire August 3, 1792, and received a new one with the same name, and rank No. 3.

The "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" granted a Charter for a Lodge at Charlestown by the name of "Faithful Lodge, No. 27," February 22, 1788. This Charter was surrendered to the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire April 30, 1800, and a new one given, by which it was styled "Faithful Lodge, No. 12."

Dartmouth Lodge, of Hanover, received a Charter from "the Massachusetts Grand Lodge" December 18, 1788, and was the last Lodge chartered by this Grand Lodge in New Hampshire. Its dissolution took place before it acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of that State.

The Grand Secretary, Horace Chase, says, that when the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was formed, July 8, 1789, "as appears from the record there were but three Lodges in the State, *viz.*, St. John's and St. Patrick's at Portsmouth, and Rising Sun at Keene."

However irregularly organized the -Grand Lodge of New Hampshire may have been, the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" disclaimed jurisdiction in that State thereafter. It is unnecessary to state that this Grand Lodge, since 1789 to the present time, has been on the most friendly and fraternal relations with our sister Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, and that it will require something more than unauthorized and unconfirmed statements of a Committee on Foreign Correspondence to unsettle these pleasant relations.

Nevertheless, when it is pretended before a body of such great respectability as the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, that, in 1784, when it is said the "African Lodge" in Boston obtained its Charter in England, there was no existing Grand Lodge in Massachusetts, for the purpose of proving the then and present legitimacy of the African Lodge, and of adding the weight and influence of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire to this pretense, it is due to ourselves, and to the Craft universal, that the truth should be fully known and fearlessly spoken.

The time is propitious to meet this false pretense, and I need but resume the history of the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge" where it was left at its Centennial on the recent Feast of St. John the Evangelist.

The system of Provincial Grand Lodges originated in the Grand Lodge of England in 1726, and arose from the necessity of having, in the distant colonies of Great Britain where Masonry has extended, some authority and power, not only to control and govern the Craft, but also to establish new Lodges in the Provinces. The Provincial Grand Master was appointed by commission of the Grand Master, wherein the extent of his powers was set forth, and by virtue of which he convened his Grand Body. In the language

of early days, this commission was styled a Deputation, and this word conveys the true idea of the Provincials' position. It was a Deputy Grand Lodge, with its various Deputy Grand Officers, convened by the power and authority of the Provincial Grand Master as the Deputy of the Grand Master. It possessed no sovereign power. The Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Master were not necessarily registered in his Grand Lodge. They were returned to England, registered in the Grand Lodge there, and classified as we do our Lodges at the present day, as belonging to a certain District or Province. The Provincial Grand Master had power to appoint a Deputy and commission him, who in the absence, sickness, and disability of his chief, assumed his functions. The Grand Wardens and other officers he also had the exclusive right to appoint, although sometimes he nominated brethren to these offices and permitted the Grand Lodge to elect them.

Each Lodge in the Province had the right of representation in the Provincial Grand Lodge, by its Master and Wardens or by a regularly appointed representative, and the expenses of the Grand Body were assessed upon the various subordinates. The right of appeal existed from every act and decision of the Provincial Grand Master or Grand Lodge, to the Grand Master of England, thus making the Provincial and his Grand Lodge subordinate to the power by which they were created.

The allegiance of the Lodges and of the Craft was to the Grand Lodge of England, and to the Provincial Grand Lodge and Grand Master, through the parent Body. There was no direct allegiance to the Provincial from the Craft. It was a temporary power which he held *ex gratia,* and of which he could be deprived at the pleasure of the Grand Master by whom he was appointed.

Thus it will be seen that the Provincial Grand Master was appointed for the convenience of the administration of the affairs of the Grand Lodge of England in distant parts, in the same manner that our District Deputies are appointed at the present time. The powers, however, in the one case, were more extended than they are in the other. The means of communication with London were not so easy and rapid as now, and the distance from the Grand East required that some officer should be stationed here, who should be invested with authority for sudden emergencies and instant action.

The Provincial Grand Master having been regularly commissioned and installed, could not resign his trust to his Provincial Grand Lodge. That Body had no power to accept it. His resignation must be made to the Grand Master from whom he received his commission. The Provincial Grand Lodge was the creation of the Provincial Grand Master, and was wholly under his direction and control. He appointed its officers, and summoned the representatives of the Lodges to assemble in Grand Lodge. In this Grand Lodge there was no inherent power, save what it derived from the Provincial Grand Master, by virtue of his delegated authority, thus making it the very reverse of a Sovereign Grand Lodge, the Grand Master of which derives his authority from the Sovereign Body by whose votes he is elected to office, and over which he presides.

The Grand Master appointing his Provincial, could annul the commission at his will and pleasure. The officer being created by the pleasure of the Grand Master of England, all the adjuncts, appointees, and creations of the office depended upon the same pleasure, and existed during the will of the appointing power. If a Provincial Grand Master was removed, and his commission recalled, and the Grand Master declined to appoint his successor, it is clear that the Provincial Grand Lodge established by virtue of such commission would cease to exist. Such a Grand Lodge never possessed any vitality which would survive the life of the commission appointing the Provincial Grand Master.

The death of the Provincial would also lead to the same result. The commission to him from the Grand Master would lose all its force upon his decease. Whatever act the Provincial performed, he did by virtue of the commission to him. His Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens, appointed by him, and not by the Grand Master of England, nor by his confirmation, derived their power and character as Grand Officers from the Provincial, and when the Provincial expired, their tenure of office expired also.

To show that these conclusions are correct, I will refer to the authorities.

The office of Provincial Grand Master was established by the Grand Lodge of England, as has already been stated, in 1726, and the first Deputation was granted May 10, 1727. Preston says of the office, at this date: "A Provincial Grand Master in that district

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over which he is limited to preside, and being invested with the power and honor of a Deputy Grand Master in his Province, may constitute Lodges therein, if the consent of the Masters and Wardens of three Lodges already constituted within his District have been obtained, and the Grand Lodge in London has not disapproved thereof. He wears the clothing of a Grand Officer, and ranks, in all public assemblies, immediately after Past Deputy Grand Master. He must, in person or by deputy, attend the quarterly meetings of the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges in his District, and transmit to the Grand Lodge, once in every year, the proceedings of those meetings, with a regular statement of the Lodges under his jurisdiction."

Speaking of the year 1737, he says: "The authority granted by patent to a Provincial Grand Master was limited to one year from his first public appearance in that character within his Province; and if at the expiration of that period, a new election of the Lodges under his jurisdiction did not take place, subject to the approbation of the Grand Master, the patent was no longer valid. Hence we find, within the course of a few years, different appointments to the same station; but the office is now permanent, and the sole appointment of the Grand Master."

In Entick's Constitutions of 1756 there is a section entitled "Of Provincial Grand Masters," which is as follows:

"Art. 1. The office of Provincial Grand Master was found particularly necessary in the year 1726; when the extraordinary increase of the Craftsmen, and their traveling into distant parts, and convening themselves into Lodges, required an immediate Head, to whom they might apply in all Cases, where it was not possible to wait the Decision or Opinion of the Grand Lodge.

"Art. 2. The appointment of this Grand Officer is a Prerogative of the Grand Master: who grants his Deputation to such Brother of Eminence and Ability in the Craft, as he shall think proper: not for life, but during his good Pleasure.

"Art. 3. The Provincial thus deputed, is invested with the Power and Honor of a Deputy Grand Master; and during the continuance of his Provincialship, is entitled to wear the Clothing, to take rank as the Grand Officers, in all publick Assemblies, immediately after the past Deputy Grand Masters: and to constitute Lodges within his own Province.

"Art. 4. He is enjoined to correspond with the Grand Lodge, and to transmit a circumstantial Account of his Proceedings, at least once in every Year. At which Times, the Provincial is required to send a List of those Lodges he has constituted for the general Fund of Charity: and the usual demand, as specified in his Deputation, for every Lodge he has constituted by the Grand Master's Authority."

The Constitutions of the United Grand Lodge of England have been more particular in specifying the powers, duties, and prerogatives of the Provincial Grand Master and Grand Lodge. I will refer to a single Section of these Constitutions:

"The Provincial Grand Lodge emanates from the authority vested in the Provincial Grand Master, and possesses no other powers than those specified. It therefore follows that no Provincial Grand Lodge can meet but by the sanction of the Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy; and that it ceases to exist on the death, resignation, suspension, or removal of the Provincial Grand Master, until some Brother is duly appointed or empowered to perform the functions of Provincial Grand Master, by whose authority the Provincial Grand Lodge may be again established."

In Scotland this office was created in 1738, and the first nomination made abroad in 1747. In November, 1757, R. W. Col. John Young was appointed Provincial Grand Master over all the Lodges in America holding of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and in 1768 James Grant, Governor of the Province of East Florida, was appointed Provincial Grand Master of North America, Southern District.

The commissions were issued "to continue in force until recalled." In 1800 a series of regulations for the government of these officers were sanctioned by the Grand Lodge, previous to which time it is presumed that they were governed by the same rules and regulations as in England.

More recently, the "Laws and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge" have provided that the "meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodges shall not be interrupted by the death or retirement of the Provincial Grand Master, unless the Grand Lodge shall not deem it expedient within the space of one year to appoint another. A Provincial Grand Lodge not assembling for the space of two years, also becomes dormant, and has no power again to call meetings,

unless empowered by the Provincial Grand Master, or by the order of the Grand Lodge or Grand Committee." "When a Provincial Grand Lodge becomes dormant, the Lodges in the District come under the immediate supervision of the Grand Lodge and Grand Committee."

These new rules and regulations were made to prevent the disruption of the Provincial Grand Lodges, which was inevitable upon the decease of the Provincial Grand Master.

In Ireland the same system has existed as in England and Scotland. The present Constitutions provided that, "if the Provincial Grand Master die, resign, or be removed, the authority of the Provincial Deputy Grand Master shall continue for six months after, or until a successor to the Provincial Grand Master be appointed, but such authority of the Provincial Deputy Grand Master shall not continue longer, unless he be re-appointed."

If these authorities support the position taken, and if the conclusions arrived at are correct, it follows beyond all controversy that when Provincial Grand Master Joseph Warren expired on Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, the Provincial Grand Lodge, of which he was the essence and life, expired also, and with it all the offices of which it was composed. The Lodges established by him, and by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, were not affected thereby, as has already appeared. They were, or should have been, registered in Edinburgh, and owed their allegiance to the Grand Lodge there.

The conclusion of the Eulogy pronounced by Br. Perez Morton at the re-interment of Joseph Warren, April 8, 1776, was devoted to the subject of independence, which was then agitating the Colonies. Some of the language made use of by him upon this occasion seems to foreshadow the Masonic independence of Massachusetts, which was soon to follow. "Now is the happy time," said he, "to seize again those rights which, as men, we are by nature entitled to, and which by contract we never have, and never could have, surrendered."

On the 4th of July following, "The Declaration of Independence" was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed, by which the United Colonies declared themselves to be free and independent States. The effect of this declaration upon the Colonies I need not allude to; Massachusetts, by virtue of its claim, became a free, independent, sovereign State, and the spirit of freedom and independ-

ence of Great Britain became infused into every organization and society which before this were bound and dependent. It was an absolute revolution, by which a dependent colony became revolutionized into an independent State. The idea of a permanent union of the States had then hardly been broached. They had united for defence against a common foe, and had set themselves up as independent States, not only independent of Great Britain, but independent of each other. Isolated from all the world, they each stood forth free, independent, sovereign States.

The Institution of Freemasonry, which numbered among its firmest adherents such revolutionists as Webb, Revere, Morton, and a host of others who followed in the footsteps of Warren, could not long withstand the influence of freedom, and Massachusetts set the example of a revolution in Masonic government, which has been followed successfully by every State in the Union. It has become the American system, or, as the committee of New Hampshire call it, "The American Doctrine of Grand Lodge Jurisdiction," respected and recognized by the Masonic Fraternity the world over. It had its birth on Bunker Hill, when the patriot Warren poured out his life's blood:

> "The Patriot Grand Master, who fell in his might—
> The second of three—in defence of the right!"

"The American Doctrine of Grand Lodge Jurisdiction," briefly stated, is this: "Three regularly-chartered Lodges existing in any State or Territory have the right to establish a Grand Lodge therein. Such Grand Lodge, when lawfully organized, has sole, absolute, and exclusive jurisdiction over the three degrees of Craft Masonry; over the Lodges and their Members; and over all Masons, unaffiliated as well as affiliated, in such State or Territory. No other Grand Lodge whatever can lawfully interfere with this jurisdiction, and can neither establish Lodges in such State, nor continue any authority over Bodies which it might properly have exercised prior to the organization of such Grand Lodge therein."

By the erection of a Grand Lodge in such State, all Masonic powers over what is popularly called Blue Masonry are merged in it, and henceforth it exists therein supreme and sovereign over a jurisdiction which it can neither divide nor share with any other Masonic Grand Body in the world.

The several States of the United States of America, the Territories, when legally organized as such by Congress, and the District of Columbia, are each recognized as separate and independent jurisdictions in which Grand Lodges may be established. This is the American doctrine, most religiously and masonically adhered to by the Craftsmen of the United States, and which our brethren upon the other side of the Atlantic must accede to, recognize, and support. After the Declaration hereinafter referred to, made by the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, December 6, 1782, treaty stipulations were entered into by the several Grand Lodges then in existence, in confirmation of the action of Massachusetts.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted by the Grand Lodge of New York:

"*Whereas*, The Grand Lodge of the State of Massachusetts have by a communication, dated the 4th of January last, suggested to this Grand Lodge the propriety of adopting a resolution declaring that no Charter or Dispensation for holding a Lodge be issued by any Grand Lodge to any number of Masons residing out of the State wherein the Grand Lodge is established, be it therefore

"*Resolved* and declared by this Grand Lodge, that no Charter or Dispensation for holding a Lodge of Masons shall be granted to any person or persons whatever, residing out of this State and within the jurisdiction of any other Grand Lodge."

The Grand Lodges of the United States have uniformly resisted every encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the several Grand Lodges.

The Feast of St. John the Evangelist, in 1776, was celebrated, and the record shows that a Grand Lodge was held by thirty-three brethren, Joseph Webb presiding as Deputy Grand Master. A Grand Lodge was called by the Deputy of Warren, February 14, 1777, to hear the petition for a Charter at Stockbridge, of brethren in Berkshire County. This proposition aroused the brethren to a realizing sense of their status and condition as a Grand Lodge. They were doubtful of its power, as then organized, to grant the Charter prayed for. The petition was accordingly laid over to Friday evening, March the 7th next, and it was "*Voted*, That the Deputy Grand Master should send a summons to all the Masters and Wardens under the jurisdiction to assemble on the 7th March,

in order to consult upon, and to elect, a Grand Master for this State, in the room of our late worthy Grand Master Warren, deceased."

On the 7th of March the brethren met, and adjourned until the following evening. March 8, 1777, the following brethren assembled, representing St. Andrew's Lodge, of Boston, Tyrian Lodge, of Gloucester, and St. Peter's Lodge, of Newburyport:

R. W. Joseph Webb, D. G. M., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Paul Revere, S. G. W., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Thomas Crafts, J. G. W., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
John Lowell, G. Treas., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Nat. Peirce, G. Sec. pro tern., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Thomas Urann, S. G. D., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Edward Proctor, J. G. D., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Moses Deshon, P. M., of Tyrian Lodge, Gloucester.
Philip Marett, } G. St'ds' { of Tynan Lodge, Gloucester.
Winthrop Grey, } G. St'ds' { S. W., of St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston.
Wm. Greenough, M., of St. Peter's Lodge, Newburyport.

The brethren then unanimously elected a Grand Master, Grand Wardens, and other Grand Officers. Joseph Webb was chosen Grand Master.

The Grand Lodge then acted upon the petition for a new Lodge at Stockbridge, and granted the same; this being the first act of the Independent Grand Lodge.

Massachusetts Lodge, of Boston, was not represented at this meeting; but, on the 18th of December, 1778, it petitioned the Grand Lodge, "setting forth that the exigency of the times would not admit of their assembling sooner, and praying said Lodge may retain the rank they formerly held under the Grand Lodge," which was granted. All the Lodges under the old Provincial Grand Lodge of Warren, with the exception of Massachusetts, united in forming the independent Grand Lodge, and they forthwith yielded allegiance to it. However, but few of the Lodges in Massachusetts at this time, were in a condition to hold meetings, by reason of "the exigency of the times."

The record of the meeting setting up the Independent Grand Lodge contains no account of the motives and incentives which gave rise to this action.

Grand Master Joseph Webb sent the following letter to the

Grand Lodge of Georgia, which has recently been discovered by R. W. Br. I. E. Blackshear, Grand Secretary of that State:

"BOSTON, March 2, 1787.

"To the Right Worshipful, the Grand Master, Dep. G. M., G. Wardens, and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Savannah in Georgia, greeting.

"GENTLEMEN AND BRETHREN: Having lately seen the Southern papers, that you had at last assumed to your selves the undoubted right of Forming a Grand Lodge in your State, I Congratulate you on so Important an acquisition, and wish you all the success imaginable: we, in this Common Wealth, assumed the same so early as 1777, since w'ch I find Pennsilvania and N. York have adopted; but how they have proceeded at Charleston or Virginia I have not as yet heard. I hold a correspondence with those 2 Lodges, and should be glad of the same with you, and all in the Union at least. Since our adopting, we have had 25 Lodges under the jurisdiction (tho' some of them Charters of Dispensation, in Connecticut, Vermont, N. Hampshire), until they appoint a G. Lodge of their own. Inclosed, I have taken the freedom to send you the Regulations of our G. Lodge, w'ch you'l please to accept as a small token of my Respect. So, wishing the Grand Lodge in particular, and those under your jurisdiction in general, all that Universal Benevolence, Brotherly Love, and Truth: Adieu! I remain with sincerity, your unknown tho' affectionate Brother and H'ble Serv.

"JOS. WEBB,
"*G. M. Com. Wealth Massachusetts*."

(Received 27th April.)

Josiah Bartlett, afterward Grand Master, in an address before the Grand Lodge, said:

"How to assemble the Grand Lodge with regularity, was now made a serious question, as the commission of the Grand Master had died with him, and the Deputy had no power independent of his nomination and appointment.

"Communications for the consideration of this subject were held at different times, till the 8th of March, 1777, when, experiencing the necessity of preserving the intercourse of the brethren, and the want of a proper establishment to soften the rigors of an active and distressing war, they proceeded to the formation of an

Independent Grand Lodge, with 'powers and prerogatives to be exercised on principles consistent with and subordinate to the regulations pointed out in the Constitutions of Ancient Masonry,' and our late worthy and Most Worshipful Brother, Joseph Webb, Esquire, whose amiable deportment and fidelity in the duties of his important office now claim our grateful remembrance, was duly elected Grand Master, and proceeded to install his officers, and organize the Grand Lodge."

Thaddeus M. Harris, who compiled the Constitutions in 1792, referring to this act of independence, quotes the above extract from Bartlett's address, and, in a foot-note, says that "the general regulations from Entick's Constitutions were adopted and practiced; except that the Grand Master and Wardens were elected by a ballot at large. The other officers were appointed by the Grand Master."

The record itself, of December 6, 1782, recites the facts:

"Charters were not only granted for establishing Lodges in Massachusetts, but also in other States. But anticipating that the independent government organized in this State would be followed by the Craft elsewhere, it was determined that all Charters granted without the limits of Massachusetts should be in force only until a Grand Lodge was formed in such State or Country where such Lodges were held. Upon these conditions Lodges were established in New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and New York, prior to December, 1782."

"In October, 1778, it was voted that a Charter be granted to a traveling Lodge in the American army, to make Masons, pass, and raise, in this State, or any of the United States of America, where no other Grand Master presides. But in any other State where there is a Grand Master constituted by the brethren of these United States, they are to inform him, and receive his sanction."

In September, 1780, the Grand Master "laid before the Grand Lodge a letter dated Philadelphia, August 19, 1780, signed William Smith, Grand Secretary, inclosing a printed list of the several Lodges in Pennsylvania, under that jurisdiction, and advising that they had, in that Grand Lodge, thought it expedient to make choice of a Grand Master General, for the thirteen United American States; that they had nominated His Excellency General George Washington, and requesting the opinion and approbation of this Grand Lodge thereon."

"Circular letters were sent to the several Lodges under the jurisdiction requesting the attendance of the Masters and Wardens at the Grand Lodge, for the purpose of considering this proposition. Brother Perez Morton was strongly in favor of the project, but the Grand Lodge *Voted,* That any determination upon the subject cannot, with the propriety and justice due to the Craft at large, be made by this Grand Lodge, until a general peace shall happily take place through the continent, inasmuch as the sentiments of the various Grand Lodges in the United States upon this question could not be made known under the peculiar circumstances of public affairs."

On the 10th of July, 1782, it was "*Voted,* That a committee be appointed to draw resolutions explanatory of the powers and authority of this Grand Lodge, respecting the extent and meaning of its jurisdiction, and of the exercise of any other masonic authorities within its jurisdiction." Brothers Perez Morton, Paul Revere, John Warren, James Avery, and John Juteau were appointed upon the committee.

A special meeting of the Grand Lodge was called to receive the report, September 30, 1782, when it was read and referred to the next meeting. December 6, 1782, in a full Grand Lodge, it was considered.

This interesting report, omitting the formal introduction, is as follows:

"The Commission from the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted to our late Grand Master, Joseph Warren, Esquire, having died with him, and of course his deputy, whose appointment was derived from his nomination, being no longer in existence, they saw themselves without a head, and without a single Grand Officer, and of course it was evident that not only the Grand Lodge, but all the particular Lodges under its jurisdiction, must cease to assemble, the brethren be dispersed, the penniless go unassisted, the Craft languish, and ancient Masonry be extinct in this part of the world.

"That in consequence of a summons from the former Grand Wardens to the Masters and Wardens of all the regular constituted Lodges, a Grand Communication was held to consult and advise on some means to preserve the intercourse of the brethren.

"That the Political Head of this country, having destroyed all

connection and correspondence between the subjects of these States and the country from which the Grand Lodge originally derived its commissioned authority, and the principles of the Craft, inculcating on its professors submission to the commands of the civil authority of the country they reside in, the brethren did assume an elective supremacy, and under it chose a Grand Master and Grand Officers, and erected a Grand Lodge with independent powers and prerogatives, to be exercised, however, on principles consistent with and subordinate to the regulations pointed out in the Constitution of Ancient Masonry.

"That the reputation and utility of the Craft, under their jurisdiction, has been most extensively diffused, by the flourishing state of fourteen Lodges constituted by their authority within a shorter period than that in which three only received Dispensations under the former Grand Lodge.

"That in the history of our Craft we find that in England there are two Grand Lodges, independent of each other; in Scotland the same, and in Ireland their Grand Lodge and Grand Master are independent either of England or Scotland. It is clear that the authority of some of their Grand Lodges originated in assumption, or otherwise they would acknowledge the head from whence they derived.

"Your committee are therefore of opinion that the doings of the present Grand Lodge were dictated by principles of the clearest necessity, founded in the highest reason, and warranted by precedents of the most approved authority.

"And they beg leave to recommend the following resolutions, to be adopted by the Grand Lodge and engrafted into its Constitutions:

"I. That the brethren of the Grand Lodge, in assuming the powers and prerogatives of an independent Grand Lodge, acted from the most laudable motives and consistently with the principles which ought forever to govern Masons, *viz.*, the benefit of the Craft and the good of mankind, and are warranted in their proceedings by the practice of Ancient Masons in all parts of the world.[1]

"II. That this Grand Lodge be hereafter known and called by the name of 'The Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons,'

[1] See Calcot, p. 107; "Masons' Pocket Companion," p. 92, London edition.

and that it is free and independent in its government and official authority of any other Grand Lodge or Grand Master in the universe.

"III. That the power and authority of the said Grand Lodge be construed to extend throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and to any of the United States, where none other is erected, over such Lodges only as this Grand Lodge has constituted or shall constitute.

"IV. That the Grand Master for the time being be desired to call in all Charters which were held under the jurisdiction of the late Grand Master, Joseph Warren, Esquire, and return the same with an endorsement thereon, expressive of their recognition of the power and authority of this Grand Lodge.

"V. That no person ought or can, consistently with the rules of Ancient Masonry, use or exercise the powers or prerogatives of an Ancient Grand Master or Grand Lodge, to wit: To give power to erect Lodges of ancient Masonry, make Masons, appoint superior or Grand Officers, receive dues, or do anything which belongs to the powers or prerogatives of an ancient Grand Lodge within any part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the rightful and appropriated limits to which the authority of this Grand Lodge forever hereafter extends."

The foregoing report was signed by Perez Morton, Paul Revere, John Warren, and James Avery. It "was read paragraph by paragraph, and, after mature deliberation thereon, the same was accepted and ordered to be recorded in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge," where it now appears, signed by "Jos. Webb, Grand Master." A majority of the members of St. Andrew's Lodge objected to this report, although, at a Grand Lodge held March 1, 1782, a petition from its Master, Wardens, and members was presented, "praying that the Grand Lodge would grant them a Charter by the 'name of Saint Andrew,' they retaining their rank and precedency as heretofore in said Grand Lodge," which was unanimously granted.

"In 1768 John Rowe was appointed Provincial Grand Master of the St. John's Grand Lodge." He held the office until August 4, 1787, when he died. After 1775 this Grand Lodge held no meeting until called together to attend the funeral of Grand Master Rowe. In July, 1790, the Grand Officers assembled and voted to

elect new officers, but no higher officer than a Senior Grand Warden was chosen. The Massachusetts Grand Lodge, as early as 1787, had taken action upon the question of a union, and had appointed a committee to consider it. "It is evident that the St. John's Lodge preserved its organization as such for the purpose of completing the contemplated union. It granted no Charters, nor did it assume any of the powers of a Charter to St. John's Lodge, Boston, for the purpose of uniting the first and second Lodges into one. The Grand Lodge record contains no reference to it, nor was there any record kept of the Grand Lodge doings for that year."

"Thus by the record, and by contemporaneous history, it is fixed beyond all question and doubt that the 'Massachusetts Grand Lodge,' on the 8th of March, 1777, by a revolution and by assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of a Grand Lodge, became a free, independent, sovereign Grand Lodge, with a jurisdiction absolute, exclusive, and entire throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and a provisional jurisdiction in other States and countries. By this revolution and assumption, from that day to this, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, without interruption, has exercised all the plenary powers of a Grand Lodge. It has held Regular and Special Meetings, elected and installed its Grand Masters and other Grand Officers, kept full and complete records of its doings, granted Warrants for new Lodges, erected and erased Lodges, compelled and received the allegiance of its subordinates and their members, and has been in correspondence with and recognized by the other Grand Lodges of the world. From the 8th of March, 1777, to the day of this Quarterly meeting, the full and just-complete term of ninety-three years, there has never been any successful opposition to its claim of sovereignty. From time to time it has gathered into self every opposing element possessing even a colorable title to legitimacy which it found within the borders of its jurisdiction."

"In the State of Massachusetts there have been three Lodges chartered by Grand Lodges of foreign jurisdictions, and but three—St. Andrew's, chartered in 1756, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and now one of our subordinates; Ancient York Lodge, No. 169, of Boston, chartered prior to 1772, by the Atholl Grand Lodge of England, and had but a brief existence; and the African Lodge, of Boston.

"It is claimed that in 1775 the persons named in the Charter of the African Lodge were made Masons in a traveling Lodge attached to one of the British regiments then stationed at Boston, and that they 'were soon after organized as, and dispensated into a Lodge,' before the death of Warren, to whom they applied for a Charter. That they were made Masons may be true. That they received a Dispensation for a Lodge there is not the least proof of, nor the slightest shadow of pretence for. Dispensations for Lodges, as preliminary to granting a Charter, were not made use of in those days. But more than all, there was no authorized power here to grant such Dispensation save Provincial Grand Masters Rowe and Warren. A traveling Lodge, although attached to a British regiment, could not authorize these persons to assemble as a Lodge. Nor was it ever pretended that such Dispensation existed until recently. This claim is nowhere stated directly, and contains so little foundation that it is not worth considering."

The Massachusetts Grand Lodge, at its Session October 1, 1773, after mature deliberation, decided that neither the Lodge at Castle William, nor any other traveling Lodge, "has any right to make Masons of any citizen."

There is no doubt that, on the 6th of March, 1775, the day after Warren delivered his celebrated oration in the Old South Church, where he was menaced by British troops, Prince Hall and thirteen others received the three degrees in a traveling Lodge attached to one of the British regiments in the army of General Gage, by whom Boston was then garrisoned; that Prince Hall and his associates met as a Lodge thereafter in Boston, without any warrant or authority, until May, 1787.

Application was sent to England for a Charter in 1784. The letter of Prince Hall, dated March 1, 1784, accompanying the petition to the Grand Lodge of England for the Charter of the African Lodge, says "I would inform you that this Lodge hath been founded almost eight years." "We have had no opportunity to apply for a Warrant before now, though we have been importuned to send to France for one, yet we thought it best to send to the fountain head, from whence we received the light, for a Warrant."

A Charter was granted September 29, 1784. It did not arrive at Boston for nearly three years, and was received April 29, 1787, and, on the 6th of May following, Prince Hall organized the "Afri-

can Lodge," at Boston, ten years after the Massachusetts Grand Lodge had asserted its freedom and independence; ten years after the American doctrine of Grand Lodge jurisdiction had been established.

"Without any other authority than that contained in the Warrant for said Lodge, Prince Hall, the Master thereof, it is said, on the 22d of March, 1797, granted a Dispensation, preliminary to a Warrant, to certain persons in Philadelphia. Soon afterwards Prince Hall established a Lodge at Providence, R. I. African Lodge, of Boston, continued to act as a subordinate Lodge until 1808, when, with the assistance of the Lodges at Philadelphia and Providence, established as above stated, it organized a Grand Lodge at Boston, which Body granted Charters to several subordinates, not only in Massachusetts, but in several other States."

The African Lodge declared its independence in June, 1827, and published its Declaration in a newspaper printed at Boston.

"It is unnecessary to argue the masonic and legitimate effect of this Declaration. It was a surrender of their Charter, and a public declaration that from thenceforth they ceased to act under it, or to recognize its validity or the authority from whence it was derived. If the 'African Lodge' had any existence at this time, by force of this Declaration its existence came to an end."

A National Grand Lodge was formed in 1847; and, says the petition of Lewis Hayden and others to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, set out on page 132 of the Proceedings for 1869: "The African Lodge of Boston, becoming a part of that Body, surrendered its Charter, and received its present Charter, dated December 11, 1847, under the title of Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by which authority we this day exist as a Masonic Body."

The Lodge prospered, but after the death of Prince Hall, December 4, 1807, æt. 72, it became dormant, and ceased. Upon the union of the Grand Lodges of England, in 1813, African Lodge, which had been registered as No. 459 and as 370, "was removed from the list," and was never after recognized by the United Grand Lodge. The Declaration of 1827 complains "that the members of African Lodge could open no correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England, and that their communications and advances were treated with the most studied neglect."

"Boyer Lodge, No. 1, was organized at New York City by the African Lodge or the Prince Hall Grand Lodge. The members of this Lodge applied to the Grand Lodge of New York for recognition in 1812, 1829, and again in 1845. Grand Secretary James Herring made a report in 1846 which contains a letter from Brother Charles W. Moore, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, which throws some light upon the condition of the African Lodge in Boston at this time.

"Why this Charter was granted without the consent of the Lodges in Massachusetts, and without any correspondence concerning the propriety of the step, is a question which can be answered by every American who remembers the bitter hostility existing in England at that date towards the successful rebels against the crown of Great Britain. This Charter, in common form, conferring no extraordinary powers upon the petitioners, authorizing them to hold a Lodge, enter, pass, and raise Masons, and no more, was undoubtedly granted by the Grand Master of England, and under it the petitioners commenced Work. The successors of the persons named in that Charter have magnified the powers granted by it, have construed it to confer upon them Grand Lodge powers, have set up by virtue of it Grand Lodges, and finally a national Grand Lodge, with subordinate Stations and Lodges, and have established an 'American doctrine of Grand Lodge jurisdiction' peculiar to themselves, distinct and separate from any other Grand Lodge government known to man. Their National Grand Body 'claims and exercises masonic authority over these United States, with full power and authority to settle all masonic difficulties that may arise among the Grand Lodges of these States.' "

The original Charter, granted September 29, 1784, under which the successors of the persons named have claimed to act from April, 1787, to the year 1847, and which was the only plausible authority by which they hope to be justified in their proceedings, was not only surrendered by operation of masonic law, June 18, 1827, by reason of the Declaration then made, but on the 11th of December, 1847, was actually in set form of words, and with premeditation, abandoned and surrendered, and if they now possess the parchment upon which it was written, it is kept only as a curious relic of the past, emasculated of its virility.

The first difficulty has been complicated with a National Grand

Lodge, State Grand Lodges, and subordinate Lodges, so that it will not be easy to escape from the triple bonds with which they have been bound.

This is purely a question of Grand Lodge jurisdiction, which was settled and determined, September 17, 1797, by Massachusetts Grand Lodge, when it incorporated into its Constitution this Section:

"The Grand Lodge will not hold communication with, or admit as visitors, any Masons, residing in this State, who hold authority under, and acknowledge the supremacy of, any foreign Grand Lodge."

In some form of language the same feature has existed in their Constitutions from 1797 to this day, and is as follows:

"No Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons can legally assemble in this Commonwealth under a Warrant granted by any foreign masonic power." Which is a question of Grand Lodge jurisdiction.

"The Institution of Freemasonry is universal. It stretches from East to West, from North to South, and embraces within itself the representatives of every branch of the human family. Its carefully-tyled doors swing open, not at the knock of every man, but at the demand of every true and worthy man, duly accepted, whatever his religion, his race, or his country may be. This Grand Lodge stands upon the high vantage ground of this catholic society, and recognizes the great principles which must necessarily underlie an Institution which has a home on the continents and on the islands of the seas."

"When that celebrated play of Terence, styled the 'Self-Tormentor,' was first introduced upon the Roman Stage, before the great amphitheatre crowded with Senators, knights, citizens, and men of rank, some of whom had been found worthy of a Roman triumph, and Chremes, in his reply to Menedemus, repeated these words,

> 'Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto'
> (I am a man; nothing which relates to man is alien to me),

the vast assemblage rose up, impelled by a common sentiment, and rent the air with reiterated plaudits. The memory of that scene has not yet faded away. The words of Chremes have not yet ceased to

reverberate. We bear upon the Masons' arms of Massachusetts, and have inscribed upon our Grand Lodge banner, the motto,

'Humani nihil alienum' "
(Man everywhere our brother.)

True Copy of the Charter of the African Lodge.

"Effingham, A. G. M. To all and every Right Worshipful and loving Brethren, we, Thomas Howard, &c, &c, &c, Earl of Effingham, Lord Howard, Acting Grand Master under the authority of His Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, &c, &c, &c, Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, sends Greeting:

"Know ye, that we, at the humble petition of our right trusty and well beloved brethren, Prince Hall, Boston Smith, Thomas Sanderson, and several other brethren residing in Boston, New England, in North America, do hereby constitute the said brethren into a regular Lodge of Free and accepted Masons, under the title or denomination of the African Lodge, to be opened in Boston, aforesaid; and do further, at their said petition, hereby appoint the said Prince Hall to be Master, Boston Smith, Senior Warden, and Thomas Sanderson, Junior Warden, for opening the said Lodge, and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the brethren thereof, it being any future election of officers of the Lodge, but that such election shall be regulated agreeably to such By-Laws of the said Lodge as shall be consistent with the general laws of the society, contained in the Book of Constitutions; and we hereby will and require you, the said Prince Hall, to take special care that all and every the said brethren are, or have been, regularly made Masons, and that they do observe, perform, and keep all the rules and orders contained in the Books of Constitutions; and further, that you do, from time to time, cause to be entered in a book kept for that purpose an account of your proceedings in the Lodges, together with all such rules, orders, and regulations as shall be made for the good government of the same; that in no wise you omit once in every year to send to us, our successors Grand Masters or to Rowland Holt, Esq., our Deputy Grand Master, for the time being, an account in writing of your proceedings, and copies of all such rules,

orders, and regulations as shall be made as aforesaid, together with a list of the members of the Lodge, and such a sum of money as may suit the circumstances of the Lodge and reasonably be expected towards the Grand Charity. Moreover, we hereby will and require you, the said Prince Hall, as soon as conveniently may be, to send an account in writing of what may be done by virtue of these presents.

"Given at London, under our hand and seal of Masonry, this 29th day September, A.L. 5784, A.D. 1784.

"By the Grand Master's Command.

"ROWLAND HOLT, *D. G. M.*,

"Witness WILLIAM WHITE,

"*Grand Secretary*."

The "Massachusetts Centinal," printed at Boston, in its issue of May 2, 1787, has the following document:

"AFRICAN LODGE,

"BOSTON, May 2, 1787.

"By Captain Scott, from London, came the Charter, &c., which his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and the Grand Lodge, have been graciously pleased to grant to the African Lodge, in Boston. As the brethren have a desire to acknowledge all favors shown them, they, in this public manner, return particular thanks to a certain member of the Fraternity who offered the so generous reward in this paper, some time since, for the Charter, supposed to be lost; and to assure him, though they doubt of his friendship, that he has made them many good friends."

"(Signed) PRINCE HALL."

Extract from an Address of John V. De Grasse, before the "Prince Hall Grand Lodge," June 30, 1858: "Although, brethren, our Charter was granted in London, September 17, 1784, we did not receive it until April 29, 1787, through the neglect and almost culpable carelessness of Brother Gregory, who did not take it from the Office of the Grand Secretary, where it had remained over two years." "On the 29th of April the Charter and a beautiful bound book of the Constitutions were delivered to Prince Hall."

Declaration of Independence Published in a Newspaper at Boston, June, 1827.

"AFRICAN LODGE, NO. 459.

"GREETING:

"Be it known to all whom it may concern, That we, the Master, Wardens, Members of the African Lodge, No. 459, City of Boston (Mass.), U. S. of America, hold in our possession a certain unlimited Charter, granted September 29, A.L. 5784, A.D. 1784, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Effingham, Acting Grand Master under the authority of his Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, &c, &c, &c., Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honorable society of Free and Accepted Masons. Be it further known, that the Charter alluded to bears the seal of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge at London, England, and was presented to our much esteemed and worthy brethren and predecessors, Prince Hall, Boston Smith, Thomas Sanderson, and several others, agreeably to a humble petition of theirs, sent in form to the above Grand Lodge. Be it remembered that, according to correct information as regards this instrument and the manner in which it was given, it appears to have been confined exclusively to the Africans, and to certain conditions. Whether the conditions have been complied with by our ancestors, we are unable to say; but we can add that, in consequence of the decease of the above-named Brother, the institution was for years unable to proceed, for the want of one to conduct its affairs agreeably to what is required in every regular and well-educated Lodge of Masons. It is now, however, with great pleasure we state that the present age has arrived to that degree of proficiency in the art, that we can at any time select from among us many whose capacity to govern enables them to preside with as much good order, dignity, and propriety as any other Lodge within our knowledge. This fact can be proved by gentlemen of respectability, whose knowledge of Masonry would not be questioned by any one well acquainted with the art. Since the rise of the Lodge to this degree of proficiency, we concluded it was best and proper to make it known to the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge from whence we derive our charter, by sending written documents and monies, to fulfil the agreements of our ancestors, giving information of the low state to which it had fallen, its cause, &c., with its

rise and progress; and also soliciting favors, whereby we might be placed on a different and better standing than we had heretofore. And notwithstanding this has long since been done, and more than sufficient time has elapsed for returns, yet we have never received a single line or reply from that Hon. Society. In consequence of that neglect, we have been at a stand what course to pursue. Our remote situation prevents us from making any verbal communication whatever. Taking all these things into consideration, we have come to the conclusion that with what knowledge we possess of Masonry, and as people of color by ourselves, we are, and ought by rights, to be free and independent of other Lodges. We do, therefore, with this belief, publicly declare ourselves free and independent of any Lodge from this day, and that we will not be tributary, or be governed by any lodge than that of our own. We agree solemnly to abide by all proper rules and regulations which govern the like Fraternity, discountenancing all imposition to injure the Order, and to use all fair and honorable means to promote its prosperity, resting in full hope that this will enable us to transmit it in its purity to our posterity for their enjoyment.

"Done at the Lodge, this the 18th June, A.L. 5727, A.D. 1827.

"In full testimony of what has been written, we affix our names:

"JOHN T. HILTON, *R. M. W.*,
"THOMAS DALTON, *Sen. Ward.*,
"LEWIS YORK, *Jun. Ward.*,
"J. H. PURRON, *Secretary."*

Letter from John Hervey, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England.

"FREEMASONS' HALL, LONDON, W. C,
"11th November, 1868.

" DEAR SIR AND R. W. BROTHER: I am in receipt of your favor of the 20th ult, making enquiries respecting a Warrant granted in 1784 to a certain Prince Hall. I have caused a most diligent search to be made in our books here, and the only reference I can find is in the Calendar for 1785, when a Lodge appears to have been working under the English Constitution, at Boston, under the No. 459, and called the 'African Lodge.' It afterwards became 370, and, I

presume, had ceased working, as at the Union, in 1813, it was removed from the list.

"To reply to your questions categorically:

"1st. I can find no record in 1775 of any Dispensation; but as the G. L. Books were not then kept, as they are now, with accuracy, such may, nevertheless, have existed.

"2d. It was struck off the list in 1813, but I can find no trace of any return having been made, and consequently imagine it must have ceased working long before, although retained on the list.

"3d. I should say most decidedly, that the said 'Prince Hall' was never appointed D. G. M., or had power to grant warrants for the establishment of Lodges in your country. Henry Price, of Boston, was P. G M. for America from 1775 to 1804, after which year his name disappears from the lists.

"It is quite clear that the Lodge referred to is not working under the English Constitutions, and that the parties holding the Warrant can have no right to it, and are not a regular Lodge, unless empowered to meet under your Constitutions.

"I am, dear Sir and Brother, yours, truly and fraternally,

"JOHN HERVEY,

"*Grand Secretary*"

CHARLES W. MOORE,

Deputy Grand Master, Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

Extract from the Report of James Herring, Grand Secretary, to the Grand Lodge of New York, June 2, 1846.

"The undersigned, having requested the R. W. Charles W. Moore, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, to endeavor to see the Charter of the so-called African Lodge, of Boston, and, if possible, obtain a copy thereof, begs leave to incorporate the following extract from Br. Moore's letter, dated July 26, 1845:

'I called, agreeably to your request, on Mr. Hilton—who, I believe, is the Master of the African Lodge in this city—stated to him the object of my visit, and asked permission to see the Charter of his Lodge. He informed me that there was a difficulty between his and Boyer Lodge, of long standing, that they had nothing to do with that Lodge, nor would they have, until the difference re-

ferred to was settled. He further stated, that they were entirely independent of the white Lodges; asked no favors of them; and would have nothing to do with them; nor would they admit a white Mason, if he should present himself as a visitor. In the course of his conversation he distinctly said that he had been 'told by them people' (meaning Boyer Lodge) to have no communication with anybody on the subject of their recognition by the Grand Lodge of New York. He also positively and repeatedly refused to allow me to see the Charter of his Lodge, or to give me any information in relation to its history or present existence. It is proper for me to add, that my conversation with him was kind and gentle. I explicitly stated to him that I did not call officially, but as a friend, and at your request, with a view to ascertain whether Boyer Lodge was a regular constituted Lodge, such as the Grand Lodge of New York could recognize. . . .

"The African Lodge has never been recognized by the Grand Lodge of this Commonwealth. Applications have several times been made by its members for admission to our Lodges, but they have generally, if not always, been refused. Mr. Hilton stated to me that he had once, through the influence of a friend, gained admission into one of our out-of-town Lodges. If so, the Brother who introduced him laid himself open to censure, and would have been dealt with, had the circumstance come to the knowledge of the Grand Lodge. That the course of our Grand Lodge, in reference to the African Lodge, is not the result of prejudice, it is only necessary for me to say, that, within the last month, a colored Brother from England has visited, and been kindly received, in one of our city Lodges.

"Such is the state of the case, so far as I am able to communicate it. The argument does not belong to me; but you will permit me to inquire, whether your Grand Lodge is prepared to recognize any real or pretended Lodge, existing within another jurisdiction, before it had been recognized by the Grand Lodge of that jurisdiction? Again, does your Grand Lodge allow other Grand Lodges to establish Lodges within its jurisdiction? and is it ready to recognize Lodges so established?

"These three questions have been, by repeated decisions of this Grand Lodge, answered in the negative; and, according to the treaty stipulations entered into by the Grand Lodges of this

continent, soon after the revolution, and the uniform resistance of any encroachment upon the sole jurisdiction of the several Grand Lodges down to the present time, these questions can be answered only in the negative.

"The undersigned would further state, that the legality of the Body, called Boyer Lodge, No. 1, has been already twice reported on by Committees of this Grand Lodge on the 3d of March, 1812, and on the 4th of March, 1829. In the latter report, the main facts were correctly stated and able arguments sustained, and the conclusion drawn that Boyer Lodge, No. 1, can be regarded only as a clandestine Lodge. The undersigned can arrive only at the same conclusion, it being established beyond doubt that the African Lodge, at Boston, was illegally established by the Grand Lodge of England within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; that its name has been long stricken from the roll of the Grand Lodge of England; that its assumed authority to grant Warrants was unmasonic and fraudulent; and further, that the statement contained in the memorial of said Boyer Lodge, that it had been 'regularly and legally constituted and installed as a Master Mason's Lodge, with a legal Warrant or Charter,' is totally unfounded.

"All of which is respectfully submitted,

"JAMES HERRING,

"*Grand Secretary*"

NEW YORK, June 2, 1846.

In June, 1855, one Peter G Smith, of Montpelier, Vt, visited Boston, and "joined a Lodge of Masons." Upon returning to Montpelier, he attempted to visit a regular Lodge, but was refused admission. Mr. Smith then wrote to Boston, and received the following reply:

"No. 60 SOUTHAC STREET, BOSTON,
"September 6, 1855.

"PETER G. SMITH, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Yours, bearing date August 14, came duly to hand. You say that the Grand Master of Vermont says that the colored Masons had their Charter taken from them, and that they are now working without a Charter. We reply that the charge is no doubt innocent, but it is nevertheless false from beginning to end. The original Charter is now in our possession, and always has been, and we worked under it until some time after

the war between this country and Great Britain, when the colored Masons held a Convention and declared themselves independent, the same as the white had already done before. This was done on account of the difficulties of making the returns to the mother country. There has always been the best feelings, and our brethren all visit the Lodges, not only in England, but in all parts of the world.

"If the Grand Master of Vermont wishes any more light, we are prepared to give it to him; or, if he has a curiosity, he can see the original Charter. Yours fraternally,

"J. S. ROCK,

"*Corresponding Grand Secretary of Prince Hall Grand Lodge*."

To this letter Philip C. Tucker, Grand Master of Vermont, replied in a communication to Peter G. Smith as follows:

"VERGENNES, September 22, 1855.

"MR. PETER G. SMITH, Montpelier.

"SIR: I received yours of yesterday, enclosing a letter to you from Mr. J. S. Rock, of Boston, this morning.

"As to the Lodge of colored men existing in Boston, calling itself 'Prince Hall Grand Lodge,' and such Lodges as acknowledge its jurisdiction, I have to say that my understanding on the subject is this:

"I suppose it to be true that on the 20th day of September, 1784, a Charter for a Masters' Lodge was granted to Prince Hall and others, under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, and that the Lodge then chartered bore the name of 'African Lodge, No. 459,' and was located at Boston. If any other Charter was ever granted, at any other time, by the Grand Lodge of England, or any other Grand Lodge, to the colored persons of that city, it has never come to my knowledge.

"I suppose it to be also true that African Lodge, No. 459, did not continue its connection for many years with the Grand Lodge of England, and that its registration was stricken from the rolls of that Grand more than fifty years ago.

"I suppose it further to be true that this Lodge, No. 459, and all others which have originated from it, have always held them-

selves aloof, and have always refused to acknowledge any allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"I also suppose it to be true that, on the 18th day of June, 1827, this same Lodge, No. 459, issued a Declaration, and had it published in some of the Boston papers, signed by John T. Hilton, Thomas Dalton, Lewis York, jr., and J. H. Purron (claiming to be Master Wardens, and Secretary thereof), which Declaration contained the following language: 'We publicly declare ourselves free and independent of any Lodge from this day, and we will not be tributary, or governed by any Lodge than that of our own.'

"And I still further suppose it to be true that, in the month of July, 1845, R. W. Charles W. Moore, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, had a personal interview with Mr. Hilton, then Master of this said Lodge, No. 459, in which interview Mr. Hilton said, that they (the members of said Lodge) were 'entirely independent of all white Bodies, asked no favors of them, and would have nothing to do with them; nor would they admit a white Mason, if he should present himself as a visitor.'

"All these things are of record, and cannot, I think, be denied in any quarter. From them I form the following opinions:

"First. Even if a Charter for a subordinate Lodge, to be located within the United States, could be lawfully granted by the Grand Lodge of England, after the close of the American Lodges, its vitality would necessarily expire when the grantor substantially revoked the grant by striking it from its records, and thus disavowing all connection with the grantee.

"Second. That the mere retention of a Charter, after its legal revocation, cannot preserve or retain any right, power, or authority in the original grantees or their successors, where the right to revoke is reserved, as it always is in all Grand Lodges, in the grantor.

"Third. Even if African Lodge, No. 459, had a lawful masonic existence June 18, 1827, the Declaration of that date was both unmasonic and revolutionary, and placed that Body as effectually beyond recognition by either the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts or any other Grand Lodge in the United States, as was the French Lodge of Virginia, or the German Lodges of New York.

"Fourth. Had African Lodge, No. 459, been in all things a lawful Lodge, after the Declaration of its first officer, of July, 1845, that 'it would not admit a white Mason if he should present himself

as a visitor,' it would have been both humiliating and degrading to have allowed the doors of the white Lodges to stand open for a reciprocity of courtesies which were thus gratuitously and roughly declared inadmissible, in advance of any request, offer, or wish to establish them.

"I have the highest masonic authority in Massachusetts for denying 'the brethren' of the Lodge in question 'all visit the Lodges,' so far as the Lodges of Massachusetts are concerned. A Past Grand Master of the Lodge of the Commonwealth, writing at Boston, in 1848, says: 'There are no Lodges of colored Masons in this city or any other part of the United States that are recognized and acknowledged by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, or to our knowledge, by any other regularly-constituted Grand Lodge in this country. It (the African Lodge) was never recognized by the Grand Lodge of this State, nor has there been any masonic intercourse between the two Bodies.'

"The same Brother, writing at the same place, in 1846, says, in referring to that Lodge: 'Applications have several times been made by its members for admission to our Lodges, but they have generally, if not always, been refused.' Again he says, 'That the course of our Grand Lodge in reference to African Lodge is not the result of prejudice, it is only necessary for me to say that, within the last month, a colored Brother from England has visited, and been kindly received in one of our city Lodges.'

"I believe I am correct in stating that the two following propositions are recognized as sound masonic law in this country:

"First. That no Grand Lodge of any State can regularly recognize a subordinate Lodge existing in another State, or its members, until such subordinate Lodge is recognized by the Grand Lodge of the State in which it exists.

"Second. That no Grand Lodge, either in these United States, or any other country, can legally establish a subordinate Lodge in any other State where a regularly-constituted Grand Lodge exists.

"From these views you will readily perceive why the Masonry of the United States does not and cannot either recognize 'Prince Hall Grand Lodge,' or its subordinates, or their members, as regular. To our understanding, the whole of these organizations are irregular and unmasonic, and exist adverse to masonic regulations and law. If, as Mr. Rock asserts, members of these Bodies are

admitted to 'visit Lodges in England and all parts of the world,' that admission probably arises from the fact that the history and masonic positions of these Bodies are not so well understood elsewhere as they are in the United States.

"Mr. Rock expresses an inclination to 'give the Grand Master of Vermont more light' on this subject. As he signed himself 'Corresponding Secretary of Prince Hall Grand Lodge,' I suppose him to possess all the 'light' which the subject has in it; and whatever that light may be able to reflect upon me of the truth of the past or the present, will always receive the respectful attention it may deserve from

"Your Humble Serv't,
"PHILIP C. TUCKER,
"*Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Vermont*"

Communication from the Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England.

"FREEMASONS' HALL, LONDON, W. C,
"May 5, 1870.

"WILLIAM SEWALL GARDNER, ESQ., Most Worshipful Grand Master of Massachusetts.

"M. W. SIR AND BROTHER: I would have replied earlier to your esteemed letter of the 12th March, had not the information you required necessitated a longer search than could be prosecuted at the moment. I regret that I can afford so little information, as our records, excepting as to the proceedings of our own Grand Lodge, were not kept in the accurate manner as is now the general practice.

"As you are already aware, the Warrant for the African Lodge was granted in 1784, and was numbered 459; but the fee for the Warrant, £4 4s., does not appear in our Grand Lodge accounts until the 4th April, 1787. The following remittances were received for the Charity Fund from the African Lodge, *viz.:*

"November 25, 1789	£2	2s.	11d.
"April 18, 1792	1	1	0
"November 27, 1793	1	5	6
"November 22, 1797	1	5	0

"In 1793 its number was altered to 370, and continued so numbered in our Calendar until 1812, when, on the re-numbering consequent on the union of the two Grand Lodges, the African Lodge was omitted.

"I send you enclosed a *verbatim* copy of all the documents I can discover relating to the Lodge; but the petition for the Lodge is not forthcoming. Should any other documents present themselves, which is somewhat unlikely, I will send you copies, and have the honor to remain, M. W. Sir and Brother,

"Yours fraternally,

"JOHN HERVEY,

"*Grand Secretary*"

Copies referred to in the above letter:

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR: We now send you an account of the Lodges proceeding since we sent our last, which was in August last, together with ten dollars for the Fund of the Grand Charity, by Captain Scot, which he saith he hath delivered to the Grand Secretary, but he hath no recept with him for the money. We have initiated into the Lodge this year Samovel Beean, a black man, and the Reverend Mr. John Merrand, a black Minister from home, but last from Beech Town in Nova Scotia. We shall make a colletchen on St. John's Day next, which we shall send by the first carefull hand; the Lodge in general behaves veriwell in there Station, so that there no just complantes made against them. I hope I may allways have the plesevr of sending a good account of the African Lodge. After whiching all Happyness to our Royal Grand Master, and all the Officers and Members of the Grand Lodge, I beg leve to subscribe myself your most obedient humble servent and Brother, PRINCE HALL."

BOSTON, JUNE 4, 1789.

"BOSTON, November 9, 1789.

"To the Most Worshipful WILLIAM WHITE, ESQ., G. S.

"DEAR SIR: These comes to acquant you that we have sent sundrey letters to our Right Worshipful Rowland Holt, Esq., and to your Worship according to my order in the Charter; and with those we sent you datted Äugest 2, 1788, we sent Ten Dollars for the Grand Charity but have not had a anser wether you had receved them or not, and the Lodge is uneasey with me on that acount, as

I paid the money to Mr. Bengmen Greene, Jun., one of Captain James Scotts Merchants, and receved his recepte for the money to be sent to him with the Letters for you, as I did not now were to derecte them to you, and if you receved them that must be the Reson; therefore, Sir, be so good when you send an ansear to this you would send me some word were to derect them, that you may have them, which we hope will be by the Berrer hearof. I have sent you a sermon, preched on St. Johns Day by our Brother John Marrant, for our Grand Master, and another for you, which I hope you will recevn. Our Brother Sanderson is Dead. All the rest of our Br are in health. So no at pesent. But must beg leve to subscribe myself your vere humble servent and Br.,

"PRINCE HALL."

"To the Right Worshipful, the Grand Master, Wardens, and Members of the Grand Lodge of England.

"We your petitioners, Sampson H. Moody, Peter Howard, Abra ham C. Derendemed, John I. Hilton, James Jackson, Zadock Low, Samuel G. Gardner, Richard Potter, Lewis Walker, and other Companions Who have been regularly Exalted to the Sublime Degree of Royal Arch Masons.

"Our worthy and well beloved Brethren Prince Hall, Boston Smith, Thomas Sanderson, and several Brethren having obtained a Warrant from your Honourable Body, on September 29, 1784, A. D., A. L. 5784, when, under the Government of Thomas Howard, Earl of Effingham, Lord Howard, &c, &c., &c., acting Grand Master Under the authority of his Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

"This Warrant allowing us to confer but the three Degrees, and Finding it injurious for the benefit of our Body by having no legal authority to confer the other four degrees. And understanding that the seven degrees is given under the Warrants from the Grand Lodge, we, therefore, humbly solicit the Renual of our Charter to ourtherise us Legally to confer the same, as we are now getting in a flourishing condition. It is with regret we communicated to you that, from the Decease of our Well Beloved Brethren who obtain'd the Warrant we have not been able for several years to transmit Monies and hold a regular Communication; but, as we are now

permanently established to work conformable to our Warrant and Book of Constitutions. We will send the Monies as far as circimstances will admit, together with the money, for a new Warrant. Should your Honourable Body think us worthy to receive the same. We remain, Right Worshipful and Most Worshipful Brethren, "With all Due Respect, Yours fraternally,

"(Signed) SAMSON H. MOODY, *W. M.*,
"PETER HOWARD, *S. W.*,
"C. A. DERANDAMIE, *J. W.*

"Given under our hands at Boston, in the year of our Lord 1824, January 5th (5824).

"WILLIAM J. CHAMPNEY,
"*Secretary*."

CHAPTER LX

THE ANTI-MASONIC EXCITEMENT

GENERAL history of Masonry in the United States would be incomplete if a notice of the anti-Masonic episode were left out; we shall, therefore, devote a few pages to this subject. There have been, generally diffused among the people, very erroneous ideas in regard to the sudden disappearance of one William Morgan, of whom it was said, that in consequence of a threatened publication of an exposure of the secret work of Freemasonry, he was either murdered or kidnaped and conveyed surreptitiously out of the country, and was never heard of afterward. It was an undeniable fact that he suddenly disappeared from the State of New York, and there is no satisfactory evidence that he was ever seen by anyone again.

Volumes have been published, both by anti-Masons and Masons, in, apparently, a vain effort to establish the charge on one side, that he was either murdered or transported out of the country, and, on the other side, that he came to no harm from the Masons, who were accused of his "sudden taking off."

The latest publication was prepared by Past Grand Master Jesse B. Anthony, 33°, of New York,[1] who availed himself of the excellent account by Hon. Josiah H. Drummond, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Maine, and the pamphlets published, several years since, by Past Grand Master Rob. Morris, of Kentucky, who spent much time and money in the State of New York, and other writers who had investigated all the circumstances connected with the affair. Our limits in this work do not admit of so extended an examination as that of Brother Anthony; nevertheless, it will be necessary, for a proper understanding of the case, to devote consid-

[1] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 514.

erable space to a clear statement of all the ascertainable facts, and leave all speculations and conjectures to our readers.

William Morgan, it is said, was from Virginia;[1] born in 1775 or 1776; was a stone mason by trade. In 1821 he resided near York in Upper Canada and was engaged as a brewer.[2] His brewery being destroyed by fire, from thence he found his way to Rochester, N. Y., and worked at his trade as a stone mason, and in 1823 went to Batavia.[3]

In the "Letters to John Quincy Adams" it is related that "he was a hard drinker, and his nights, and sometimes his days also, were spent in tippling-houses, while occasionally, to the still greater neglect of his family, he joined in the drinking carousals of the vilest and most worthless men; and his disposition was envious, malicious, and vindictive."

Some persons doubt if he ever was regularly made a Mason; but it is nevertheless true that, after reaching Batavia, he was admitted as a visitor in Wells Lodge of that place. After this he was made a Royal Arch Mason in Western Star Chapter, at Le Roy, N. Y., May 23, 1825. His name was on the first petition for the establishment of a Royal Arch Chapter in Batavia. Some others seeing his name on the petition, declined signing it, and a new one was gotten up, leaving his name off. After the chapter was organized, upon his application for membership he was rejected.[4]

There was at that time a weekly newspaper, the "Republican Advocate," conducted by one David C. Miller. It is said he had been initiated in a lodge in Albany, N. Y., but owing to his noted character, ascertained thereafter, he had been refused advancement.[5]

These two worthies, and companions in dissipation, both impecunious and greatly in financial difficulties, concocted the scheme to divulge what they knew of Masonry.[6] Morgan having advanced further in the degrees, was to furnish the information, and Miller was to do the editing, printing, and publishing.

This scheme, by some means, became known to the Masons. No doubt, in the drunken orgies of Morgan he had boasted of his contemplated revenge. Articles also crept into the paper;[7] one of which was publicly read in a bar-room in 1826, which stated: "There

[1] H. Brown's "Narrative, Batavia, New York, 1829," p. 15.
[2] Ibid., p. 16. [3] Ibid., p. 16. [4] Ibid., p. 17.
[5] Ibid., p. 15. [6] Ibid., p. 15. [7] Ibid., p. 18.

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S. E. Woodward Zigler

will be issued from the press in this place, in a short time, a work of rare interest to the uninitiated, being an exposition of Ancient Craft Masonry, by one who has been a member of the institution for years."

"Morgan having had some transaction in Canandaigua with the tavern-keeper—we think it was simply borrowing some clothing, and having failed to return the articles, a warrant was taken out for larceny, upon which his arrest followed, and he was carried to Canandaigua by a posse; among them were several conspicuous Masons. He was acquitted of the charge, because he had borrowed the clothing, and had not stolen them. He was again arrested for a debt to another tavern-keeper, and upon confession of judgment he was sent to jail. Miller was also arrested, September 12, 1826, and carried to Le Roy;[1] he was discharged, as the plaintiff did not appear in time.[2]

A few days previous to Miller's arrest, a warrant in behalf of the plaintiff (Johns) was issued by a Justice of the Peace residing in Le Roy against Miller and John Davids, his partner in the printing office, for the purpose of collecting money before then advanced by Johns in the prosecution of their undertaking. The officer in whose hands the warrant was placed for execution was a constable of the town of Stafford, who, having learned that the office of Miller was strictly guarded, and that he was fully determined to resist all attempts to serve any process upon him, engaged a number of assistants. On September 12th he and his posse, who were followed by a large number of people, went to Batavia to make the arrest. So many strangers, without any ostensible business, making their appearance in Batavia, aroused the most fearful apprehension among the citizens. Miller received a note early in the morning from some unknown "person that an effort would be made to take by force the papers intended for publication. He showed this note to a few of the citizens of the town, some of whom were Masons, and asked their opinion. They advised him to look upon the matter as idle rumor, as to attempt such a measure was impracticable and foolish. So many unknown persons, however, suddenly making their presence known, and as if by concert, those who had advised him to take no notice of the warning received by Miller be-

[1] H. Brown's "Narrative, Batavia, New York, 1829," p. 54. [2] Ibid., p. 56.

gan to fear that it was indeed a preconcerted plan to carry out the intention of obtaining, by violence if necessary, the aforesaid papers. The magistrates were all absent from the village, and this also increased the suspicions. Very soon a number of the citizens, Masons as well as others, offered their services to prevent any violence. Morgan had gone from Batavia the day before this in the charge of an officer, but no news of him had yet been received. Consternation and apprehension pervaded that small community, but as nothing further transpired, order and quietness soon prevailed. Soon after this the constable, with a single individual accompanying him, went to the office to arrest Miller and Davids with a civil process. The office was fortified by "two swivels," fifteen or more guns, and six pistols, all being loaded, but was at that time undefended, except by Miller, Davids, and a son of Miller.

The assistant arrested Davids, who called for a pistol; the constable arrested Miller. Both of them submitted and were carried through an armed crowd of their friends to a tavern across the street. A very large number of persons, nearly fifty, were there assembled. They gave no sign of any hostility whatever, and in conversation with others showed that no intention on their part existed of any violence or wrong. Subsequent disclosures, however, clearly showed that in the minds at least of a few an intention had existed of obtaining possession of the "papers" by force if necessary. Those Masons in Batavia to whom this design had been communicated severely condemned such intention, which was conceived in folly and would be fraught with mischief and ruinous in consequences. These views having been communicated to the leaders, the whole scheme was abandoned. The absence of the justices was caused by their being subpoenaed as witnesses in a trial at Bethany on that day.[1]

From the evidence produced it was clearly shown that certain indiscreet and overzealous Masons did inaugurate a scheme to get rid of Morgan and prevent the publication of his pretended "exposure." He was conveyed out of the State, by his own consent, from a fear that someone would murder him. A promise was made to take care of his wife and children, and with $500 in hand he was taken into Canada. There were a great many incidents connected

[1] The above account is condensed from Brown's "Narrative," pp. 51-55.

with the expedition to transport him out of the State, which we deem it unnecessary to mention in detail.

This affair created wonderful excitement in all the New England States and in New York and Pennsylvania, among the Masons particularly; it extended, in a milder form, southwardly, and reached as far as the District of Columbia, but its effects, morally and politically, south of the famous historical "line of Mason and Dixon," was very slight indeed. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, however, the loyal members of the Craft sustained their integrity against political, religious, and social persecutions. A new political party was organized, and that party made a national issue at the next presidential canvass in 1832, and William Wirt was their candidate for the office of Chief Magistrate, and the canvass resulted in his receiving the electoral vote of Vermont, the only State to cast their votes for him. We are glad to announce that when Masonry again revived and came forth from that terrible time of persecution, under the leadership of that grand and magnanimous MAN, Philip C. Tucker, as we have shown in preceding chapters, he brought order out of confusion and re-established Masonry in all its branches. At the present day there can not be found more enthusiastic Masons in any State of our Union, than now exist in the Green Mountain State.

The official examinations of parties who were directly or remotely connected with the abduction of Morgan, aroused and continued to excite the sentiments of hostility to the Masonic Institution; it was once well said that the "fice-dog always barks at what he does not understand," so with that *similar class* in every community, they are always ready and constantly seeking opportunities to oppose what is beyond their limited comprehension. Charges were constantly found against those Masons who were suspected of any complicity in those affairs, and suits were brought against them for several years. Among those who were arrested and imprisoned was Eli Bruce. From 1827 to 1831 there was always some one or more confined in the jail at Canandaigua.

Eli Bruce was charged with the abduction of Morgan, and was acquitted, for it was *not* proved that anyone had been abducted. De Witt Clinton was then Governor of New York, as well as one of the most prominent and distinguished Masons in the United States, and was of course eminently desirous of ascertaining the truth in all

these matters. He formulated certain questions to Eli Bruce, who was the High Sheriff of the County, as to his agency in these matters: Bruce declined to answer them and he was promptly removed from his office. Governor Clinton, it is well known, both in his private and public utterances, condemned the whole transaction of the removal of Morgan. The official account of Bruce's trial shows that complaint was made to the Governor, and Bruce was summoned to Albany in answer to the charges and show cause why he should not be removed. The reply by his counsel did not satisfy the Governor, and he was tried in the court at Canandaigua, in August, 1828. He was convicted and sentenced to twenty-eight months in jail. The execution of the sentence was postponed until May 13, 1829, upon his appeal, but on May 20, 1829, he was imprisoned until September 23, 1831. The evidence at the trial showed that Bruce understood that Morgan voluntarily consented to his removal and that a cell at Lockport was prepared for him until he could be carried to Canada. He at first declined to have anything to do with the affair, but at last gave in, and, with the others, conveyed Morgan over the river to Canada. Matters having been delayed for Morgan's removal, he was reconveyed to the State and concealed in the old magazine at Fort Niagara, until the time was suitable for his conveyance to the farm provided for him in Canada. From that time Morgan, it appears, was never seen by anyone, and Bruce testified that he did not know when or how he disappeared.

Other parties were implicated, and upon trial of each, they were punished by imprisonment.

The anti-Masonic spirit was not satisfied with the punishment of those immediately concerned in this nefarious transaction. Many conventions were held, and self-constituted Missionaries sprang up, like *toad-stools* in a night, and scattered their venomous seed broadcast, and found favorable soil, in the debased condition of many polluted minds, in which to foster these seeds of opposition to an Institution which, in all its principles and daily practices, had demonstrated its utter abhorrence to any such transactions as the Morgan affair, and also as being subversive of public order, private human rights, and the clearly enunciated precepts of Masonry—whose Theological virtues are Faith, Hope, and Charity, whose cardinal virtues are Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice, whose principal Tenets are Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth.

A convention of delegates from several Baptist churches was held at Le Roy, N. Y., January, 1827, and

"*Resolved*, That all such members as belong to Baptist churches and who also belong to the Society of Freemasons, be requested to renounce publicly all communication with that order, and if the request is not complied with in a reasonable time, to excommunicate all those who neglect to do so." If the present writer be permitted to publicly express his *private* opinion, it would be, that all such loyal members who refused to comply with so outrageous a resolution would, after the "excommunication," be immediately received into the church of an all merciful Savior, and welcomed out of so bigoted and benighted a congregation; as time has subsequently proved they were.

At the famous Lewiston Convention they published the following discoveries:

1. That the unhappy Morgan was taken to Newark, Upper Canada, gagged, bound, and blindfolded.

2. That he was then offered to the British Masons of that place, with the request that they should get him on board a British Man-of-War or turn him over to Brandt, the Indian Chief and a Mason, to be executed with savage cruelty.

3. That the Newark Lodge assembled on this proposition, and sent for Brandt, who came accordingly.

4. Brandt proved himself too noble of nature to have anything to do with so cowardly, inhuman, and wicked a transaction. The Savage hero disdained to do that which cowardly white monsters urged him to do.

5. The Newark Masons, thus rebuked by savage justice and magnanimity, likewise finally declined to take charge of the miserable victim.

6. The diabolical wretches, who had him in custody, brought him back as far as Fort Niagara, and then murdered him in cold blood, cutting his throat from ear to ear, cutting out his tongue, and burying him in the sand, and concluding the hellish rites by sinking the body in the lake.

Brandt denied the charge so far as it related to him, "*false in one, false in all*." The 6th is a clincher for mendacity—the whole statement is contrary to all the legal testimony in the case, and does not tally with a subsequent account of finding Morgan's body in

the Niagara River, but was put forth by the political party of the day; and when Thurlow Weed was told that it did not prove to be Morgan's body, he said very pertinently, "It's good enough Morgan till after election."

September 11, 1830, a convention was held in Philadelphia. A committee reported an address, stating that Morgan was murdered. notwithstanding that in all the legal proceedings there was not a single witness to prove that Morgan was murdered. This address, however, demanded the suppression of the Institution of Masonry.

The following extract will show the spirit which prevailed:

"To this government Freemasonry is wholly opposed. It requires submission to its own authority in contempt of public opinion, the claim of conscience, and the rights of private judgment. It would dam up the majestic currents of improving thought, among all its subjects throughout the earth, by restricting beneficial communication. In attempting to do this it has stained our country with a brother's blood, tempted many of our influential citizens into the most degraded forms of falsehood, and burst away with its powers undiminished, its vengeance provoked, and its pollution manifest, from the strong arm of retributive justice. The means of overthrowing Masonry cannot be found in any, or in all our executive authorities. They cannot be found in our judicial establishment.

"The only adequate corrective of Freemasonry—that prolific source of the worst abuses is to be found in the right of election, and to this we must resort.

"There is therefore no impropriety in resorting to the elective franchise to correct the evils of Freemasonry.

"It, Freemasonry, ought to be abolished; it should certainly be so abolished as to prevent its restoration. No means of doing this can be conceived so competent as those furnished by the ballot boxes." We here see what prejudice, ignorance of the subject, and a spirit of persecution can effect upon the minds of men, when prompted by ambition for public office. The first paragraph is a long tissue of falsehoods, as time proved those utterances to have been; not a sentence was predicated upon a single fact which had been or could be proven. Every Mason will at once declare that every charge made in that address was maliciously false and misleading.

In 1836 a National Convention of anti-Masons was held in Philadelphia and nominated William H. Harrison for President, and Francis Granger for Vice-President, and this ended the political influence of that party.

The writer of this article was old enough to remember that contest and the prominent actors therein. Their failure at that time did not dishearten most of the leaders, as very soon thereafter they became prominent leaders of the newly organized Anti-Slavery party, a subject with which we have nothing to do whatever.

All the Grand Lodges within the States affected by this untoward anti-Masonic persecution, passed such resolutions as to, and did, satisfy most people, that Masonry as an institution had nothing to do with the Morgan affair, but condemned the injudicious and unauthorized individuals who were participants, nor made any efforts to screen them from merited justice; nevertheless, the persecution of individuals continued, and many who were socially so situated as to render their lives unbearable, surrendered their memberships and withdrew from the Institution. At length, in some of these States, particularly in Vermont, the lodges and other bodies ceased to hold their meetings, as has been shown in our different histories of those bodies.

In 1840 there were signs of renewal of activities in Masonic affairs; thirteen years of persecution had passed and there came a revival.

We learn from the authorities in New York that the lodge at Le Roy, Olive Branch, No. 39, never ceased its meetings, although located in the immediate neighborhood of the place where the whole difficulty originated, and is considered as the preserver of Masonry in Western New York during all those years of persecution and excitement.

Governor Clinton wrote to the Governors of Upper and Lower Canada asking that inquiry be made in regard to Morgan, and said in his letters:

"During the last year he (Morgan) put a manuscript into the hands of a printer at Batavia, purporting to be a promulgation of the secrets of Freemasonry. This was passed over by the great body of the Fraternity without notice and silent contempt; but a few desperate fanatics engaged in a plan of carrying him off, and on the 12th of September last (1826) they took him from Canan-

daigua by force, as it is understood,[1] and conveyed him to the Niagara River, from which it is supposed that he was taken to his Britannic Majesty's dominions. Some of the offenders have been apprehended and punished; but no intelligence has been obtained respecting Morgan since his abduction."

In response to this request of Governor Clinton, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada issued his proclamation:

"£50 Reward.—His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor having received a communication from His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York, by which it appears that William Morgan, who some years ago exercised the calling of a brewer in this place, and who has recently resided in Canandaigua, in the State of New York, was some time in the last year conveyed by force from that place, and is supposed to be forcibly detained in some part of this Province; any person who may be able to offer any information respecting the said William Morgan, shall, upon communicating the same to the Private Secretary of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, receive the reward above offered.

"Government House, January 31, 1827."[2]

The Grand Lodge of New York adopted the following:

"*Whereas,* It is alleged that an outrage has been committed on the body of William Morgan, and

"*Whereas,* Proceedings in consequence of such allegations have been made in Courts of Justice in relation to the subject, and

"*Whereas,* By reason of foul misrepresentation an effort has been made to impress the public mind with an opinion that the Grand Lodge and the Fraternity in general have attempted to screen, if not to protect, the perpetrators of this alleged outrage; therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the Grand Secretary be instructed to ascertain from the public record a statement of the facts in relation to the persons said to have been Masons, charged and convicted of the abduction of Morgan,[3] and report to this Grand Lodge at its next annual communication."

A supplemental report was adopted (June 2, 1832):[4]

"That participating with the members of this Grand Lodge, and the Great Body of the Masonic Fraternity, in a feeling of deep

[1] The weight of evidence was that he went voluntarily.—EDITOR.

[2] "History of Masonry and Concordant Orders," p. 516.

[3] "History of Grand Lodge of New York," vol. iii., p. 2.

[4] Ibid.

abhorrence of the outrage, which was a violation alike of Masonic obligation and the law of the land, they (the Committee) have examined the papers submitted thereto with that attention which the importance of the subject demands.

"The voluminous nature of the papers presented and the shortness of the time have, however, prevented them from investigating the subject as fully as they would desire, and further time was asked in which to formulate a report."

At the communication of the Grand Lodge of New York held March 7, 1832, Mordecai Meyers presiding, twelve experienced and capable members of the Grand Lodge, together with the Grand Officers, were appointed to visit all the Lodges in the City of New York, Brooklyn, and Staten Island, to arouse them to a sense of their duty, instruct the officers of said lodges in their work, to advise and encourage them to a strict adherence to the Constitution. and Regulation of this Grand Lodge, and to inspect their books.

EXTRACTS from the "Proceedings of the Triennial Session of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templars for the United States of America assembled at the Asylum in Masonic Temple, in the City of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Tuesday, the 19th of September, A.D. 1871 A.O. 753."

"Grand Master Gardner then read the following Address:

"Knights, Companions: On Thursday, the 29th of November, 1832, fourteen bold and valiant Knights assembled in the Masonic Temple in this city, and proceeded to open the General Grand Encampment of the United States. The Rev. Sir Jonathan Nye, of New Hampshire, presided over the deliberations, and welcomed his associates by an affectionate and fraternal address. The illustrious Sir James Herring, of New York, recorded the proceedings; while the venerable Prelate, Rev. Sir Paul Dean, of Massachusetts, implored the blessings of heaven upon the brave Knights and their doings. Of these fourteen good men, and true, two were from New Hampshire, five from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, one from Connecticut, two from New York, one from Maryland, and three from the District of Columbia.

"The General Grand Chapter met at the same time in Baltimore, that distinguished man and Mason, Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, being its presiding officer. He was re-elected to the high office which he had so honorably filled for the preceding three years.

"No session of the National Grand Bodies, held before or since that time, has so attracted public attention as did this of 1832. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, did not consider this meeting of a mere handful of men in Baltimore beneath his notice, or unworthy the abuse of his caustic pen; and page after page of his letters, then published in the newspapers of the day, since collected into a volume, attest the interest which that meeting occasioned.

"The period was indeed a peculiar one. For six years the excitement and frenzy of anti-Masonry had been gathering strength and fury, until at last, in a national convention of anti-Masons held here in the City of Baltimore, candidates were nominated for the two highest offices of the Republic. The election took place in 1832, and William Wirt, of Maryland, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, the nominees of the anti-Masonic, political party for President and Vice-President, received the seven electoral votes of Vermont, and no more. The power of anti-Masonry culminated in 1832; and when the General Grand Encampment assembled here, in the waning days of autumn, and found the fires around which the national Council of anti-Masons had been held, and read by their uncertain and unsteady light the strength and weakness of Anti-masonry in the Union, they knew that the battle had been fought, and that the night of agony was over. The hate and bitterness and fiendish hostility they knew would still remain—powerful in localities to infinite harm—but the Nation had repudiated anti-Masonry, and had elected, as President, Andrew Jackson, an acknowledged, out-spoken, well-known Freemason; so well known that on the 23d of May, 1833, John Quincy Adams, in a published letter to Edward Livingston, then Secretary of State, paid a merited compliment to the Past Grand Master of Tennessee, in words intended to be severe and censurable.

" 'The President of the United States,' said Adams, 'is a Brother of the Craft, bound by its oaths, obligations, and penalties, to the exclusive favors, be they more or less, of which they give the

mutual pledge. That in the troubles and difficulties which, within the last seven years, have befallen the craft, they have availed themselves of his name, and authority, and influence, to sustain their drooping fortunes, as far as it has been in their power, has been matter of public notoriety. A sense of justice has restrained him from joining in their processions, as he has been importunately urged by invitations to do, but he has not withheld from them his support.' "

Almost forty years have passed away since the National Grand Bodies assembled in Triennial Session in the City of Baltimore. Behold the change! Those fourteen brave Knights have gone to their reward — not one of them now lives to rejoice at this triumphant return to Baltimore. They sleep peacefully and serenely the last great sleep: peace to their ashes; honor to their names. The railroad and telegraph now traverse populous States, then scarcely known. The Union stretches from ocean to ocean, and holds in its fast embrace great States, whose territory was then unexplored.

From all parts of this wide extended country—from the Atlantic and the Pacific—from the great rivers, with their fertile valleys—from the mountain ranges, with their verdant slopes — from the rugged North and the sunny South — from the great West, whither the star of empire is taking its course, and from the sea-girt populous East — come up here to Baltimore to this Eighteenth Triennial Session of the Grand Encampment of the United States, in companies, in battalions, in regiments, thousands of true Knights, bearing the banners of the Cross, living witnesses of the truth of the resolutions passed by the General Grand Encampment in 1832, that "Political Parties, in assailing the orders of Knighthood, aim a blow at all the free institutions of the country."

The institution which, in 1832, was abused and maligned, its members insulted and degraded, and which could then gather in its National Convention but fourteen tried souls, has survived the abuse, the malignity, the insults, and degradation, and stands before you to-day in its wisdom, strength, and beauty.

In 1832 those fourteen Knights did not disturb the usual tranquillity of Baltimore, and their presence here was unrecognized. Quiet in demeanor, unobtrusive in manner, they came with a firm determination to fully perform their devoirs to Temple Masonry.

In 1871 the authorities of Baltimore, with a liberality of sentiment and a heartiness of greeting which will be gratefully appreciated by every Templar of the United States, welcome us as guests of their municipality. The Templar Knights throng the city—its houses, streets, and squares, and are received by brethren and citizens with a warmth of fraternal, generous hospitality, unbounded and catholic as the principles of Freemasonry.

PART FOUR

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

CHAPTER I

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

Introduction.

HE study of Symbols is so closely interwoven with Language that it is essentially necessary, in a treatise on Symbology, that we should begin with an examination into the Origin of language itself; for it is to be presumed that language, or rather speech, was the very first effort of man to make his wishes known to his fellow-man. The habitual use of certain words, applied to the same objects, produced the primitive language.

We shall not attempt to follow those who have supposed that language was derived from certain inorganic sounds predicated upon the "utterances of Animals," called "Bow-Wow" theory by Max Müller and others. Now we must remember that it has been clearly proven by distinguished philologists that "the whole of what we call the human mind is realized in language, and in language only. Our next task would be to try to discover the constituent elements of language, and watch, in their development, the true historical development of the human mind."[1] It becomes requisite in order fully to understand "symbolisms," as applied to the Ancient Mysteries, the Religions of the World, and also to Speculative Masonry, that we should be more particular in tracing the genealogy of language, from its very commencement, so far as it is possible to do so, by consulting the works of those distinguished writers of the present century, and more particularly within the last quarter of the century now about to close; and inasmuch as on this particular subject of language there is intimately associated that of the mind, which means "thought" and which, again, means "combination," no better work can possibly be referred to than the *Science of Thought*, by

[1] Max Müller, "Science of Thought," vol. i., p. 176.

Max Müller in his recent two volumes, which we may constantly quote from wherever in that work we find that his authority will confirm our own ideas.

Müller is strictly a "scientist" in whatever line of thought he enters for examination, and upon this very subject he has shown the manner in which we may attain the truth, *viz.*, by the "Constituent Elements of Thought," "Thought and Language," "Constituent Elements of Language," the "Origin of Concepts and Roots."

In the proper examination of any individual subject-matter the only true method of examination is by analysis; hence Müller does analyze, so as to show each and every element which enters into the composition of language. He says:

"Few words have been used in so many different senses as Thought. I mean by Thought the act of thinking, and by thinking I mean no more than combining. I do not pretend that others have not the right of using Thought in any sense which they prefer, provided only that they will clearly define it. I only wish to explain what is the meaning in which I intend to use the word, and in which I hold it ought to be used. 'I think' means to me the same as the Latin *Cogito*, namely *Co-agito*, 'I bring together,' only with the proviso, that bringing together or combining implies separating, for we cannot combine two or many things without at the same time separating them from all the rest. Hobbes expressed the same truth long ago when he said 'that all our thinking consisted in addition and subtraction.' "

"Humiliating as this may at first sight appear, it is really not more so than that the most subtle and complicated mathematical processes, which to the uninitiated seem beyond all comprehension, can be reduced in the end to addition and subtraction.

"Thinking may not seem so marvellous an achievement as we formerly imagined when we look up with vague admiration to the Mathematical Calculations of Newton, or to the Metaphysical Speculations of Kant; yet if what these thinkers achieved has been achieved by such simple processes as addition and subtraction, combining and separating, their work to the mind becomes in reality far more marvellous than it appeared at first. Much, however, depends on what we combine and separate, and we have therefore to consider what corresponds in thinking to the numbers with which the mathematician operates, what are, in fact, the known quantities

that constitute the material of our thoughts, what are the elements which we bring together or co-agitate."

Müller then proceeds to distinguish in our knowledge four things: "Sensations, Percepts, Concepts, and Names, and, while we can distinguish these, we must not suppose that they ever exist as separate entities; for no words are possible without concepts, nor can there be concepts without percepts, nor percepts without sensations. If we postulate sensations as the causes of percepts, percepts as the causes of concepts, and concepts as the causes of names, it would seem a very natural conclusion that sensations could exist previous to and therefore independent of percepts, percepts of concepts, concepts of words. And yet we have only to try the experiment in order to convince ourselves that, as a matter of fact, thought, in the usual sense of the word, is utterly impossible without the simultaneous working of sensations, percepts, concepts, and names, and that in reality the four are inseparable."

With these fundamental principles thus clearly laid down by Müller, we may discover how, at the earliest period in man's history, he very soon found a name for every fact which was presented to his observation. We shall follow the Author in his most interesting and conclusive arguments to prove the position which he has taken. The service of language is to convey our thoughts to one another.

There are various ways in which men can communicate with one another—by *gestures, cries, words;* make pictures to represent their ideas, characters or letters. These are signs, and in order to understand in what manner they operate we must commence with such signs as are the most natural and simple. When parties meet who speak different languages they endeavor to make themselves understood by gestures which would most naturally indicate the idea wished to be conveyed:

"This is the *gesture-language,* as we all know how to use it. But to see what a full and exact means of Communication it may be worked up to, it should be watched in use among the deaf and dumb, who have to depend so much upon it. To give an idea how far gestures can be made to do the work of spoken words, the signs may be described in which a deaf-and-dumb man once told a child's story in presence of the writer. He began by moving his hand, palm down, about a yard from the ground, as we do to show the height of a child—this meant it was a child he was thinking of,

Then he tied an imaginary pair of bonnet-strings under his chin (his usual sign for female) to make it understood that the child was a girl. The child's mother was then brought on the scene in a similar way. She beckons to the child and gives her two-pence, these being indicated by pretending to drop two coins from one hand into the other; if there had been any doubt as to whether they were copper or silver coins this would have been settled by pointing to something brown or even by one's contemptuous way of handling coppers which at once distinguishes them from silver. The mother also gives the child a jar, shown by sketching its shape with the forefingers in the air, and going through the act of handing it over. Then by imitating the unmistakable kind of twist with which one turns a treacle-spoon, it is made known that it is treacle the child is to buy. Next, a wave of the hand shows the child being sent off on her errand, the usual sign of walking being added, which is made by two fingers walking on the table. The turning of an imaginary door-handle now takes us into the shop, where the counter is shown by passing the flat hands as it were over it. Behind this counter a figure is pointed out; he is shown to be a man by the usual sign of putting a hand to one's chin and drawing it down where the beard is or would be; then the sign of tying an apron around the waist adds the information that the man is the shopman. To him the child gives the jar, dropping the money into his hand, and moving her forefinger as if taking up treacle, to show what she wants. Then we see the jar put into an imaginary pair of scales which go up and down; the great treacle-jar is brought from the shelf and the little jar filled with the proper twist to take up the last trickling thread; the grocer puts the two coins in the till, and the girl sets off with the jar; she sees a drop of treacle on the rim, wipes it off with her finger, and puts her finger in her mouth, how she was tempted to take more, how her mother found her out by the spot of treacle on her pinafore, etc."

The student anxious to master the principles of language will find this gesture-talk so instructive that it will be well to explain its workings more closely. "The signs used are of two kinds. In the first kind, things actually present are shown. Thus, if the deaf-mute wants to mention 'hand,' or 'shoe,' he touches his own hand or shoe. Where a speaking man would say 'I,' 'thou,' 'he,' the deaf-mute simply points to himself and the other persons. To ex-

press 'red,' or 'blue,' he touches the inside of his own lip or points to the sky. In the second kind of signs ideas are conveyed by imitations. Thus, pretending to drink may mean 'water,' or 'to drink,' or 'thirsty.' Laying the cheek on the hand expresses 'sleep' or 'bed-time.' A significant jerk of the whip-hand suggests either 'whip' or 'coachman,' or 'to drive,' as the case may be. A 'lucifer' is indicated by pretending to strike a match, and 'candle' by the act of holding up the forefinger and pretending to blow it out. Also in the gesture-language the symptoms of the temper one is in may be imitated, and so become signs of the same temper in others. Thus the act of shivering becomes an expressive sign for 'cold'; smiles show 'joy,' 'approval,' 'goodness,' while frowns show 'anger,' 'disapproval,' 'badness.' It might seem that such various meanings to one sign would be confusing, but there is a way of correcting this, for when a single sign does not make the meaning clear, others are brought in to supplement it. Thus, if one wants to express 'a pen,' it may not be sufficient to pretend to write with one, as that might be intended for 'writing' or 'letter'; but if one then pretends to write and holds up a pen, this will make it plain that the pen itself is meant."

"It has to be noticed that the gesture-language by no means matches sign for word with spoken language. One reason is that it has so little power of expressing abstract ideas. The deaf-mute can show particular ways of making things, such as building a wall, or cutting out a coat, but it is quite beyond him to make one sign include what is common to all these, as we use the abstract term to 'make.' Even 'in' and 'out' must be expressed in some such clumsy way as by pretending to put the thing talked of in, and then to take it out. Next let us compare an English sentence with the sign by which the same meaning would be expressed among the deaf and dumb. It will at once be seen that many words we use have no sign at all corresponding to them. Thus, when we should say in words, '*The* hat *which* I left on *the* table *is* black,' this statement can be practically conveyed in gestures, and there will be signs for what we may call 'real' words, such as *hat, leave, black.* But for what may be called the 'grammatical' words, *the, which, is,* there will be no signs, for the gesture-language has none. Again, grammars lay down distinctions between substantives, adjectives, and verbs. But these distinctions are not to be found in gesture-lan-

guage, where pointing to a grass-plot may mean 'grass' or 'green,' and pretending to warm one's hands may suggest 'warm' or to warm one's self, or even 'fire-place.' Nor (unless where artificial signs have been brought in by teachers) is there anything in the gesture-language to correspond with the inflection of words, such as distinguish *goest* from *go, him* from *he, domum* from *domus.* What is done is to call up a picture in the minds of the spectators by first setting up something to be thought about, and then adding to or acting on it, till the whole story is told. If the signs do not follow in such order as to carry meanings as they go, the looker-on will be perplexed. Thus, in conveying to a deaf-and-dumb child the thought of a green box, one must make a sign for 'box' first, and then show as by pointing to grass outside, that its color is 'green.'

"This account of the gesture-language will have made it clear to the reader by what easy and reasonable means man can express his thoughts invisible signs."[1] So we may conclude that from these fundamentals, by which men formulated their special gestures, soon they became enabled to produce visible signs to represent "things," and, gradually, to sketch the same upon any plain surface, so that the ideas became permanently fixed to be understood by others for any given time, by which they were reminded of separate facts, or continuous narratives.

In due time, when religious rites were adopted, these written or engraved signs became symbols, and emblems, and were perpetuated from fathers to sons, along the track of time, and their engravings upon stone, either as monuments, tombs, obelisks, or temples, have existed from time immemorial to our day.

We may thus trace from the original elements of symbols the great variety of combinations which we find, in the representations of the various Deities, in all the ancient religions of the world, in which, did our limits permit, we might with great profit trace the gradual development from the simplest forms to the most abstruse and recondite representations of Deity.

"Wherefore, from hence it plainly appears that these Platonic and Egyptian pagans, who thus reduced their multiplicity of Gods to the divine ideas, did not therefore make them to be so many minds or spirits, really distinct from the Supreme God (though

[1] "Anthropology," by Tylor.

dependent on him, too), but indeed only so many partial considerations of one God, as being all things, that is, containing within himself the causes of all things. And accordingly we find that the Egyptian Theologers called their religious Animals symbols of the eternal ideas; so did they also call them symbols of God.

"Celsus applauds the Egyptian Theologers talking so magnificently and mysteriously of those brute animals worshipped by them, and affirming them to be certain symbols of God.

"But lastly, as God was supposed by these pagans not only to pervade all things, and to fill all things, but also he being the cause of all things, to be himself in a manner all things, so was he called also by the name of everything, or everything called by his name; that is, the several things of nature and parts of the world were themselves verbally deified by these pagans, and called gods and goddesses. Not that they really accounted them such in themselves, but that they thought fit in this manner to acknowledge God in them, as the author of them all."[1] So Paul said of the Athenians, that he perceived they were too religious (superstitious).

Symbols were the means used from the remotest antiquity to transmit ideas—the objective form for the subject-matter in the mind.

That the investigation, or study, of symbolism is worthy of the attention of the greatest minds, we have the evidence in the great number of volumes which have been written on this subject, in every age, to demonstrate the value placed by learned men upon the study of symbols, emblems, and allegories, which have formed the foundation of every religious belief known to Man, the remains of which are to be found, not only in the existing monuments of Antiquity, but are to be traced in the present religions, manners, customs, and habits of thought, and even modes of expression, in every nation, tribe, kindred, and people at present living upon this globe.

This would appear to be a rash assertion, but every successive step in this inquiry reveals the fact that symbols, known and applied to religious purposes, before the days of Abraham, are now used in the same manner, and the fundamental principles taught in the Christian Church, and which constitute its peculiar dogmas, were

[1] Cudworth.

well known and imparted to the initiates into the Mysteries of India, Persia, and Egypt, long centuries before Christ.

In fact, there is strong presumptive evidence that when the great Aryan wave of emigration passed from Arya Varta to the South Eastward, and, crossing the Indus, swept before it to the Southward, the great Turanian Races, who had preceded them and had long been inhabitants of the Peninsula of Hindoostan, they carried these principles with them and engrafted them upon the superstitions which they found prevailing over the races thus subdued. Many of these superstitions, united with the Christian dogmas, are to be found in several branches of the Christian Church.

Simple, individual devotion requires no outward manifestation; Concurrent Religious observances, systematized, demanded a common method in which the many should Co-operate; the idea inwardly suggested must be objectively represented; this was the impelling motive for public worship—which was originally performed in adoration of the Heavenly Bodies, more particularly of the Sun, the greatest benefactor of Man, then of the Moon and the principal Stars, or as they were called the Planets (moving stars).

The Mustarion Sacramentum, the "inward feeling" illustrated by some symbol, was not adopted, but the originators of Rituals substituted Secret Ceremonies, taking the mysteries in a more literal sense, to conceal certain facts and peculiar doctrines from the people, and yet we find from Tertullian[1] that in the Orgies of Mithras there was a remarkable rite, a kind of Sacrament, which was administered to the initiate by the Hierophant.

In adopting Symbols the simplest forms were selected which would express the idea to be conveyed.

The words now in use for certain substantives were, in the Original language, Selected to express, Metaphorically, certain ideas.

In that Country, from whence was partly derived our own language, we find that the people, our great Ancestors, living mostly under the broad Canopy of Heaven, directed their religious or devotional thoughts to the glorious Light, which, upon its daily return, was the source of all earthly desire. The fire (Agni), the early Dawn (Ushas), the full daylight (Mitra),[2] the Rising Sun,

[1] Tertullian, "De Prescriptio," ch. xl.

[2] Mitra, Morning Star; Jupiter. Agni, Ushas, Mitra; these initials, A. U. M., constituted the Mystic NAME of the Hindus.

the Meridian Sun, and declining and Setting Sun, all had their appropriate names. The Clouds of morning and evening, the Winds which gathered or dispersed them, also had their peculiar designations, and so every object of nature which added to their pleasure and comfort, or in any manner interfered with these, so as to interrupt their daily duties and militate against their happiness, received corresponding names.

These, in succeeding generations, became the representatives of fictitious personages and Supreme objects of worship, until in the classic days of Greece, which succeeded the Allegorical age of Indian and Egyptian Mysticisms, the Pantheon was a complete personification of the powers of Nature, which man had deified, and made his tyrants to control every emotion of the heart and every act of his life, thus placing the whole race of Man under the dominion and power of the Priesthood of that Pantheon, who also exercised their Authority in such a manner as to enslave the Souls, as well as the bodies, of the Worshippers at their Shrines.[1]

Max Müller, in his *Treatise on Words*, clearly shows from whence are derived certain words which, in our language, have become so common as to have lost their original technical sense.

Light.

The great object of Aryan desire derived through the Latin Lux, from the Greek Luknos, was nearly the same in Sanskrit, and the Moon, Lukina. So the seven Stars in the North, being the Seven "Shiners," became the "Great Bear," because the same word was used for shining, and a bear, whose hair was shining. We have the Greek Lukabos, a year, a revolution of Luc; Lukeios, an epithet of Apollo; Lukos, a Wolf with shining hair, from leukos, white or shining, and sacred to Apollo; Lucus, a grove, because planted around the high places of Luc; the English word *Luck*, because it indicates prosperity, is represented by Light.[2]

The Seven Stars, or Seven Rishis, were derived from Rishi, itinerant, from Ri, and Rish, to go. Arktos—Bear, Riksha—Bear.

The Worship of Light passed to the causes of Light; first of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, then of Fire; then into more solid forms,

[1] And this continues to the present day, even in nations called civilized.

[2] Faber, "Mysteries Caberi," vol. i., p. 29.

to represent the flame, upright Stones, of Conical and pyramidal form, rough Stone or unhewn, as in Gaul and in Britain.

The Worship of individuals, either real or mythical, was transferred to animals, which were made to represent them; as, from the doctrine of transmigration, the Soul of Osiris had passed into a *Bull*, that animal became the Supreme object of Worship; as the Cat was for Diana, and the Cow for Isis. Now, writing Hieroglyphically contributes greatly to this Species of idolatry, and the Priests did then, as they have done ever since, in every form of worship, hold the power and the method of interpretation from all but those whom they chose to initiate into those mysteries, and concealed by this veil, so artfully thrown over their system, from all others.

Thus, the Hieroglyph for God was a Star, and the symbol of a Star was a Serpent, from whence proceeded the Universal Serpent Worship which extended over the whole World.

It would not be an unprofitable task to follow out to its legitimate conclusion the subject of the Serpent Symbol, but we shall only allude to some of the symbols in our further illustrations of this subject. It has been well settled that the serpent symbol was legitimately derived from the traditions of Paradise, so familiarly known and represented by all the Nations of Antiquity, and in their religious rites, it may be said, "The trace of the Serpent was over them all."

From this meager sketch it may be seen how religion, which was first pure, and an earnest outpouring of the heart to the Great and beneficent Creator, degenerated into gross idolatry.

We now pass from the general subject to the more special one of Hieroglyphical writings.

It is assumed that alphabetical Characters in their first condition were substantive emblems or simple representations of language.

From Shuckford, in his *Connections of Sacred and Profane History*, we learn that "the first language had but one part of speech, and consisted chiefly of a few names for creatures and things Mankind had to do with." Others do not concur in this, and say, "The art of thinking, which is the arrangement of our ideas from the perceptions of natural objects, cannot exist without some degree of reason; and the various and abstruse combinations of reason will scarcely be produced without the use of words expressing *qualities*,

action, or passion, as well as connectives to draw consequences or blend ideas which are relative, uniform, and rational."

Original names have invariably represented innate qualities as understood universally among those using a common language; whence the origin no man can determine, although it is attempted to show that animals received names which in their utterance would indicate some distinguishing trait or characteristic. It is, however, quite certain that the Oldest Alphabets, in their elements, represented substantive objects, as in Hebrew and Cognate Alphabets, *viz.*, Aleph א, the Ox; Beth ב, a House or enclosure; Gammel ג, a Camel. Spineto[1] says: "The Original mode of Writing was the exact figure of the object, which, for the Sake of diminishing labor, became first simple drawing of the Outline, and ultimately an arbitrary Mark, which produced the three different modes of Writing among the Egyptians, generally designated by the appellations of hieroglyphic, demotic, and hieratic."

A great cause which advanced the Conventional system of Written signs or Characters was the imagery of primitive language.

One Author says: "Rhetoric, which springs naturally out of language, became a Science when reduced to a system; natural figures, untrammelled by the restriction of rules, became more expressive: Cain's inquisitive reply to the stern demand was, 'Am I my brother's Keeper?' Lamech says to his wives: 'Hear my voice, ye Wives of Lamech, and hearken unto my speech, for I have slain a Man to my wounding and a young man to my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged Seven fold, truly Lamech Seventy and Seven fold.' "

In the Nabathean Alphabet, reputed to have been Antediluvian, if they wished to state in what manner a man died by a violent death, they used one of these characters, *viz.:*

1st, By lightning. 2d, Guillotine. 3d, Serpent. 4th, Hatchet. 5th, Poison. 6th, Dagger. 7th, Cord. To express firmness of mind, personal strength and courage, some stately or majestic production of Nature was employed, as the *Oak* and *Lion.* A warrior was termed a Lion, or an Oak; on the contrary, an irresolute or weak man by a reed; insincerity by a Serpent, and fidelity by a dog.

[1] Spineto, "Hieroglyphs," ix., 297.

"Let us, for example, suppose that the letter B was called Bai and such a term primarily imported *being* or *existing.* We are told *Bai* was the Egyptian denomination for a branch of the Palm-tree, which tree was anciently regarded as an emblem of being, existence, or immortality; again, Horapollo says, *Bai* signifies a Hawk. the soul and the Wind, wherefore the Egyptians used the Hawk as a symbol for the soul.

"The Greeks called the palm-branch Baion, Bais, and Beta or Baita, the letter B, preserves the sound of Hebrew Beth or Egyptian *Bat*, but the idea of the name, in Greek from Bei baioo, to confirm, establish or place in a permanent state of existence. The Latins called this letter Be, nearly the simple name of the Bai or symbolical palm-branch. And Be in the Celtic conveys the same leading idea of existence. Irish Be is the term for life; Cornish signifies Be, Am, Art, is, existent."[1]

The Hebrew word for the Deity called the Tetragrammaton is also derived from the word "to be," "I am," "I will be," "I am all that exists." In Egyptian, the same word is used for the principal Deity.

The Origin of Hieroglyphics was simply picture-writing, and consisted in the representation of a drawing of any visible object connected with it. Improvements arose to obviate difficulties and meet the necessities of circumstances as they occurred, and in due season a regular system was ordained, and became conventional and determinate. Thus, certain symbols became known and established for certain characteristics; as, for instance, The Hawk, as an emblem of the Supreme Deity, because of its piercing sight and swiftness. The Asp also, not being subject to old age, and moving without limbs. The Crocodile, because it has no tongue, which organ God has no occasion for.

At the period of the greatest perfection of Egyptian writing there were three kinds, *viz.*, Epistolic, Hieroglyphic, and Symbolic. The Priests had a fourth, which was termed Hierogrammatic, which was known only to their order. Modern writers subdivide the above into:

1, Pure Hieroglyphic, or picture; 2, Linear Hieroglyphic, or emblems; 3, Phonetic Hieroglyphic, or representations of sound;

[1] Davis, of "*Celt. Res*.," p. 339, in Oliver's Lecture V., p. 64.

and 4, Demotic, or Epistolographic, or Enchorial[1] writing, for the uses of common life.

Symbolic writing was subdivided into three parts, *viz.*, Curiologic, speaking literally; Tropical, a figure; and Allegorical, description of one thing, under the image of another.

This was for greater secrecy, each admitting of a different method of interpretation, which was communicated only to a few.

In the Curiologic style, the moon was pictured by a crescent; Tropically by a Cat; Allegorically by the figure of Isis or a veiled female; The Sun by a disk; Tropically by an Ox, and Allegorically by a figure of Osiris.

The word Symbol, derived from Sumbolon (Symbolum), means that which represents, or is a sign of something expressing to the initiate a doctrine, thought, or principle; Emblem, from Emblema, first signified work inlaid, or raised ornaments, or Mosaic work; now it is made to mean the same as symbol.

A.D. 363, Yamblichus[2] says that he considered the mode of teaching by symbols most necessary, and that nearly all the Greeks cultivated it, as the Most Ancient and transcendentally honored by the Egyptians, and adopted by them in the most diversified Manner.

"The first requisite of a symbol is, that it shall really mean something; that it shall be in its nature a proper and adequate sign and token of something; and the second is, that this something shall be worth knowing and remembering."[3]

"The Origin of the science of Symbols is lost in the night of time, and seems to connect itself with the Cradle of Humanity; the most ancient Worships submitted to its law; the Arts of design, Architecture, Statuary, and Painting were born under its influence, and the primitive writing was also one of its applications."[4]

"Everything is Emblematic, everything is figurative, everything is more or less Hieroglyphic amongst the Ancients. They began in Chaldea by placing, or rather by giving to Some Constellations the name of the Ram, and of the Bull, either to signify the productions of these Animals during the Spring, or to pay a peculiar homage to

[1] Enchorios, place, country, popular, common, invented at a late period. They invented another system of Magical Communication which imbedded Cabalistic Secrets in comprehensive phrases, that were not only mysterious, but absolutely formidable to the ignorant. Soothsayers were Magic Alarm-posts; philters and dangerous compounds were treasure Chambers, etc.

[2] "Vita Pythagoras." [3] Albert Pike. [4] Portal, "Symbols des Egyptiens."

the Deity, as soon as they began to depart from the religion of Noah. Fire was the symbol of the Deity among the Persians. The rising of Sirius or Dog-Star informed the Egyptians of the inundation of the Nile. The Serpent, holding its tail in its mouth, became the image of eternity. The whole of nature was disguised and emblematically represented by the primitive inhabitants of our globe. If we place all the symbols and emblems which we have received from Antiquity under the inspection of a Man of sense, or even of a scholar who had never heard of them, he will not be able to explain any of them. It is a figurative and emblematic language which requires a particular study before it *can be understood*."[1]

"One of the most beautiful of the Ancient figures is that of Timæus of Locri, who describes Deity to be "a Circle whose centre was everywhere and whose circumference nowhere."[2]

"The philosophy of the Egyptian Priests was abstruse and hidden; enveloped in fable, and allegory, and exhibiting only dark hints, and obscure resemblances to truth, and thus much even the priests themselves insinuate to us, in many instances, particularly in those sphinxes which they seem designedly to have placed before their Temples, as types of the enigmatical nature of their theology; of this nature was the inscription engraved upon the base of Minerva's statue at Sais, whom they look upon the same as Isis, *viz.:* 'I am everything that has been, that is, and that shall be; Nor has any Mortal ever yet been able to discover what is under my Veil.'"[3]

The name of AMUN-AMN is interpreted by Manetho to signify "Concealment," or something which is hidden. Osiris is designated under the hieroglyphs of an eye and a scepter, the former denoting his providential Wisdom, as the latter does his power, they being the two most distinguishing Characteristics of Deity. Also of symbols—"Under which the Mystics endeavored to lead their Votaries to the Knowledge of divine truth, and, though some of these are more clear and explicit than others, yet are they not any of them without hazard; for whilst some persons by wholly mistaking their Meaning and application, have thereby plunged themselves into superstition, others, that they might avoid so fatal a quagmire, have unawares dashed themselves upon the rock of Atheism."

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[1] Spineto, "Lectures on Elements of Hieroglyphics." [2] Albert Pike.

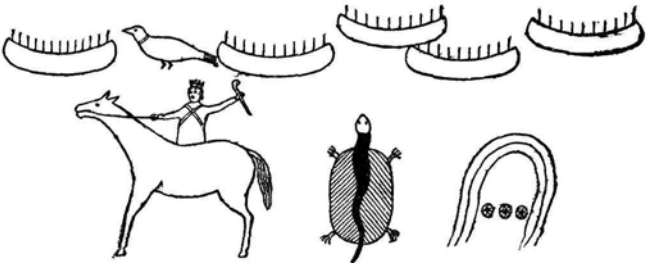
[3] Plutarch, "De Isidi et Osiride," died A.D. 140.

It was principally among the East Indians, Egyptians, and Syrians that the most extraordinary emblems were consecrated to religion.

A South Sea Island Missionary tells how once being busy carpentering, and having forgotten his square, he wrote a message to his wife for it, with a piece of charcoal on a block, and sent it by a native, who, amazed to find that the block could talk without a mouth, for a long time afterward carried it hung around his neck by a string, and to his wondering countrymen told what he saw it do.

The art of writing, however strange and mysterious it seemed to the savage tribes of men, was developed from steps of invention. Uncivilized men took the first step in writing by making pictures of such natural or artificial objects known to them.

The following picture-writing, used by hunting tribes of American Indians, records an expedition across waters, led by a chief on horse-back, having a Magical drumstick in his hand.



PICTURE-WRITING, ROCK NEAR LAKE SUPERIOR (AFTER SCHOOLCRAFT).

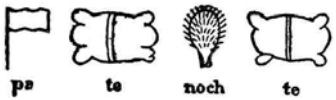
There were fifty-one men in four canoes, the first being led by an ally of the chief whose name was Kishkemunazee (Kingfisher), as shown by the bird. The land tortoise, the emblem of land, shows that they reached the other side of the water, the picture of the three suns under the sky indicating three days in crossing.

When the tortoise is painted to represent land it is not a mere imitation, but has become an emblem or symbol. The bird does not represent a real kingfisher, but a man of that name; this becomes the first step toward phonetic writing or by sound, *i.e.*, to make a picture stand for the sound of the word to be spoken.

Tylor says (p. 169): "How men may have made the next move toward writing may be learnt from the common child's games of

rebus, i.e., writing words 'by things.' Like many other games, this one keeps up in child's sport what in earlier ages was man's earnest. Thus if one writes the word 'waterman' by a picture of a water-jug and a man, this is drawing the meaning of the word in a way hardly beyond the American Indian's picture of the kingfisher. But it is very different when in a child's book of puzzles one finds the drawing of a water-can, a man being shot, and a date fruit, this representing in rebus the word 'Can-di-date.'

"For now what the pictures have come to stand for is no longer their meaning, but their mere sound. This is true phonetic writing, though of a rude kind, and shows how the practical art of writing really came to be invented. This invention seems to have been made more than once, and in somewhat different ways. The old Mexicans, before the arrival of the Spaniards, had got so far as to spell the names of persons and places by pictures, rebus fashion.



PATER NOSTER ON MEXICAN PICTURE-WRITING (AFTER AUBIN).

Even when they began to be Christianized, they contrived to use their picture-writing for the Latin words of their new religion. Thus they painted a flag (pan), a stone (te), a prickly pear (noch)—which were together pronounced pa-te-noch-te and served to spell *pater noster,* in a way that was totally exact for Mexicans who had no *r* in their language. In the same way they ended the prayer with the picture of water (*a*) and aloe (*me*) to express *amen*."

"This leads on to a more important system of writing. Looking at the ordinary Chinese characters on tea-chests or vases, one would hardly think they had to do with pictures of things. But there are fortunately preserved certain early Chinese characters, known as the 'ancient pictures,' which show how what were at first distinctly formed sketches of objects came to be dashed off in a few strokes of the rabbit's hair pencil, till they passed into the meaningless looking cursive forms now in use, as is seen in the following figure.

CHINESE ANCIENT PICTURES AND LATER CURSIVE FORMS.

"The Chinese did not stop short at making such mere pictures of objects, which goes but little way toward writing. The inventors of the present mode of Chinese writing wanted to represent the spoken sounds, but here they were put in a difficulty by their language consisting of monosyllables, so that one word has many different meanings. To meet this they devised an ingenious plan of making compound characters, or 'pictures and sounds,' in which one part gives the sound, while the other gives the sense. To give an idea of this, suppose it were agreed that a picture of a box should stand for the sound *box.* As, however, this sound has several meanings, some sign must be added to show which is intended. Thus a key might be drawn beside it, to show it is a *box* to put things in; or a leaf if it is to mean the plant called *box;* or a hand, if it is intended for *box* on the ear; or a whip would show it was to signify the *box* of a coach.

"This would be for us a clumsy proceeding, but it would be a great advance beyond mere picture-writing, as it would make sure at once of the sound and the meaning. Thus in Chinese, the sound *chow* has various meanings, as ship, fluff, flickering, basin, loquacity. Therefore, the character which represents a ship, *chow,* which is placed first in the figure as represented afterward with additional characters, to show which particular meaning of chow is intended.

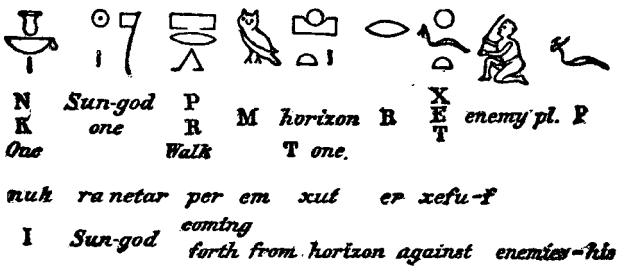
"These examples, though far from explaining the whole mystery of Chinese writing, give some idea of the principles of its sound, characters, and keys of determinative signs, and show why a Chinese has to master such an immensely complicated set of characters in order to write his own language.

"Next as to the cuneiform writing, such as is to be seen at the British Museum on the huge man-headed bulls of Nineveh, or on the flat baked bricks which were pages of books in the library of Sennacherib. The marks, like wedges or arrow-heads, arranged in groups or rows, do not look much like pictures of objects. Yet there is evidence that they came at first from picture-writing; for instance, the sun was represented by a rude figure of it by four strokes arranged round. Of the groups of characters in an inscription, some serve directly to represent objects, as man, woman, river, house, while other groups are read phonetically as standing for syllables.

"The inventors of this ancient system appear to have belonged to

the Akkadian group of Nations, the founders of early Babylonian civilization. In later ages the Assyrians and Persians learned to write their language by Cuneiform characters, in inscriptions which remain to this day as their oldest records. But the Cuneiform writing was cumbrous in the extreme, and had to give way when it came into competition with the alphabet. To understand the origin of that invention, it is necessary to go back to a plan of writing which dates from antiquity, probably even higher than the Cuneiform of Babylonia, namely, the hieroglyphics of Egypt.

"The earliest known hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt belong to a period approaching 3000 B.C. Even at this ancient time the plan of writing was so far developed that the scribes had the means of spelling any word phonetically, when they chose. But, though the Egyptians had thus come to writing by sound, they only trusted to it in part, combining it with signs which are evidently remains of earlier picture-writing. Thus the mere pictures of an ox, a star, a pair of sandals, may stand for ox, star, sandals. Even where they spelled words by their sounds they had a remarkable way of adding what are called determinatives, which are pictures to confirm or explain the meaning of the spelled word. One short sentence given as an example from Renoul's *Egyptian Grammar* shows all these devices. The meaning is: 'I (am) the Sun - God coming forth from the horizon against his enemies':



"Here part of the pictures of animals and things are letters to be read into Egyptian words, as shown underneath. But others are still real pictures, intended to stand for what they represent. The sun is shown by his picture, with a *one* mark below, and followed by the battle-axe, which is the symbol of divinity, while further on comes a picture of the horizon with the sun on it. Besides these, some of the figures are determinative pictures to explain the words,

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE CRUSADERS, AT ACRE

The Last Sortie


SEE WOODWARD ZIEGLER

the verb to walk being followed by an explanatory pair of legs, and the word enemy having a picture of an enemy after it, and then three strokes, the sign of plurality. It seems that the Egyptians began with mere picture-writing, like that of the barbarous tribes of America, and though, in after ages, they came to use some figures as phonetic characters or letters, they never had the strength of mind to rely on them entirely, but went on using the old pictures as well. How they were led to make a picture to stand for a sound is not hard to see. In the figure a character may be noticed which is read R. This is an outline of an open mouth, and indeed is often used to represent a mouth, but the Egyptian word for mouth being R, O the sign came to be used as a character letter to spell the sound R O or R wherever it was wanted. So much of the history of the art of writing may thus be read in a single hieroglyphic sentence."[1]

Firmly believing that the guiding hand of an all-wise and over-ruling Providence has conducted mankind from his earliest appearance on earth, commencing, as we have endeavored to show, with his primitive notions of things and his efforts to illustrate his first crude and imperfect ideas and clearly to demonstrate his gradual advancement in expressing those ideas, until he had accomplished the same by framing alphabetical writing—as shown in the earliest written languages—we will endeavor to demonstrate that it must have been by Divine Revelation that this was finally accomplished in the gradual development of man's inventive genius implanted by Divine Providence in the "Three Revelations."

It would seem evidently proper in the examination of symbolisms in connection with the ancient religions that we should also examine that religion which, commencing with Moses and the children of Israel, has gradually advanced and spread over the whole world.

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[1] Tylor Anthropology, pp. 173, 174.

CHAPTER II

THREE REVELATIONS

HE Will of God as the Supreme rule of right is found expressed in the Moral Constitution of the world; of the Agent himself, and of Holy-Scripture."

It is generally admitted that these three forms of the revelation of the Divine Will do exist.

The light of nature, or moral teaching, from the moral constitution of the World and of Man are undervalued by some. Those who deny Christianity as a system, and simply believe in the existence of God only, place too high an estimate upon the Light of Nature, and reject the authority of the revelation of the Mind and Will of God in the Scriptures, known to us as the Old and New Testaments.

It is for the philosophical Mind to discover that "these three copies of the Will of God are from the same divine Mind," "That the same fundamental moral principles and tendencies are embodied in all of them."

Now we write for those who, as Masons, have, solemnly and in the presence of many witnesses, professed a firm belief in God, and that they put their "trust" in Him; therefore we must confidently expect that every Mason who may read this thesis will understand that he is under Moral obligations to obey the will of that God in whom we trust; and we shall proceed to show how the Will of God has been revealed to Man.

From the histories of all the Ancient Nations we learn this fact, that, commencing with the earliest form of religion down to the present Christian era, in the year of the creation of the world commonly known as Anno Mundi 4000, according to the recent chronology, every form of religious faith has been founded in a "Christos," "the Anointed," hence each was a form of "Christianity."

The "fall of man," or the loss of innocence, was well acknowledged in all the ancient theologies and philosophies, and that a "restoration" was to take place was also acknowledged; the effort in every mythology was to complete that restoration by means of a "divine savior."

In our Masonic system of the first era there is no question whatever in the minds of all impartial examiners that the authors of the system designed to teach the dogmas peculiar to Christianity. The revolution of 1717 divested Masonry of most of its Sectarian dogmas, and opened the way for the admission of all who would merely confess a belief and trust in a Deity. Nevertheless, in subsequent years, measurably between 1760 and 1800 A.D., the several lectures introduced, gradually, a more complete acknowledgment of the Christian elements than existed from the revolution in 1717 to the former date, 1760. The lectures, now used in every State of the Union, clearly teach those dogmas.

The use of the Sacred writings, holding as they do a position representing, par excellence, the "Great Light," evidently demonstrates the belief in their direct inspiration from God himself, or the whole matter is an imposition and should be removed from our ritual. To declare solemnly that the Bible "is the inestimable gift from God to man" is a "solemn Mockery" if it be not the acknowledged "Holy Writing."

It is, therefore, the conceded guide for all of our conduct, and if not inspired by that confession, then we are defrauding every candidate who receives the Entered Apprentice's degree.

Assuming that we are honest men in our declarations, we proceed with our argument.

First Subject.—Revelation in External Nature.

The Constitution of the World is but partially discerned by man, and the revelation of the Will of God is but dimly perceived therein. The light of conscience and direct revelation are necessary to assist him in understanding external Nature.

(*a*) External Nature may reveal to man somewhat of God's Will from its constitution, when in all its parts he may discover in the government of God therein that "there is a fixed connection between virtue and happiness and between vice and misery as the

result of cause and effect; and we may thus conclude that God has so constituted all Nature that he approves of Virtue and condemns Vice. "These Moral tendencies are universal, being everywhere observed in creation and providence, and in individual and social experience. They are inevitable:—vice, in the long run, producing misery; and virtue producing happiness, by a law as unchangeable as the law of gravitation." Plato said, by the Sophist Hippias: "Now, by Jove, I must here confess that I do perceive plain traces of a Divine Law; for that laws should bring along with them their own penalty when broken is a most rare device, to which no mere human legislator has even yet been able to attain."

There is, evidently, to every reflecting mind, in God's Universe "a Vast and Wondrous System of Moral compensations and Moral retributions embracing all the subjects of the Divine Government."

(*b*) *Not easily interpreted.* In this form it is very difficult to interpret the Will of God. That wonderful Man Paul said that the invisible things of God—his eternal power and Deity—may be made known by things that are seen, yet Man, limited as he is, bounded by the enslavement of the flesh, can see but dimly the record of the Moral attributes and Moral law by the results of causes in the Natural World. From these sources only those who have attained to the highest philosophy can even remotely see the rule of right from external Nature. Nevertheless, we may perceive, even if remotely, that God contemplated, in the Creation of the Universe, that all things should work together for a specific purpose, and in his infinite mind there could not be a separation of the Moral attribute from those essentially necessary in his character as the Supreme Governor and Creator of all things.

Second Subject.—Revelation in Man's Nature.

We presume that in the original creation of Man, the revelation of the Will of God, in Man's Moral Constitution, must have been clear and perfect. Is this the case now with Man? And may we well ask, How and when did the change take place? Observation and our own personal experience clearly demonstrate the fact "That it is now defective and dim," and the teaching of revelation also confirms the truth.

The following is the immediate and practical rule: "A rule of right, in order to be in the highest sense *practical*, must be *always at hand* and in *readable* form. For a being essentially and always active, emergencies of Moral action must be constant and often sudden and unexpected, so that time is not always given for consulting some outward rule to be comprehended by the processes of reasoning. The Author of Man's being has, therefore, placed a revelation of the rule of right in the soul, to be read intuitively, and so to furnish a practical guide suited to his circumstances."

For Mankind in general, experience teaches us that this rule is the chief practical guide for Moral conduct. Professor Haven says: "Within certain limits, the Moral nature of Man decides, without hesitation, as to the Character of given actions, and approves and condemns accordingly. It is seldom at a loss as to the great dividing lines which separate the Kingdom of right and wrong. It is the voice of nature, essentially the same in all climes and ages of the World, approving the right, condemning the wrong. It is the voice of God speaking through the Moral Nature and constitution which has been bestowed upon his creatures. Thus it is that they which have the law within are a law unto themselves."

This inner sense of Moral rectitude can not be the Ultimate guide, for it is well known that education, location, customs, and habits control our ideas of right and wrong in the abstract; and it is also true, that as we change from one Kingdom or Nation to others we do find the inner consciousness of Men differing—wherefore, we are forced to find the Ultimate principle, by which to decide between any two conflicting ideas of Moral rectitude; and we thus come to a direct revelation by "Scripture" which, when received as those of divine inspiration, we are of necessity to obey them, as the mind and will of God; and to which we must refer as standards for our government.

The Christian Theologians have, in all the past, written constantly in advocacy of the divine origin of the "Bible." It is not our province in so short an Article as this must be, to enter at all into a discussion of the validity or the "Authenticity" of the Text of Scripture. Volumes have been written, and but few have been convinced, save those already "believers"; hence we content our-

selves in this "dictum": As Masons, we receive it as the Ultimate Standard of our Morality, and by it, as our adopted "Constitution," we must inevitably be tried, and be acquitted or condemned. If it be but of human origin, it is nevertheless *the foundation* upon which every Moral principle in Masonry now stands; just as we are governed by the Constitutions, Rules, Regulations, and Edicts which are acknowledged as of human authority only, and do govern us in our common jurisprudence throughout the entire World of Masons, so do the Scriptures rule and govern our Ethics and Moral Conduct, whether they be human only, or of Divine origin. Those Moral principles, clearly enunciated in the Bible, appeal to the Moral consciousness of Mankind in general; and it is only in the Minds of those who have suffered their Moral principles to be *atrophied*, that there ever has been or ever will be anyone to deny this. Among all enlightened and good men it is "the most perfect expression of the law of human duty."

"In bringing to light new relations, as arising out of Man's sin, the ethical system of the Bible has vastly widened the sphere of duty." We must believe in the infinity of God; but the infinite God can not, by us, in the present limitation of our faculties, be comprehended, but only conceived. A Deity understood would be no Deity at all; and it is blasphemy to say that God only is as we are able to think Him to be. We know God according to the finitude of our faculties; but we believe much that we are incompetent properly to know. The infinite God is what, to use the words of Pascal, is infinitely inconceivable. Faith, Belief, is the organ by which we apprehend what is beyond our knowledge. In this, all Divines and Philosophers, worthy of the name, are found to coincide; and the few who assent to Man a knowledge of the infinite, do this on the daring, the extravagant, the paradoxical supposition, either that Human Reason is identical with the Divine, or that Man and the absolute are one.

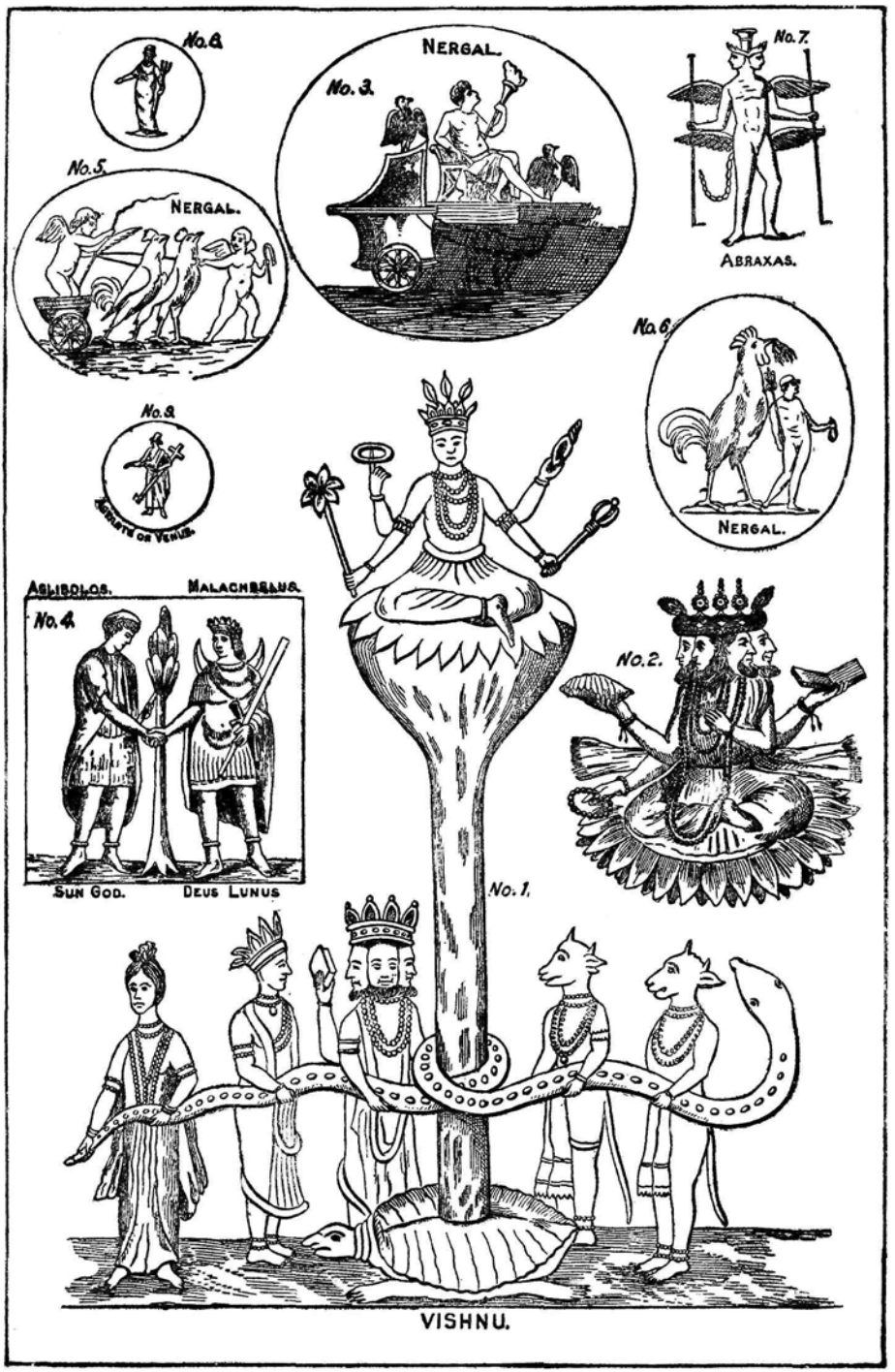
In Man's condition, growing out of his imperfect Nature and the uncertainties of a correct understanding of duties, a revelation became a necessity, so soon as his change from a sinless to a sinful state occurred. We here encounter at once the Skeptical view which denies the present sinful state of Man. Let us then assume Man as sinless and take the following sketch of Cousin to illustrate the present condition of things—Good and Evil. You will agree

with me that Man is, 1st, sinful; or, 2d, Man is sinless. There is no middle term of this category.

"*Good and Evil*."—*Distinction.*

"If we do not admit the essential distinction between good and evil, between virtue and crime, crime founded on interest, virtue founded on disinterestedness, then human language and the sentiments that it expresses are inexplicable.

"Disturb this distinction, and you disturb human life and entire society. Permit me to take an extreme, tragic, and terrible example. Here is a man that has just been judged. He has been condemned to death, and is about to be executed—to be deprived of life. And why? Place yourself in the system that does not admit the essential distinction between good and evil, and ponder on what is stupidly atrocious in this act of human justice. What has the condemned done? Evidently a thing indifferent in itself. For if there is no other outward distinction than that of pleasure and pain, I defy anyone to qualify any human action, whatever it may be, as criminal, without the most absurd inconsequence. But this thing, indifferent in itself, a certain number of men, called legislators, have declared to be a crime. This purely arbitrary declaration has found no echo in the heart of this Man. He has not been able to feel the justice of it, since there is nothing in itself just. He has therefore done, without remorse, what this declaration arbitrarily interdicted. The Court proceeds to prove to him that he has not succeeded, but not that he has done contrary to justice, for there is no justice. I maintain that every condemnation, be it to death, or to any punishment whatever, imperatively supposes, in order to be anything else than a repression of violence by Violence, the four following Points: 1st, That there is an essential distinction between good and evil, justice and injustice, and that to this distinction is attached, for every intelligent and free being, the obligation of conforming to good and justice. 2d, That man is an intelligent and free being, capable of comprehending this distinction, and the obligation that accompanies it, and of adhering to it naturally, independently of all convention, and every possible law, capable also of resisting the temptations that bear him towards evil and injustice, and of fulfilling the sacred law of natural justice. 3d, That every act contrary to justice deserves


No. 8
No. 3.
NERGAL.
No. 7.
ABRAXAS.
No. 5.
NERGAL.
No. 6.
NERGAL.
No. 9
ASTARTE OR VENUS.
ASLIBOLOS.
MALACHBELUS.
No. 4.
SUN GOD.
DEUS LUNUS
No. 2.
No. 1.

VISHNU.

to be repressed by force, and even punished in reparation of the fault committed, and independently too of all law and all convention. 4th, That Man naturally recognizes the distinction between the just and the unjust and knows that every penalty applied to an unjust act is itself most strictly just."[1]

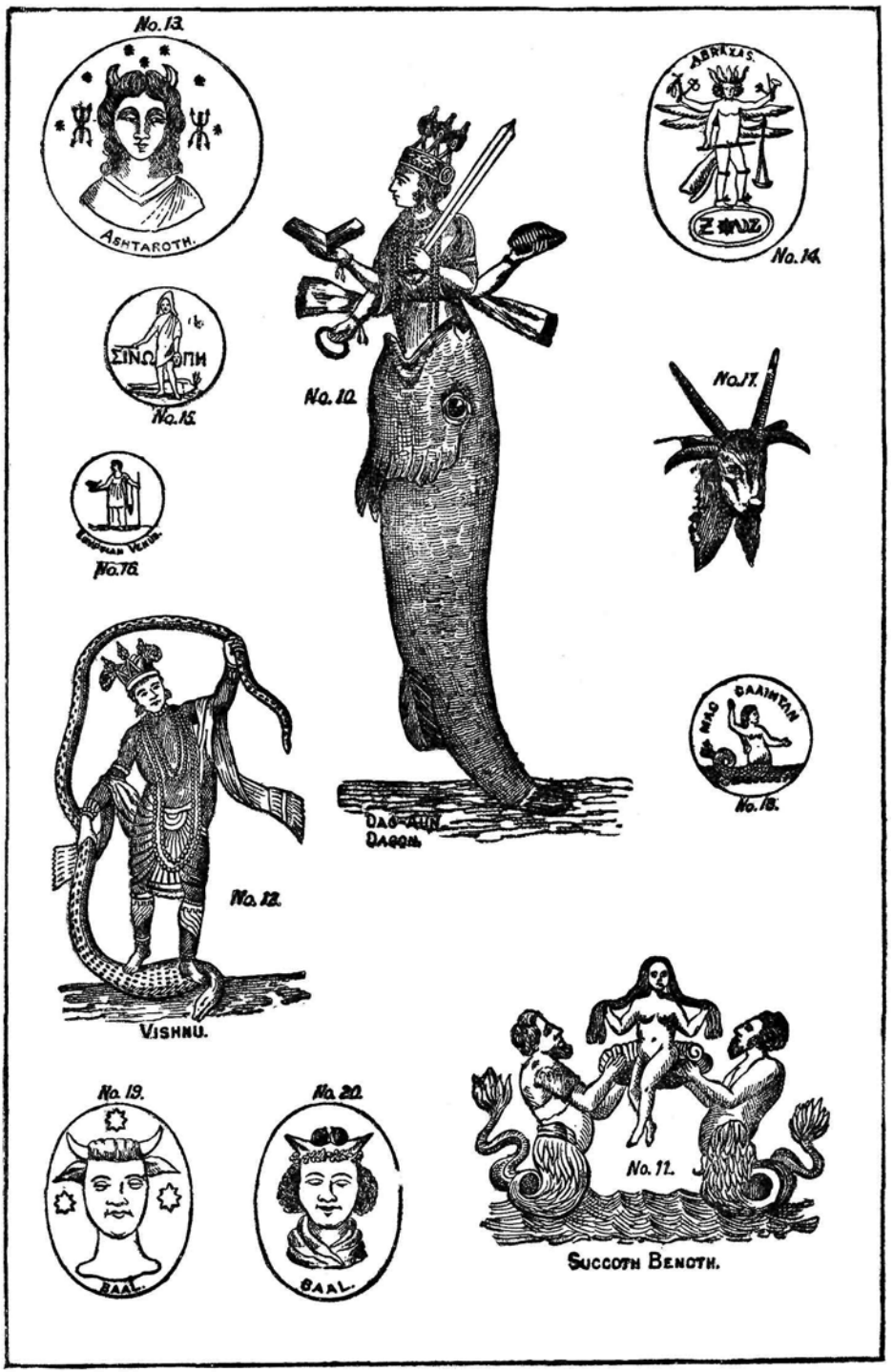
In the Scriptures we find all that is necessary for Man to do in his progress toward reinstatement to his original sinless condition. It is no argument against the Bible that Men differ in regard to the very language of it, and that such differences have created bigotry, fanaticism, hatred, persecution, and death; because all those results are the demonstrations, palpably true, of the sinfulness of Man, his selfishness, ambition, and lust for power, in utter opposition to those very teachings in the Bible by which they should be guided to a course of love, compassion, charity, and beneficence. In all ages Men have done precisely the same things to their fellow-Men before the Bible was written; and since then, when in utter ignorance of its existence, when there were no redeeming features in their savagery, inhumanity, and devilishness.

The influence of the Morality of the Bible has tended, continually, to change the fierceness of the Natural Man to those milder and heavenly virtues of Love, compassion, and Charity.

Third Subject.—The Written Revelation is the Perfect Form of the Supreme Rule; it is the clearest expression of the Divine Will.

Every intelligent Man will say that a Character modeled after the Morality of the Bible is a perfect Character: as was that of Jesus, the "*Christos*" of the Bible. Every departure from that perfect type detracts from a perfect Character. Let us refer to those Characters who were represented centuries before his advent and see if in their Conduct they were up to his standard. Were "Chrishna" of India, Mithras of Persia, Osiris of Egypt, Dionysus, Bacchus, Orphaeus and Adonis, of Classic days, such as to be examples for us to follow? Were they not all of them the mere creations of human imaginations? Who now believes that any one of them ever had a real existence?

[1] Cousin, "True, Beautiful, and Good," p. 223.


No. 13.
ASHTAROTH.
ABRAXAS.
No. 14.
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No. 17.
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DAG-AUN
DAGON.
MAO
BAAINTAIN
No. 18.
No. 12.
VISHNU.
No. 19.
BAAL.
No. 20.
BAAL.
No. 11.
SUCCOTH BENOTH.

They were all Characters of human origin in the Mythologic ages designed as the "Saviors" of Men, each one emphatically the representative "Christos," or Christ of his particular Nation; and the religious system designed to restore the lost and fallen race of Man. This idea was derived from the traditions of the fall of Man. by means of the Serpent, Kalinac. Chrishna, in the Ninth Avatar, is represented as the Good Black Shepherd stamping the head of the Serpent Kalinac with his heel, while he holds the serpent aloft by his tail.[1] In the Tenth Avatar, which is yet to come, Chrishna, the "Anointed," is to restore the race of Man to its pristine innocence and happiness. Hence, we assert, that since God promised to Adam that the "seed of the Woman should bruise the head of the Serpent," Christianity, in some form, has existed ever since. The Old Testament writings throughout foreshadow the "Savior, Christos," and the Jews are yet looking for him to come, to restore them as the Children of Abraham to their National greatness once existing. Christians say he has come already. Now as Masons we decide not between these, but take all in as our Brethren, and the One God as our Heavenly Father, revealed to us as such in the Great Light of Masonry.

"Aristotle has said that Man was a political animal—he certainly is a religious animal, as the history of Mankind shows from the earliest ages."

In the twofold nature of Man no one has a right to exalt either side of this nature at the expense of the other; also in the double nature of his intellectual faculties we have no right to atrophy either the reason, on the one side, or the sentiments, in the opposite direction; but it is the result of true wisdom to keep them in due equipoise, for the proper development of the intellect, for the wisest and best of purposes. Moreover, it has been shown that Man in his relation to his fellow-Man must also be held in the twofold relation of egoism and altruism. Every animal instinct prompts him to a pure selfishness, continued until that instinct be satisfied.

In the sentimental Nature of Man we find the promptings to social life, and altruism becomes a balancing force which brings the animal instincts to the equipoise, when controlled by reason. When the sentimental faculties preponderate, it is because the reasoning

[1] See plate, fig. 12.

force has become weakened; where sentiment is suppressed, the reasoning powers have been unduly stimulated.

From time immemorial Man has manifested the sentimental part of his nature, in worshipping something, by him considered his superior. As has been shown already, his worship, in the form of sacrifices offered, has been to appease an offended Deity.

How did he know of a Deity? and how know that the Deity was offended?

Self-consciousness of wrong done was the inner monitor, which taught Man what was right and what wrong, in regard to a Superior power. That men, among themselves, soon made laws for their Moral government we can readily understand; but how did Man first comprehend that above him was a power to which he was responsible? That of himself he should arrive at any such definite conclusion as to require him to appease an offended being, is incomprehensible to us; it is out of all human categories and can only be referred to a direct revelation of God himself to Man.

Its universality renders it certain; no mere accident could have communicated such ideas from nation to nation, and keep up the superstitious notions so prevalent among the most abject and deplorable savage tribes as are found in America and in Africa, where fetichism of the lowest, most grovelling kind, "keeps alive some memory of the old Truth in the human heart." To deny this is to deny everything concerning the Spirit history of Man, and closes our eyes to the broad daylight of facts, and challenges a logical proof of the shining of the Mid-day Sun itself; both, alike, self-evident propositions, requiring no proof, they are our axioms.

That God exists is as true as that the Sun Shines continuously, and spreads his light over the entire Solar System, interrupted only by partial clouds, as they screen the earth from his rays. As well might we deny the existence of the sun at Midnight, because we can not see him or any evidence of his light, as to deny God, because we can not see him directly or, in our estimation, any evidence of his overruling power; yet in all times and in every Nation Men have had faith in a Deity; they have put their trust in him; have worshiped him in some form or other; and have framed theories in regard to him, his nature and his attributes, and hence have arisen mythological systems, Philosophical hypotheses, and religious formularies by which Man can approach nigh unto that great August

Being, recognized as the great Force of the Universe; and however many diverse gods there may have been, and howsoever differently portrayed in the different Nations and separate Mythologies, yet they can all be traced to but one great Deity or Supreme God, of whom all the others were, originally, emanations, receiving names descriptive of their peculiar functions, which in time became humanized or personated and worshiped as distinct gods.

Again, in the Original Theocratic systems of India, Assyria, and Egypt.

Three persons are distinctly set forth in the Godhead, and their peculiar attributes, alike, each to each, as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, this last term evidently signifying the dissolution of animal form to reproduce a Spiritual regeneration and resurrection to immortality.

In the Indian system the Office of the second person of the Trimurti is that of the Preserver of Man, and in the Nine several Avatars or Incarnations he has indicated his office, and more particularly in the Ninth, where as the Good Black Shepherd, or Chrishna, "Anointed One," he treads upon and bruises the head of the Old Serpent Calinac, thus demonstrating the promise in Gen. iii., 15 verse. (See plate, figure 12.)

Now what do all these well-known Myths refer to if not to the enmity between God and Man? the necessity of reconciliation and the provision made by the Deity for such reconciliation? As far back as we are able to extend our examinations into the history of Man, we find him striving to become in perfect accord with God. Hence all of his sacrifices to appease an offended Deity. We have the best of opportunities to study the Paganism of the earliest civilizations of the Old World, compared with that of all the intermediate centuries and the present day. We know from the Old Testament precisely the Ceremonial law and Observances of the Mosaic economy and the subsequent history of the Israelites to the present day.

We have the Koran from the day it was first promulgated by Mahomet to its spread of the principles and practices of the Many Millions now governed by it, and yet, when all these come into the light of the Gospel of Christ they vanish like the Morning Mist before the glorious sun as it rises above the horizon.

We are not ignorant of the objections urged by all skeptical

writers as to the inaccuracies of the Old Testament as well as the New. Moses did not make so many mistakes as he is charged with by Volney, Voltaire, and Paine of the last century, and Colenso of this. They all forget that this is an age of inquiry and Theists are no longer afraid to read, study, and controvert infidel Authors. The discoveries made during the last twenty-five years or more, and which have been, in that time, before the reading World, in the very country over which Moses is said to have conducted his people, have demonstrated incontestably the truth of the entire narrative concerning the wanderings of the Children of Israel; and he who denies this, after reading those Official narratives in connection with the Mosaic account in Exodus and Numbers, must be set down to the account of "None so deaf as those who will not hear."

We are prepared to prove, analogically, geographically, topographically, and philologically, that the accounts in Exodus and Numbers must have been written on the spot, at the time, and by an active participant in the Scenes and places portrayed and described.

We are not now advocating any inspiration for the text, any more than we would for Gordon's "Annals of the Revolutionary War." He was a Cotemporary writer cognizant from day to day of the events of the times, and stated them as he saw or heard of them, liable to mistakes and receiving incorrect information. So with the books of the Pentateuch giving an account of the Exodus and Wanderings for the forty years between Egypt and the East banks of the Jordan. He who now should explore that country from Rameses through the Desert of Sinai, Et Tih, and old Moab, or should critically examine the Official reports of Scientific Men and Oriental Scholars combined, would be obstinately, willfully blind, if not convinced of the truthfulness of the Narrative, so far as the essential facts are at issue. It must be remembered, that all the books contained in the Old Testament have come down to us from the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, almost pure and unaltered, save in some non-essential features, as the Septuagint, agreeing, not only with the Hebrew handed down to us from that people, but corroborated by Josephus, who wrote after our Christian era began. The differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint are no greater than between any English translation and an original classic work.

Beyond the time of Alexander the Great, back to the return

from Babylonish captivity, we rely upon the Scribes, who professed to copy the sacred books precisely as given to them, from age to age, for the preservation of the text. Extreme care was observed and exactitude insisted upon, in every copy of the Law, the Prophets, Psalms, and Histories. To prove this conclusively, we have only to state the facts connected with the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek at Alexandria by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by the Seventy Jews (319 B.C.). A certified copy was furnished by the High-Priest at Jerusalem and it was forwarded to Alexandria, and the Seventy completed the translation into Greek. That version we have at the present day; it has been carefully compared with the Hebrew Scriptures handed down from Jerusalem and copies of which are in the hands of the Jewish people all over the world at this day.

It is found that no Material differences occur between the original and the Septuagint, than might be anticipated in a translation from an ancient to a more Modern tongue, and as between the periods of time, from 319 B.C. to A.D. 1610, when King James's translation in England was perfected and published, the most perfect translation of all times.

Every attempt, by Skeptical writers, to invalidate the historical argument has signally failed to overthrow the Authenticity of the Old Testament. It stands as the eternal Rock of Ages, against all the lashings of every element hurled against it for its overthrow, and it will continue to stand until time shall be no more, and all the enemies of the Truth shall have been overwhelmed with confusion, and either compelled to acknowledge the Truth, as thousands have already done, or to be cast aside with obloquy and shame.

No single work, which has had Man for its Author ever had the severe criticisms which have been urged against the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; yet no other writings have been so triumphantly vindicated by the highest talent, learning, and genius as have been always displayed by the friends of Inspiration.

Yet, nevertheless, it must be admitted, that the claim made in behalf of the inspiration, by which the utterances were prompted, must challenge the freest investigation of all the evidences adduced, in support of that claim. Momentous consequences must follow the categorical decision. If the Bible be from God, dictated by his spirit, then its every mandate must be implicitly obeyed. A failure

to comply with its commands and directions, according to its own utterances, must involve eternal banishment from the presence of God. To follow its dictates, as far as imperfections of humanity will permit, faith in all its utterances, and implicit trust in the Divine Author, according to the text of Scripture, will secure the highest blessings on Earth and the promise of an eternity of bliss. It is then highly essential, nay, it is of the utmost, absolute consequence that every one should settle the question definitely whether he will exercise that saving faith in the "Word of promise," and accept the offered blessings, or, casting away every offer, he will utterly deny the authority of Scripture and look upon the "Book" as of human invention, and if so, then, bearing upon its pages the evidence of deception and fraud, and altogether unworthy of the attention of reasonable Men and to be itself cast out.

In pursuing our discussion upon this all-important subject, it is of the utmost consequence that we should, each one for himself, definitely settle the question of the Authority of the Word.

If the Bible be true and given by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, then its dictates are to be strictly obeyed; its utterances on all subjects to be carefully considered; and every thought, word, and deed referred to, commands and dictates therein as the very center of authority whereby we are to be governed.

If the Bible be not true, then it is to be no more considered, than any other book, which treats upon the conduct and affairs of Mankind.

The arguments, in favor of inspiration of Scripture have been fully examined by the highest order of minds that have ever graced our schools and colleges. They have impartially considered the whole subject and have given in their testimony and pronounced in favor of the claim to inspiration. Skeptics, like Lord Rochester, Lord Byron, Rousseau and many others, could not refrain from giving their testimony, as to the Value of the Bible as a Book of pure Morality. Bolingbroke declared that "the Gospel is, in all cases, one continued lesson of the strictest Morality, of justice, of benevolence, and of universal Charity."

Now consider the state of society in Palestine, and we may say all over the Roman Empire, when Christ came teaching the lessons in the Gospel, alluded to by Bolingbroke. Who was it that thus taught? Was it one from the eminent schools of that age, learned in Grecian and Roman philosophy, and prepared by a long course

of studies to become a teacher? Nay, but an unlearned Carpenter's Son, a denizen from that most depraved of all the abandoned villages of Galilee—the proverbial Nazareth—he came, astonishing the World, with a system of Morals, so vastly above all that had ever preceded it, that it was incomprehensible to the then whole World of Man, and they utterly rejected Christ and his teachings.

A simple reference to the profane histories of that day will clearly demonstrate, that long prior to the coming of Christ, during his life, and for a century following his death, the whole world, or what portion of it was known to and conquered by Rome, was in the most debased condition as to its state of Morals. The question must then very naturally arise in the mind of the impartial investigator as from whence Christ derived his ideas of a Morality, so pure and infinitely above the whole conception of his age, as to command the respect and admiration of the highest civilization in all ages since he gave utterance to those precepts, as we find them in the Gospels? He certainly did not get them from his people, or by education in Nazareth or in any other town of Galilee; for when he commenced his Mission among the Cities of that country, he astonished all, even those who had known him from his birth, when he had finished the famous discourse recorded in Matthew, chapters v., vi., and vii. It is written:

"And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings the people were astonished at his doctrine: For he taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes." And well they might be; for it was so different in all its principles from the practices of his day, that it was incomprehensible to them. Yet in so far as it referred to the conduct of Men toward each other, in the ordinary transaction of life, the lowest and poorest classes could see clearly a broad road for their elevation; so different from the treatment they were in the habit of receiving from those above them. We make no allusion to the account given of Miraculous cures wrought by him upon the poor, deceased, and stricken people; or his production of food for the hungry; or his reported power over the elements; it is the quite as Miraculous and undeniable fact of his anomalous teachings, that we now have to deal with. The Miracles may be denied, but the principles taught by him are undeniable; and that, it must be confessed, was quite above the natural tendencies of his times; and the Morals and principles of the whole World of

Man, from the lowest classes to the highest, most refined, and cultivated. It was the Augustan age in literature. In that age we find a Cicero, not only as Author, but as a leading Statesman; Virgil, Ovid, Sallust as poets, and Annalist; also the historian Tacitus; Pliny the elder and younger, and other Latin Authors, familiar to all scholars at the present day.

The World was utterly ignorant of the fundamental principles upon which the Morality taught by Christ was predicated, *viz.*, "To do unto others what you could justly wish should be done to yourself." This was the dictate as to our conduct to our fellow-Man. In relation to our duty to God. If the World of Man ever came up to the Standard, even of Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle, it had long lost a knowledge of any true principles of that duty since the Roman Empire had succeeded the Grecian; and during the period between the decline of the Alexandrian successors and the rise of Roman domination and the growth of that luxury which overwhelmed the City of Rome, spread its baneful influences wherever the Legions and cohorts were established as a permanence; even over the Jewish provinces in Palestine, so that the severe discipline of the Scribes and pharisees, and the strictest sect of Sadducees, became utterly abandoned to the Roman influence, brought about by the Herods and their courts, between the first conquest of Palestine and the period when Christ commenced his peregrinations.

What we have said in reference to Christ is well authenticated history; just as reliable as the history of the conquest of Caesar, the history of Tacitus, and the accounts by Pliny, and the writings of Cicero, Works which no one denies.

We think it is clearly shown that the Morality taught by Christ was of divine origin. It is a well-known method of demonstration in Geometry to prove a proposition by demonstrating that the negative of it can not be true. Thus I have shown that Christ's Morality could not possibly have been of human origin, hence it must have been divine.

We have been led into the discussion of the "Three Revelations" through the examination of the antiquity of signs, symbols, and emblems. The very remains of Antiquity, from which we derive our knowledge of the sign language, show, conclusively, the earliest religious instincts of Mankind. It is to be here remarked that the original religions were designed to teach a pure Morality; all writers

concur in this fact; and the gross idolatries, impure, and lascivious rites, came at a later day.

We copy the following testimony: A recent writer of no mean repute, a clergyman in the Church of England, says: "Christianity is, in fact, the reintegration of all scattered religious convictions, and this accounts for the adoption by the Church of so many usages belonging primarily to paganism, and for the doctrines of the creed resembling in so many points the traditions of heathenism."

"The use of the temple," says M. Gilliot, "of churches dedicated to saints, and adorned with branches of trees on certain occasions, incense, lamps, tapers, votive offerings made upon convalescence, holy water, asylum, festivals, and ember seasons, calendars, processions, the benediction of land, sacerdotal vestments, the tonsure, the marriage ring, turning to the East, devotion to images, even, maybe, the strains of the Church, the kyrie eleison, all of these customs and many others are of Oriental origin, sanctified by the adoption of the Church."[1]

Thus much as to what has come down from Paganism to the Church. Now, it is well known that when Freemasonry revived under the influence of the Church it was a Church affair, and its rites, ceremonies, and symbols were controlled by the Churchmen. The vows were to make its members true to Mother Church. Then the ceremonial of baptism was an essential feature, and in the English rite it is still preserved. Now, let us examine that point, and we quote from the same author, *viz.:*

"Baptismal ceremonial includes all purifications. The idea that man is held back from perfect union with God by his imperfection, uncleanness, sin, is widely diffused, and manifests its existence by water, blood, and fire baptisms, by mutilation of the body and maceration of the flesh."

"Among the Greeks the mysteries of Cotys commenced with a purification, a sort of baptism, and the priests of the Thracian goddess derived from this their title of Baptai."[2]

Apollo, deriving his name from Apolouo, to purify, was the god of expiation by baptism.

A festival of "cleansing" was celebrated in Thessaly. "Musaeus" was a complete ritual of purifications, and divided the ceremonies into two orders, "*teletai*" and "*katkarmoi*," the latter being

[1] Gilliot, "L'Orient, l'occident," etc. [2] Suidas, sub. voc. Juvenal, Satir., ii., 92.

purifications and expiations accomplished by special sacrifices, the former resembled the purifications performed in the mysteries.

The usual mode was dipping, or by aspersion. Immersion was called "loutron," the other "perirransis."[1] When Diogenes saw one baptized by aspersion, he said, "Poor wretch! do you not see that since these sprinklings cannot repair your grammatical errors, they cannot repair, either, the faults of your life."[2]

Lustral water was placed at the door of temples for the priests to purify the profane. The hands and feet were washed before entering the temple. The brazen laver of the Mosaic tabernacle was for that purpose. Blood was sprinkled by the peristiarch, who had slain the victim when the proedrai had opened the assembly. The herald, taking the peristiarch's place, continued the lustration by burning incense. Fumigations constituted another form of purification. Sand was used, and salt, in default of water, which was regarded as possessed of the virtue of purification, and a symbol of incorruption; every impure act whatever demanded purification.

The Romans practiced baptism, as we learn from Juvenal, Satir., vi., 522, where he satirizes those who dipped their heads thrice, in the morning, into the waters of Tiber.

At the feast of Pales, Goddess of Flocks, shepherds purified themselves by washing their hands in new fallen dew.[3] A lustration was made by consecrated water shaken from a branch of laurel or olive; and Propertius, like David, prays, "*Spargite me lympkis*" "purge me with hyssop."[4] The waters of Ganges have a purifying effect; children are bathed in it, the sick are sprinkled with its waters, the dead are plunged in it.

Drinking of the water washes away sin, and the Indians take it with them and use it in the ceremonies of their temples.

In Egypt it was held that the dead were washed from their sin by Osiris, and on the sarcophagi the departed is often represented kneeling before him, who pours over him water from a pitcher.

Purification with water and urine of cows and earth is the most prominent feature in the ceremonial of Zend. Among the Jews, was practiced the rite of baptism, to cleanse by immersion or aspersion with consecrated water. (Numb. viii. 7; xix. 9, 13-20; xxxi. 23; Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26; Psl. li. 2-7.)

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[1] Plat., "Craty," 47; Theophr., "Hist. Plaut.," ix., 12.
[2] Diog., "Laert.," Lib. VI. [3] Ovid, "Fasti," iv., 778. [4] Proper., vol. vi., 7.

Infant baptism was practiced in Scandinavia before the introduction of Christianity, and the child was then named.

The Druids practiced baptism by dipping or aspersion, also by fire, borrowed from the Phœnicians. This was "passing through the fire to Moloch." "Beltein" is still observed in Ireland. Cattle are driven through fires built on high hills, on May 1st.

Among the Mexicans, the new-born child was bathed, and these words spoken by the nurse: "Take this water, for the goddess Chalchiuhcueja is thy mother," etc.

The second baptism occurred later, and was by fire. A boy was passed four times through the flames.

This passing through the fire was customary with the Romans after their return from a funeral, to purify themselves. The same custom prevails in Syria. Throughout Europe, in the Middle Ages, was kept up the old custom of leaping through a fire, and driving cattle betwixt flames, and was condemned by the Councils of the Church. "Every purification," said Servius, "is made either with water, or fire, or air. In all sacred rites there are three purifications, for they are purified either with the torch and sulphur, or are washed with water, or are ventilated with air."[1]

In Portal's work on Egyptian Symbols, compared with those of the Hebrews, we find this under

Water.

"In Egyptian Cosmogony, as in the first book of Moses, the world was created from the body of waters. This doctrine, says Champollion, was professed in Egypt in the most distant times. Water was the mother of the world, the matrix of all created beings, and the word MSCHBR signifies matrix and waves.

"Man was considered as an image of the world, the initiate was to be born again to a new life, and the baptism thenceforward symbolized the primeval waters. It was on this account that the initiate was called MSCHE, Moses, a word signifying in Egyptian, according to Josephus (*Antiq.*, IL, 9, § 6), saved from the water, or by the water; designated in Hebrew by MSCHBEE, unction, and MSCHE, to save."

Water was the symbol of purity (according to Horapollo) and

[1] In Aen., ii., 384; Ovid, "Metam.," via., 261; *Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulfure lustrat.*

designated the birth of the pure or initiates, as we shall show in the article *Dew*.

Under the article *Frog*, he says:

"Thus the profane is compared to primal matter, damp, and without form, over which the spirit has not yet moved, and which is born again from the waters of baptism."

Dew.

"The sign we give here is an abridgment of the scene representing Egyptian baptism, or shedding celestial dew on the head of the neophyte.

"Horus and Thoth-Lunus pour water on the head of the neophyte, which is transformed to divine life (ansated cross), and to purify (hoopoe-headed sceptre), and is thus translated: Horus, son of Isis, baptizes with water and fire (repeat four times).

"The baptism of water and fire, designated in the Zend by the characters that Leemans has explained, is identical in its exterior form with the baptism of water, the spirit, and of fire, in Luke iii. 16-17."

The name received by the baptized or anointed was given in the Bible to the chief of the Hebrews—*Moses*. This name exists on the Egyptian monuments; it is written by the sign of the *dew* or *baptism*, equal to Hebrew M, and the bent stalk, equal to Sheen, the group; in Hebrew SCH, M, or M-SCH-E is translated in Champollion's grammar by begotten; we give it the signification of regenerated or begotten again.

But why multiply examples from antiquity? Let it suffice that when Masonry adopted the symbolism of the ancients, how could the most important one be omitted?

Masonry is made up of symbolisms. The rite of consecration belongs to it, and by some form or other must take place; and we hold that every form whatever the "pious rite may bear," is "masonic," because that word expresses the original idea. The "genus," "York," "Scotch," "French," "modern," are the "species," or separate specific forms of ritualism; and we might go further, and class every "religion" that existed as specific forms of "masonry," for by that word we distinguish the true relation existing between the Creator and his creatures—that is, Masonry or Religion (*re-ligo*, to bind again).

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS
ITS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

BY ALBERT GALLATIN MACKEY, M.D., 33°

THE HISTORY OF THE

SYMBOLISM OF FREEMASONRY

THE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

AND THE

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

BY WILLIAM R. SINGLETON, 33°

WITH AN

ADDENDA

BY WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.·. S.·. G.·. D.·. OF G.·. L.·. OF ENGLAND—P.·. S.·. G.·. W.·. OF EGYPT, ETC

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CHAPTER III

SYMBOLISM OF NUMBERS

HE best way," says Lawrie in his preface, "of refuting the calumnies which have been brought against the fraternity of Freemasons is to lay before the public a correct and rational account of the nature, origin, and progress of the institution, that they may be enabled to determine whether or not its principles are, in any shape, connected with the principles of revolutionary anarchy, and whether or not the conduct of its members has ever been similar to the conduct of traitors." And from the publication of such sentiments it must be evident to every Brother's experience that the feeling against Freemasonry, which displayed itself so openly only a few years ago, has assumed a much milder form, if it be not entirely removed.

It will not, however, be difficult to account for the dearth of Masonic writers in a preceding age. Before the 18th century symbolical masonry, being limited to the simple ceremonial, needed few illustrations; because, as the science was chiefly operative, the most valuable secrets would be those which had a reference to building, to the scientific ornaments and decorations of each particular style of architecture as it flourished in its own exclusive period; and these mysteries were communicated gradually, as the candidate rose through the different stages of his order or profession.

There appears to have been one general principle, which extended itself over every style from the early English to the florid, decorated, and perpendicular, and constituted one of the most ineffable secrets of the Masonic lodges. It is now known to have been the hieroglyphical device styled Vesica Piscis; "which may be traced from the Church of St. John Lateran, and the old St. Peter's at Rome, to the Abbey Church at Bath, which is one of the latest Gothic buildings of any consequence in England. It was formed

by two equal circles cutting each other in the centers, and was held in high veneration, having been invariably adopted by Master Masons in all countries. In bas-reliefs, which are seen in the most ancient churches, over doorways, it usually circumscribes the figure of our Saviour. It was indeed a principle which pervaded every building dedicated to the Christian religion, and has been exclusively attributed to the scientific acquirements of Euclid."[1]

Oliver, in *Pythagorean Triangle,* says: "The secret meetings of master masons, within any particular district, were confined to consultations with each other, which mainly tended to the communication of science, and of improvement in their art. An evident result was seen in the general uniformity of their designs in architecture, with respect both to plan and ornament, yet not without deviations. We may conclude that the craft or mystery of architects and operative masons was involved in secrecy, by which a knowledge of their practice was carefully excluded from the acquirement of all who were not enrolled in their fraternity. Still, it was absolutely necessary, that when they engaged in contracts with bishops or patrons of ecclesiastical buildings, a specification should be made of the component parts, and of the terms by which either contracting party should be rendered conversant with them. A certain nomenclature was then divulged by the master masons for such a purpose, and became in general acceptation in the middle ages."[2]

The abstruse calculations which accompanied the sciences of geometry and arithmetic are no longer necessary to Freemasonry as an institution purely speculative; and they were accordingly omitted in the revised system, as it was recommended to the notice of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge in 1717, and we retain only the beautiful theory of these sciences, with their application to the practice of morality, founded on the power and goodness of T. G. A. O. T. U.

It would be an injustice to our Brethren of the last century to believe that they did not entertain a profound veneration for the principles of the Masonic order. But the customs and habits of the people of England, living in that day, differed materially from our own.

"There were times when conviviality and a love of social harmony prevailed over the more sedate pursuits and investigations of

[1] Kerrich in "Archæol.," vol. xvi., p. 292.
[2] Dallaway, "Archit.," p. 410.

science, in which such an astonishing progress distinguishes the present times. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries London was an atmosphere of clubs, and a society of this kind existed in every street for the peculiar use of its inhabitants, besides those which were exclusively frequented by persons possessing similar tastes or habits of amusement. And it will be no disparagement to masonry if we believe that its private Lodges did not sustain a much higher rank than some of these celebrated meetings, for the Kit-Cat, the Beefsteak, and other clubs were frequented by the nobility and most celebrated characters of that polished era.

"It was the organization of Freemasonry that gave it the distinctive character which elevated its pretensions above the common routine of club-life, and although it is admitted that the members of the latter entertained a strong attachment to their several institutions, yet none were so enthusiastic as those who had enlisted in the cause of masonry, as we may learn from the few testimonies which remain. A mason of high standing, more than a century ago, thus expresses his feelings respecting the order: 'Masonry is the daughter of heaven, and happy are those who embrace her. By it youth is passed over without agitation, the middle age without anxiety, and old age without remorse. Masonry teaches the way to content, a thing almost unknown to the greater part of mankind. In short, its ultimate resort is to enjoy in security the things that are, to reject all meddlers in state affairs or religion, or of a trifling nature; to embrace those of real moment and worthy tendency with fervency and zeal unfeigned, as sure of being unchangeable as ending in happiness. They are rich without riches, intrinsically possessing all desirable good, and have the less to wish for by enjoyment of what they have. Liberty, peace, and tranquillity are the only objects worthy of their diligence and trouble.' "[1]

"But this, as well as almost all the testimonies of that period to its superior excellence, is confined exclusively to the practice and rewards of Christian morality.

"Modern revision has, however, extended the limits of scientific investigation in the order of Freemasonry beyond what was intended by those who decreed that 'the privileges of masonry should no longer be restricted to operative masons, but extend to men of

[1] "Pocket Companion," p. 296.

various professions, provided they were regularly approved and initiated into the order.' And Dr. Hemming and his associates, in the year 1814, thought it expedient to introduce some peculiar disquisitions from the system of Pythagoras on the combinations of the point, the line, the superfice, and the solid, to form rectangular, trilateral, quadrilateral, multilateral figures and the regular bodies, the latter of which, on account of their singularity and the mysterious nature usually ascribed to them, were formerly known by the name of the five Platonic bodies; and they were so highly regarded by the ancient Geometricians that Euclid is said to have composed his celebrated work on the Elements, chiefly for the purpose of displaying some of their most remarkable properties. These disquisitions usually conclude with an explanation of the forty-seventh problem of Euclid, which is called the Eureka of Pythagoras.

"That great philosopher, Pythagoras, who, by the superiority of his mind, infused a new spirit into the science and learning of Greece, and founded the Italic sect, taught his disciples Geometry that they might be able to deduce a reason for all their thoughts and actions, and to ascertain correctly the truth or falsehood of any proposition by the unerring process of mathematical demonstration. Thus being enabled to contemplate the reality of things and to detect imposture and deceit, they were pronounced to be on the road to perfect happiness. Such was the discipline and teaching of the Pythagorean Lodges. It is related that when Justin Martyr applied to a learned Pythagorean to be admitted as a candidate for the mysterious dogmata of his philosophy, he was asked whether, as a preliminary step, he had already studied the sciences of Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy, and Geometry, which were esteemed the four divisions of the mathematics; and he was told that it was impossible to understand the perfection of beatitude without them, because they alone are able to abstract the soul from sensibles, and to prepare it for intelligibles. He was further told that in the absence of these sciences no man is able to contemplate what is good. And because the candidate acknowledged his ignorance of them he was refused admission into the society.

"Above all other sciences or parts of the mathematics, however, the followers of Pythagoras esteemed the doctrine of Numbers, which they believe to have been revealed to man by the celestial deities. And they pronounced Arithmetic to be the most ancient

of all the sciences, because, being naturally first generated, it takes away the rest with itself, but it is not taken away with them. For instance, animal is first in nature before man; for by taking away animal we take away man; but by taking away man we do not take away animal. They considered numbers extending to the decad, to be the cause of the essence of all other things; and therefore esteemed the creation of the world as nothing more than the harmonious effect of a pure arrangement of number. This idea was adopted by Dryden:

> 'From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
> This universal frame began;
> From harmony to harmony,
> Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
> The diapason closing full in man.'

"Pythagoras had another idea, as we are informed by Censorinus, respecting the creation of the world, and taught that it was fashioned according to the principles of musical proportion; that the seven planets which govern the nativity of mortals have a harmonious motion, and intervals corresponding to musical diastemes, and render various sounds, according to their several distances, so perfectly consonant that they make the sweetest melody, but 'inaudible to us by reason of the greatness of the noise, which the narrow passage of our ears is incapable of receiving.'

"And further, he esteemed the monad to represent the great and good Creator, under the name of Dis, or Zeus, or Zau; and the duad he referred to as the evil and counteracting principle or daemon, 'surrounded,' as Plutarch expresses it, 'with a mass of matter.' And Porphyry adds, that the monad and duad of Pythagoras seem to have been the same with Plato's *peras* and *apeiron*, his *finite* and *infinite* in his Philebus; the former of which two only is substantial, that first most simple Being, the cause of unity and the measure of all things.

"According to the above doctrine, the monad was esteemed the father of Number, and the duad its mother; whence the universal prejudice in favour of odd numbers, the father being had in greater honour than the mother. Odd numbers being masculine, were considered perfect, and applicable to the celestial gods, while even numbers, being female, were considered imperfect, and given to the terrestrial and infernal deities. Virgil has recorded several instances

of this predilection in favour of odd numbers. In his eighth Eclogue, he says (thus translated by Dryden):

> 'Around his waxen image first I wind
> Three woollen fillets of three colours join'd;
> Thrice bind about his thrice-devoted head,
> Which round the sacred altar thrice is led.
> Unequal numbers please the gods.'

"The Eastern nations of the present day appear to reverse this principle. When two young persons are betrothed, the number of letters in each of their names is subtracted the one from the other, and if the remainder be an even number, it is considered a favourable omen, but if it be odd, the inference is that the marriage will be unfortunate.

"Every tyro knows that odd numbers are masonic; and if he be ignorant of the reason why 3, 5, 7, and 11, have been adopted as landmarks, let him apply to the Master of his Lodge for information, and he will then be satisfied of the wisdom of the appropriation, because number forms one of the pillars which contribute to the support of scientific masonry, and constitutes an elementary principle of Geometry. Thus, in the celebrated Pythagorean triangle, consisting of ten points, the upper single dot or jod is monad or unity, and represents a point, for Pythagoras considered a point to correspond in proportion to unity; a line to 2; a superfice to 3; a solid to 4; and he defined a point as a monad having position, and the beginning of all things; a line was thought to correspond with duality, because it was produced by the first motion from indivisible nature, and formed the junction of two points. A superfice was compared to the number three, because it is the first of all causes that are found in figures; for a circle, which is the principal of all round figures, comprises a triad, in' centre, space, circumference. But a triangle, which is the first of all rectilineal figures, is included in a ternary, and receives its form according to that number; and was considered by the Pythagoreans to be the author of all sublunary things. The four points at the base of the Pythagorean triangle correspond with a solid or cube, which combines the principles of length, breadth, and thickness, for no solid can have less than four extreme boundary points.

"Thus it appears that in applying number to physical things, the system of Pythagoras terminated in a tetrad, while that of Aristotle, by omitting the point, limited the doctrine of magnitude to a triad, *viz.*, line—surface—body. In divine things, however, the former philosopher profusely used the number three, because it represented the three principal attributes of the Deity. The first whereof, as we are informed by Cudworth, is infinite with fecundity; the second infinite knowledge and wisdom; and the last active and perceptive power. From which divine attributes the Pythagoreans and Platonists seem to have framed their trinity of archical hypostases, such as have the nature of principles in the universe, and which, though they be apprehended as several distinct substances gradually subordinate to one another, yet they many times extend the to Theion so far as to comprehend them all within it.

"While employed in investigating the curious and unique properties which distinguish many of the digits, we no longer wonder that the inhabitants of the ancient world, in their ignorance of the mysterious secrets of science, and the abstruse doctrine of causes and effects, should have ascribed to the immediate interposition of the Deity those miraculous results which may be produced by an artful combination of particular numbers. Even philosophy was staggered; and the most refined theorists entertained singular fancies, which they were unable to solve without having recourse to supernatural agency. Hence the pseudo-science of Arithomancy, or divination by numbers, became very prevalent in the ancient world; and was used by Pythagoras as an actual emanation of the Deity. By this means, according to Tzetzes, he not only was able to foretell future events, but reduced the doctrine to a science, governed by specific rules, which he transmitted to posterity in his *Book of Prognostics.*

"The ancients had a kind of onomantic arithmetic, the invention of which was in like manner ascribed to Pythagoras, whether truly or not is of no importance here, in which the letters of the alphabet, the planets, the day of the week, and the twelve zodiacal signs, were assimilated with certain numbers; and thus, by the use of prescribed tables, constructed astrologically according to the aspects, qualities, dignities, and debilities of the planets relatively towards the twelve signs, etc., the adept would authoritatively pronounce an opinion on questions affecting life and death, good and evil fortune,

journeys, detection of theft, or the success of an enterprise. It must be confessed, however, that these predictions were not always correct; for the rules laid down in different systems varied so essentially that the wisest magician was frequently puzzled to select an appropriate interpretation. The numeral system has been introduced into the modern practice of astrology, and very important results appear to depend on the trine, quartile, and sextile aspect of the planets in the horoscope.

"Something of this sort was used by the Jewish cabalists; and hence one of the rules of their cabala was called gemetria, or numeration, which was chiefly confined to the interpretation of their sacred writings. The letters of the Hebrew language being numerals, and the whole Bible being composed of different combinations of those letters, it was supposed that the correct meaning of difficult passages could only be ascertained by resorting to their numerical value. The Talmudists entertained an opinion that the mystery of numbers was actually taught in their scriptures; because after the idolatrous priests of Baal had accepted the challenge of Elijah, that prophet constructed his altar of twelve stones, corresponding with the twelve tribes of Israel; but they say that when he took this number for the special purpose of conciliating the favor of Jehovah, it was not merely because the sons of Jacob were twelve in number, but because that particular number was supposed to contain a profound and unfathomable mystery.

"Divination by numbers was not confined to Jewish or heathen nations, but occupied much attention at different periods of Christianity; and superstitious properties, I am afraid, are still attached to particular numbers, as forming climacterics, or grand climacterics; for the days of a man's life are usually considered to be affected by the septenary year, which, as it is frequently believed, produces considerable changes in both body and mind. But the most remarkable change in a person's life is at the climacteric, or 7 x 7, 49 years; or the grand climacteric, 7 x 9, 63 years; or 9 x 9, 81 years; each of which is conceived to be fraught with a peculiar fatality. And there are numbers of persons, even in the nineteenth century, who contemplate these periods with some degree of terror, and esteem it a relief when they have passed away.

"The exalted ideas which were entertained by the ancient poets and philosophers respecting the mysterious properties of numbers,

may be estimated from the superstitious uses to which they were made subservient in all countries, whether inhabitants were savages or refined. The former saw that the number of his fingers ended at ten; and this constituted the amount of his knowledge. It formed the standard of all his computations. When a savage, on his warpath, was asked the number of his enemies, if few, he would hold one or more of his fingers; if many, them all. And in whatever manner his ideas of units might be designated, the calculation would always end in ten. Thus, in Homer, Proteus counts his sea-calves by fives, or in other words by the number of fingers on his hand. Several nations in the wilds of America have to this day no other instruments of calculation. It is another strong presumption of the truth of what I now advance, that all civilized nations count by tens; tens of tens, or hundreds; tens of hundreds, or thousands; and so on, but always from ten to ten. We can discover no reason why this number should be chosen rather than any other for the term of numeration, except the primitive practice of counting by the fingers."[1]

"Arithmetical operations," says the Abbé Pluche, "were facilitated and shortened first by the use of counters, and afterwards by figures or chalked letters. Thus the Romans, when they had a mind to express unity, either held up one finger or chalked the figure I. To express the succeeding numbers they drew II, III, IIII. For the number five they depressed the three middle fingers, and extended the thumb and little finger only, which formed the V. They signified ten by putting two V's, one upon the other, thus X, or by joining them together, which formed X. Then they combined the X, the V, and the I, till they came up to fifty, or five tens, which they expressed by laying the five upon its side thus, ⋖. The figure in this posture assumed the form of an L. A hundred was marked with two L's put one upon the other ⊢, which was subsequently rounded into a C. Five hundred was expressed by LC, and a thousand by CLↃ. These figures were afterwards changed, the one into D, and the other into CLↃ, or M. The Greeks and Hebrews employed the letters of the alphabet ranged in order, to express all imaginable numbers.

"Amongst these sages, the Monad represented the throne of

[1] Goguet, "Origin of Laws," vol. iv., p. 216.

the Omnipotent Deity, placed in the centre of the empyrean, to indicate T. G. A. O. T. U., by whom all things were made and preserved. This disposition was symbolised by the hierogram of a point within a circle or equilateral triangle, to exemplify equally the unity of the divine essence, and His eternity, having neither beginning of years nor end of days. And this deduction appears perfectly reasonable, because the Monad or Point is the original and cause of the entire numeral system, as God is the cause of all things, being the only and great Creator on whom everything depends: for, if there were more all-powerful Beings than one, none would be independent, nor would all perfection be centred in one individual, 'neither formally by reason of their distinction, nor eminently and virtually, for then one should have power to produce the other, and that nature which is producible is not divine. But all acknowledge God to be absolutely and infinitely perfect, in whom all perfections imaginable, which are simply such, must be contained formally, and all others which imply any mixture of perfection, virtually.' "[1]

Sthenidas the Locrian says, "The first god is conceived to be the father both of gods and men, because he is mild to everything which is in subjection to him, and never ceases to govern with providential regard. Nor is he alone satisfied with being the maker of all things, but he is the nourisher, the preceptor of everything beautiful, and the legislator to all things equally.

"The universal symbol by which this great Being was designated, *viz.*, the point within a circle, it may be necessary to explain with some degree of minuteness, because it constitutes one of the most important emblems of masonry. One of the earliest heathen philosophers of whom history gives any account was Hermes Trismegistus, and he describes the Maker of the universe as 'an intelligible sphere whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference cannot be defined,' because the universe is boundless, and He existed from all eternity. David expressed a similar sentiment when he said, 'Thou art the same, and Thy years will have no end.' We are told that the Persians, when they wished to pay a high respect to the Deity, ascended to the top of a high mountain, and expanding both hands, they prayed to Him in the name of 'the circle of heaven.

[1] Pearson on the Creed, Art. I.

In like manner, the Jews entertained a belief that 'the heaven of heavens could not contain Him.' The Romans placed a circular target as a symbol of the Deity, because, as in the circumference there is but one point at its centre, and can be no more, so in the whole circumference of the universe there can be only one perfect and powerful God; nor is it possible there should be another.

"I have received a suggestion from a very intelligent brother respecting this symbol, which merits consideration. He says: When the W. M. elect enters into the obligation of an Installed Master, the brethren form a circle round him, he being in the centre; and in this situation he is said to be the representative of Solomon, the son of David. Now, as this is unquestionably a Christian degree, I understand this son David to be a figurative expression for the Redeemer of mankind. The W. M. is then specially intrusted with the Holy Scriptures and invested with a jewel which is emblematical thereof, and it then becomes his duty to exhort his brethren to search those Scriptures, because they contain the words of eternal life, and testify to the divinity of Christ. Searching implies something lost; and our ancient brethren, the early Christians, after they had lost, by an untimely death, their Lord and Master, remembered that while assembled together in Lodge here below, He promised, that when two or three were gathered together in His name, He would be in the midst of them; and cheered by the recollection, they were naturally led to hope that He would always be found in the centre of their circle, whenever regularly assembled together in a just and perfect Lodge dedicated to God and holy St. John. In like manner, we are reminded by that sacred symbol that He is always in the midst of us —that His all-seeing eye is always upon us, and therefore exhorted to discharge our duty towards Him and our fellow-creatures with freedom, fervency, and zeal.[1]

"The Monad, amongst the Grecian philosophers, was a symbol of the hermaphrodite deity, or junction of the sexes, because it partakes of two natures. In a mysterious passage of the Yajur Veda, Brahma is spoken of, after his emanation from the golden egg, as experiencing fear at being alone in the universe; he therefore willed the existence of another, and instantly became masculo-

[1] This refers to the Ancient Method of installing a worshipful Master. (W.R.S.)

feminine. The two sexes thus existing in one god were immediately, by another act of volition, divided in twain, and became man and wife. This tradition seems to have found its way into Greece; for the Androgyne of Plato is but another version of this Oriental myth. If the Monad be added to an odd number, it makes it even, and if to an even number, it makes it odd. Hence it was called Jupiter, because it stands at the head of gods and men; and also Vesta or Fire, because like the point within a circle, it is seated in the midst of the world. It was also called the Throne of Jupiter, from the great power which the centre has in the universe being able to restrain its general circular motion, as if the custody of the Maker of all things were constituted therein.

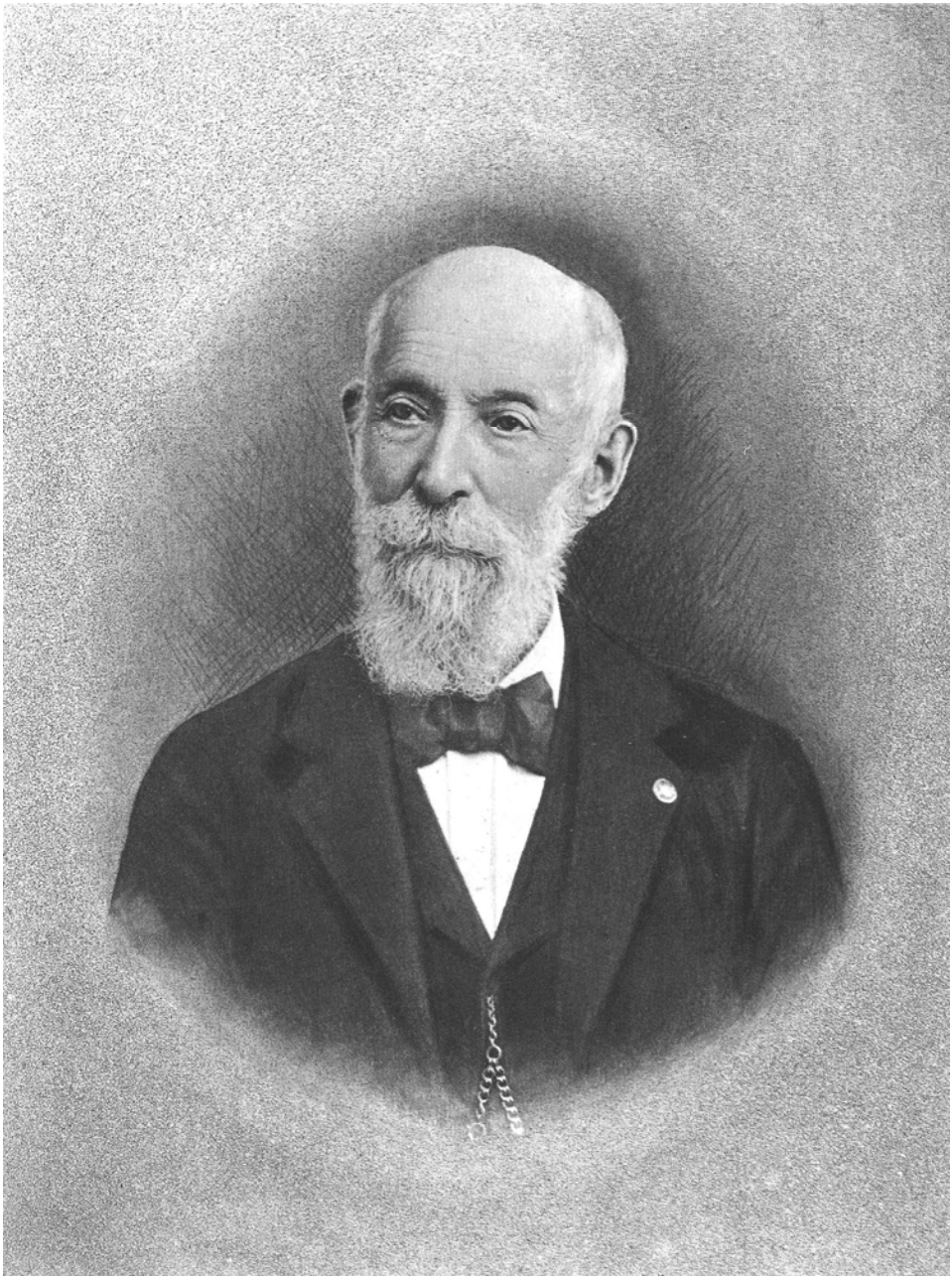
"Plutarch tells us that Numa built a temple in an orbicular form for the preservation of the sacred fire; intending by the fashion of the edifice to shadow out, not so much the earth as the whole universe; in the centre of which the Pythagoreans placed Fire, which they called Vesta and Unity. The Persians worshipped the circumference, but it could only refer to the apparent course of the sun in the firmament, which is the boundary of common observation; for the real circumference is far beyond the comprehension of finite man. And the sun, under the symbol of a point within a circle, was the great object of worship amongst the Dionysian artists who built the Temple of Solomon.

"The Monad further signified Chaos, the father of life, substance, the cause of Truth, reason, and the receptacle of all things. Also in greater and lesser it signified equal; in intention and remission, middle; in multitude, mean; in time, now, the present, because it consists in one part of time which is always present.[1] The cabalists considered that the first eternal principle is magical, and like a hidden fire, is eternally known in its colours, in the figure, in the wisdom of God, as in a looking-glass. The magical centre of the first principle is fire, which is as a spirit, without palpable substance."

"The learned Aben Ezra, on the 11th chapter of Daniel, says that the number one is in a manner the cause of all numbers, and it is besides a complete number; it causes multiplication and remainder, but does not admit of either itself. And in another place he says,

[1] "Macrob. in somn.," 1. i., s. 6.

THEODORE S. PARVIN



'Numbers are founded on the unit one.' The sage Latif observes the same. According to Euclid, in his second definition of the seventh book, numbers are formed of many units; but unity being indivisible, has no composition, nor is it a number, but the fountain and mother of all numbers. Being the cause of all numbers, they are formed by a plurality of units. Thus 2 is twice 1; 3 is three units, etc.; so that all numbers require the Monad, while it exists by itself without requiring any other. All which is to be considered of the first cause; for as one is no number, but the cause and beginning of number, so the First Cause has no affinity to creatures, but is the cause and beginning of them; they all stand in need of Him, and He requires assistance from none. He is all in all, and all are included in Him in the most simple unity. The Jewish Rabbins agree that He is One, and there is no unity like His in the universe; the nearest idea that we can form of Him is symbolized by the unit or figure one.[1]

"The Pythagoreans say, 'the Monad is the principle of all things. From the Monad came the indeterminate duad, as matters subjected to the cause. Monad, from the Monad and indeterminate duad; Numbers, from numbers; Points, points; Lines, from lines; Superfices, from superfices; Solids, from these solid Bodies, whose elements are four, Fire, Water, Air, Earth; of all which, transmuted, and totally changed, the World consists.'[2]

"But Freemasonry has a peculiar preference for the monad, which produces some very striking and remarkable coincidences in every nation under the sun. In an old ritual of the Fellow-Craft's degree, used about the middle of the last century, we find the following passage in reference equally to the first step of the winding staircase, the Point, and the letter G: 'God, the great Architect of the Universe, whom it is at all times our duty to worship and obey.' In a ritual still more ancient, the same meaning is rather differently expressed, *viz.,* 'the Grand Architect and Contriver of the Universe; or He that was taken up to the topmost pinnacle of the Holy Temple.'[3]

"This acknowledgment of the divine unity, or point within either a circle or a triangle, was common to all the systems of Spurious Freemasonry that ever existed, from India and Japan to the ex-

[1] Manasseh ben Israel, "Concil.," vol., p. 105.
[2] "Laert." in vit. Pyth. [3] Oliver.

tremest West, including the Goths, the Celts, and the aborigines of America. All acknowledge the unity of T. G. A. O. T. U., whether involved in the deepest ignorance, or refined by civilization and a knowledge of philosophy and science. The sages of Greece, through a series of wire-drawn reasoning, came to the same conclusion as the uninformed savages of Britain, Scandinavia, Mexico, or Peru.[1]

"Zoroaster is sublime in his description of the Deity; but he had enjoyed the advantage of associating with the learned Jews at Babylon, and from them, doubtless, he had acquired his knowledge. He taught that 'God is the first: incorruptible, eternal, unmade, indivisible, not like anything, the author of all good, the wisest of the wise, the father of justice, self-taught and absolutely perfect.' Anaximenes, the follower of Thaïes, like his master, was a bold and subtle reasoner, and called everything by its proper name. He denominated the one God Zeus, by which he intended to intimate that, like the air we breathe, He is infinite, omnipresent, and eternal. The Emperor Trajan, in a conversation with the Rabbi Joshua, hearing the latter say that 'God is everywhere present,' observed, 'I should like to see Him.' 'God's presence is indeed everywhere,' replied Joshua, 'but He cannot be seen; no mortal eye can behold His glory.' The Emperor insisted. 'Well,' said Joshua, 'suppose we try first to look at one of His ambassadors.' The Emperor consented. The Rabbi took him into the open at noonday, and bid him look at the sun in his meridian splendor. 'I cannot—the light dazzles me.' 'Thou art unable,' said Joshua, 'to endure the light of His creatures, and canst thou expect to behold the resplendent glory of the Creator? Would not such a sight annihilate you?'[2]

"Xenophanes, the principal leader of the Aleatic sect, entertained the same belief; and described that Great Being, whom they all admitted to be incomprehensible, as 'incorporeal, in substance, and figure globular; and in no respect similar to man. That He is all sight and hearing, but does not breathe. That He is all things; the mind and wisdom; not generate, but eternal, impassible, and immutable.' Parmenides held that 'the principle of all things is one; but that it is immovable.' Sophocles assures us that in his time, the belief in one God, who made heaven and earth, was prevalent among those who had been initiated into the Greater mysteries.

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[1] Oliver. [2] Goodhugh's "Lectures on Bibliographical Literature."

"Socrates and his pupil Plato maintained the same opinion. 'By the name of God,' said they, 'we mean the parent of the world; the builder of the soul; the maker of heaven and earth; whom it is difficult to know by reason of His incredible power; and if known, it is impossible to clothe our knowledge in words.' Anaxagoras contended for the supreme government of one God, but acknowledged that he was unable to comprehend his nature. His pupil, Euripides, however, was more fortunate, for he discovered the omnipresence of the Deity; and confessed it by asking whether it is possible to confine Him within the wall of a temple built with hands? Protagoras was banished by the Athenians for impiety in declaring that 'he knew nothing of the gods, because in so short a life it was impossible to acquire a knowledge of them.'

"Zeno taught the unity and eternity, of the Deity. Plutarch, learned in all the rites and doctrines of the Spurious Freemasonry of Egypt and Greece, expresses himself plainly on this point in his treatise of Isis and Osiris. Aristides believed and taught his disciples that 'Jove made all existing things, in the earth, the heavens, or the sea.' "

Thus was the doctrine of the Monad or unity, the first point in the *Pythagorean Triangle,* carried out in these early ages, and among an idolatrous people; for however they might worship an indefinite number of intelligences, they had discrimination enough to perceive that there could be only one Being of unbounded power, because a duplication of such beings would circumscribe the potency of each individual, and destroy his omnipotence and immutability. "It was idle," says Bryant, "in the ancients to make a disquisition about the identity of any god, as compared with another; and to adjudge him to Jupiter rather than to Mars, to Venus rather than Diana. According to Diodorus, some think that Osiris is Serapis; others that he is Dionysus; others still, that he is Pluto; many take him for Zeus or Jupiter, and not a few for Pan."

"The twofold reason of diversity and inequality, and of everything that is divisible in mutation, and exists sometimes one way, sometimes another, the Pythagoreans called Duad, for the nature of the Duad in particular things is such. These reasons were not confined to the Italic sect, but other philosophers also have left certain unitive powers which comprise all things in the universe; and amongst them there are certain reasons of quality, dissimilitude,

and diversity. Now these reasons, that the way of teaching might be more perspicuous, they called by the names of Monad and Duad; but it is all one amongst them if they be called biform, or equaliform, or diversiform."[1]

"From such definitions and principles it will not be difficult to see that the Duad was sufficiently comprehensive to admit of a vast number of references; and therefore the prolific fancy of poets and philosophers assigned to it a variety of remarkable qualities. Being even it was esteemed an unlucky number, and dedicated to the malignant genii and the infernal deities, because it conveyed to the mind ideas of darkness, delusion, versatility, and unsteady conduct."[2] For this reason, the Pythagoreans spoke of two kinds of pleasure, "whereof that which indulgeth to the belly and to lasciviousness, by profusion of wealth, they compared to the murderous songs of the Syrens; the other, which consists in things honest and just, comprising all the necessary indulgences of life, is quite as attractive as the former, and does not bring repentance in its train."[3] The Duad was considered indefinite and indeterminate, because no perfect figure can be made from two points only, which, if united, would merely become a right line; whence a notion was originated that it is defective in its principles, and superfluous in its application to the sciences. It signified also misfortune, from a general belief in its unpropitious qualities; and discord, because in music that which renders dissonances grating, is, that the sounds which form them, instead of uniting to produce harmony, are heard each by itself as two distinct sounds, though produced at one and the same time. Brand tells us[4] that there is a little history extant of the unfortunate reigns of William II., Henry II., Edward II., Richard II., Charles II., and James II., entitled "Numerus Infaustus"; in the preface to which the author says, "Such of the kings of England as were the Second of any name, proved very unfortunate princes."

"The number two was referred to Juno, because she was the sister and wife of Jove;[5] and hence the Duad became a symbol of marriage. On this subject Hierocles says two things are necessary to all men in order to pass through life in a becoming manner, *viz.*, the aid of kindred, and sympathetic benevolence. But we cannot

[1] Porph., "Hist. Phil.," p. 32. [2] Porph., "Vit. Pyth.," p. 84. [3] Ibid., p. 25.
[4] "Pop. Ant.," vol. iii., p. 145. [5] Mart. Capel., "Eulog. in somn. Scrip."

find anything more sympathetic than a wife, nor anything more kindred than children, both of which are afforded by marriage. And to produce these two beneficial effects, Callicratides gives the following excellent advice: 'Wedlock should be coadapted to the peculiar tone of the soul, so that the husband and wife may not only accord with each other in prosperous, but also in adverse, fortune. It is requisite, therefore, that the husband should be the regulator, master, and preceptor of his wife. The regulator, indeed, in paying diligent attention to her affairs; but the master, in governing and exercising authority over her; and the preceptor in teaching her such things as are fit for her to know.'

"But how unfortunate soever the Duad may have been esteemed as a general principle, it was not devoid of its share of beneficent properties to balance against those that were malignant or forbidding. 'The two principles,' said the *Paracelsic Lectures of Continental Masonry*, 'are not always at strife, but sometimes in league with each other, to produce good. Thus death and anguish are the cause of Fire, but fire is the cause of Life. To the abyss it gives sting and fierceness, else there would be no mobility. To the Light—world, essence, else there would be no production but an eternal Arcanum. To the world it gives both essence and springing, whence it becomes the cause of all things.' The Duad was defined by the Pythagoreans, 'the only principle of purity; yet not even, nor evenly even, nor unevenly even, nor evenly uneven.' It was an emblem of fortitude and courage, and taught that as a man ought to do no wrong, neither ought he to suffer any, without due sense and modest resentment of it; and therefore, according to Plutarch, the 'Ephori laid a mulct upon Sciraphidas, because he tamely submitted to many injuries and affronts, concluding him perfectly insensible to his own interest, as he did not boldly and honestly vindicate his reputation from the wrongs and aspersion which had been cast upon it; under the impression that he would be equally dull and listless in the defence of his country, if it should be attacked by a hostile invader.'

"The Duad was elevated by the ancient philosophers of the Italic sect into a symbol of Justice, because of its two equal parts. Hence Archytas, who was a follower of Pythagoras, says, 'The manners and pursuits of the citizens should be deeply tinctured with justice; for this will cause them to be sufficient to themselves,

and will be the means of distributing to each of them that which is due to him according to his desert. For thus also the sun, moving in a circle through the zodiac, distributes to everything on the earth, generation, nutriment, and an appropriate portion of life: administering, as if it were a just and equitable legislation, the excellent temperature of the seasons.'[1]

"It signified also science, because the demonstration of an unknown number or fact is produced from syllogistic reasonings on some other number or fact which is known; and this is deducible by the aid of science. It was further considered as a symbol of the soul, which is said to be divided into two parts, the rational and the irrational; the latter being subdivided into the irascible and the appetitive. The rational part enables us to arrive at the truth by contemplation and judgment; while the irrational uniformly impels the soul to evil. And it signifies Opinion, which must be either true or false; and Harmony, whence the ancients introduced music at their banquets along with wine; that by its harmonious order and soothing effect it might prove an antidote to the latter, which being drank intemperately, renders both mind and body imbecile."

"The Pythagorean philosophy," says Reuchlin,[2] "taught that the Monad and Duad were a symbol of the principles of the universe; for when we make inquiry into the causes and origin of all things what sooner occurs than one or two? That which we first behold with our eyes is the same, and not another; that which we first conceive in our mind is Identity and Alterity—one and two. Alcmaeon affirmed two to be many, which, he said, were contrarieties, yet unconfined and indefinite, as white and black, sweet and bitter, good and evil, great and small. These multiplicitous diversities the Pythagoreans designed by the number Ten, as proceeding from the Duad; *viz*., finite and infinite, even and odd, one and many, right and left, male and female, steadfast and moved, straight and crooked, light and darkness, square and oblong. These pairs are two, and therefore contrary; they are reduced all into ten, that being the most perfect number, as containing more kinds of numeration than the rest; even, odd; square, cube; long, plain; the first uncompounded, and first compounded, than which nothing is more ab-

[1] "Fragments" of Archytas, p. 16.

[2] "A. Cabal.," I., ii., p. 2.

solute, since in ten proportions four cubic numbers are consummated, of which all things consist."

"Categories, reducible in two, Substance and Accident, both springing from one essence; for ten so loves two, that from one it proceeds to two, and by it reverts into one. The first Ternary is of one and two, not compounded but consistent; one having no position, makes no composition; an unit, whilst an unit, hath no position, nor a point whilst a point. There being nothing before one, we rightly say, one is first; two is not compounded of numbers, but a co-ordination of units only. It is therefore the first number, being the first multitude; not commensurable by any number, but by a unit, the common measure of all number; for one, two, is nothing but two; so that the multitude which is called Triad, arithmeticians term the first number uncompounded, the Duad being not an uncompounded number, but rather not compounded."[1]

"The Chinese philosophers entertained similar fancies about the color of blue, which is formed by a mixture of red and black. This color, they say, 'being the color of heaven, represents the active and passive principle reunited in one; the male and female, the obscure and brilliant. All corporeal beings are produced by inapprehensible nature, emanating from blue, which forms the origin of all subtile natures.' In the science of astrology, which was very prevalent half a century ago, the signs were invested with significant colors. Thus it was said that Taurus was designated by white mixed with citron; Aries and Gemini, by white and red; Cancer, green and russet; Leo, red and green; Virgo, black speckled with blue; Libra, black or dark crimson; Scorpio, brown; Sagittarius, yellow or green; Capricorn, black or russet; Aquarius, a sky color or blue; and Pisces by a brilliant white."

"Nor were the Jews destitute of a respect for the number two; which was indeed inculcated in the Mosaical writings. Thus while the clean beasts were admitted into the ark of Noah by sevens, the unclean ones were allowed to enter by pairs. The angels that were deputed to destroy Sodom were two; Lot had two daughters; the sons of Isaac and the daughters of Laban were each two in number, as were also the sons of Joseph. Moses was directed to make two

[1] Colebrook, "Philosophy of the Hindus," p. 21.

cherubim; the Onyx-stones of remembrance on the high-priest's shoulders were two, to symbolize the Sun and Moon, as Josephus says; but Beda thinks they were emblematical of the faith and practice of the patriarchs and prophets, while others suppose, with greater probability, that the high-priest bore them on his shoulders to prefigure the manner in which Christ was to bear the sins of His people. The Jewish offerings were frequently directed to be by pairs; as two lambs, two pigeons, two turtles, two kids, etc. The waive loaves were two; and the shewbread was placed on the table in two rows; the silver trumpets to direct the march of the Israelites in the wilderness were the same number."

"Again, Joshua erected two monuments on passing the river Jordan, one in the bed of the river, and the other on its banks; the temples of Solomon and of Gaza were each supported on two pillars; Jeroboam made two golden calves, and set them up at Dan and Bethel; there were two witnesses against Naboth, as the Mosaic law required in cases affecting human life; and two bears were sent to vindicate the character of Elisha. In the case of Naaman the Syrian, we find the use of this number fully exemplified in the two mules' burden of earth—two young men of the sons of the prophets—two talents—two changes of garments—two servants, etc. In the visions of Daniel the ram had two horns; and in Zachariah we have two olive-trees, two anointed ones, and two staves called Beauty and Bands, an emblem of brotherhood. Similar coincidences might be found in the Gospels, but the detail would be tedious, and the result without utility, as far as regards Freemasonry."[1]

"In our system, the principle of the duad is plainly enunciated (although two is not esteemed a masonic number) in the two Pillars of the porch of Solomon's Temple, which were placed in that situation by the wise and judicious monarch, to commemorate the remarkable pillar of a cloud and of fire; the former of which proved a light and guide to the Israelites in their escape from their Egyptian oppression; the other represents the cloud which proved the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in their attempt to follow them through the depths of the Red Sea. Our noble and illustrious Grand Master placed them in this conspicuous situation, that

[1] Oliver.

the Jews might have that memorable event in their recollection, both in going in and coming out from divine worship."

In the spurious Freemasonry of some ancient nations, this principle of duality was extended to support the doctrine of a good and evil power, who possessed almost equal government in this lower world; and the prosperity or decadence of a nation was supposed to be produced by the superiority of one or other of these beings, which, however, was esteemed, in most cases, accidental. In Persia the doctrine attained its climax. Oromases was Light, and Ahriman, Darkness.

Hyde says, "The Magi did not look upon the two principles as co-eternal, but believed that light was eternal, and that darkness was produced in time;[1] and the origin of this evil principle they account for in this manner: Light can produce nothing but light, and can never be the origin of evil; how then was evil produced? Light, they say, produced several beings, all of them spiritual, luminous, and powerful; but their chief, whose name was Ahriman, had an evil thought contrary to the light. He doubted, and by that doubting he became dark. From hence proceeded all evils, dissension, malice, and everything also of a contrary nature to the light. These two principles made war upon one another, till at last peace was concluded, upon condition that the lower world should be in subjection to Ahriman for seven thousand years; after which space of time, he is to surrender back the world to the Light."[2]

In countries where the two principles were represented by two serpents, the solstitial colures were described under these symbols Thus in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, two serpents intersecting each other at right angles, upon a globe, denoted the earth. These rectangular intersections were at the solstitial points.[3] The Teutonic Masonry of the last century thus explained the two principles of Light and Darkness: "From the eternal centre is made the eternal substantiality as a body or weakness, being a sinking down, and the spirit is a springing up, whence comes motion, penetration, and multiplication; and when the spirit created the substantiality into an image, breathing the spirit of the Trinity into it, the whole essences, even all forms of nature, the power of Light and Dark-

[1] Darkness is the *absence* of light, cold is the *absence* of heat.—EDITOR.

[2] Hyde, "Rel. Ant. Pers.," c. ix., p. 163.

[3] Jablonski, "Panth. Eg.," I., i., c. 4, cited by Deane, p. 73.

ness, and the whole eternity, it instantly blossomed and became the paradise or angelical world. In the Darkness is the genetrix, in the Light is the wisdom: the first imaged by devils, the other by angels, as a similitude of the whole eternal being, to speak as a creature. And Lucifer, imaging beyond the meekness of the Trinity, kindled in himself the matrix of Fire, and that of nature becoming corporeal, then was the second form of the matrix, *viz*., the meekness of the substantiality enkindled, whence water originated, out of which was made an heaven to captivate the fire, and of that Fire and Water came the Stars."

CHAPTER IV

LEGENDS AND SYMBOLS IN THE SEVERAL DEGREES OF MASONRY

MOST Masonic writers of recent date have assumed that Speculative Masonry was founded upon the legends and symbols of antiquity. Dr. A. G. Mackey, in the preface to his valuable work on *Symbolism of Freemasonry,* says: "Of the various modes of communicating instruction to the uninformed, the Masonic student is particularly interested in two; namely, the instruction by legends, and that by symbols. It is to these two, almost exclusively, that he is indebted for all that he knows, and for all that he can know, of the philosophic system which is taught in the institution. All its mysteries and its dogmas, which constitute its philosophy, are intrusted, for communication, to the neophyte, sometimes to one, sometimes to the other of these two methods of instruction, and sometimes to both of them combined. The Freemason has no way of reaching any of the esoteric teachings of the Order except through the medium of a legend or a symbol."

It is greatly to be regretted that the most important legends of Masonry are so communicated and represented, when the degrees are conferred, as to impress upon the minds of the candidates the realisms, rather than the "allegories," which were originally designed as "veils" to conceal the "moral principles" of the system, and which are also "illustrated by symbols."

Legends have no documentary evidence of the truthfulness of the narrative or any authenticity. Such are the legends in the Masonic degrees. There is no authenticity whatever for the statements or representations. In fact, strict adherence to authentic history as contained in the "Great Light" of Masonry itself, contradicts the details of all the Masonic legends; hence we arrive at the truthfulness of the allegorical system, which was originally designed to teach the morality contained in the Institution.

The first three degrees of Freemasonry are in themselves allegorical, representing certain important principles in their enumeration. First, the introduction into Masonic Life and Light. Secondly, the progress during life in instruction—the life-work—education in all branches of useful knowledge. Thirdly, the decadence, death, and final disposition of the body, its resurrection, and the immortality of the soul.

In each of these degrees symbolisms are introduced, teaching important truths, which are calculated to impress upon the mind the value of the great moral principles thus visibly represented. Step by step, as the candidate advances in each degree, he learns the value of the gradation in moral lessons, by which his future life is to be guided. All of these are primarily referable to his first declaration of "Faith in God," "Hope in Immortality," and "Charity or Love to all Mankind."

In these we recognize the several "duties" incumbent upon all men, which were inculcated in every system of morality taught by the ancient patriarchs and philosophers—our duty to God, our duty to ourselves, and our duty to all men. In these are found the realisms of Masonry, and not in our legends and allegories, by which they are veiled and concealed.

Of what value to us, at the present day, are the representations of the manner in which the Craftsmen and Apprentices were distributed when the Temple of Solomon was under construction? Or when and how they received their wages? Every step, from the first admission of a candidate to the ante-room of a regularly constituted lodge, until he has become an obligated Mason, has its moral lesson. His preparation, admission, and subsequent progress is marked by a lesson, which it is intended shall be carefully studied by the candidate for his future guidance in life. The following sections of that degree are lessons, explanatory and instructive, in the art of Masonry. The first section of the second and third degrees are similar to that of the first; and the following sections are strictly instructive and allegorical. The instructions in all three of these degrees is by symbols and emblematical representations. The science of symbolism is perhaps as old as any other science—the learning of the ancient world was originally conveyed by symbolism. At the present day philosophy treats only on abstract propositions. Freemasonry, however, retaining its traditions, continues the ancient

method as the best means of imparting its moral lessons—by symbols—which word, derived from the Greek, means to compare one thing by another. This method of instruction, or "object teaching," is employed in schools at the present day. It is the language of poetry. The "legend" is a spoken symbol and is employed in Masonic teaching, in some countries is an acted drama, in others it is merely recited or read; in both, it is designed to convey to the mind important moral truths. It is the province of the initiated candidate to investigate these symbols and allegories to draw out from them the philosophies and moral lesson concealed by them. It has been well said that "Freemasonry is the Science of Morality, veiled in Allegory, and illustrated by Symbols." We personally do not claim for Freemasonry the title of a science, but we do insist that it comprehends all true philosophy. Its fundamental principle is a belief in God, without which there can be neither morality or philosophy. The second principle taught in Masonry is the immortality of the soul; and the third principle is the resurrection of the body. These constitute the philosophy of Freemasonry. It is upon these principles that ail the ancient religions were founded. In the belief of all the ancients in a Deity, we find a multiplicity of gods; yet, in all of them, there was a chief god, who was so far above all the others as to constitute a distinct Deity. Most of these ancient religions contemplated a Triune God.

"The rites of that science which is now received under the appellation of Freemasonry, were exercised in the Antediluvian World; revived by Noah after the flood; practised by mankind at the building of Babel, conveniences for which were undoubtedly contrived in the interior of that celebrated edifice; and at the dispersion spread with every settlement, already deteriorated by the gradual innovations of the Cabiric Priests and modelled into a form, the great outlines of which are distinctly to be traced in the mysteries of every heathen Nation, exhibiting the shattered remains of one true system whence they were all derived.

"The rites of idolatry were indeed strikingly similar and generally deduced from parallel practices, previously used by the true Masons; for idolatry was an imitative system, and all its ceremonies and doctrines were founded on the general principles of the patriarchal religion. If the patriarch united in his own person the three offices of king, priest, and prophet, the secret assemblies of

idolatry were also governed by a Triad, consisting of three supreme offices; if primitive Masonry was a system of Light, the initiated heathen equally paid divine honors to the Sun, as the source of light, by circumambulating *in the course of that luminary,* during the ceremony of initiation."[1]

Sammes, in his *Britannia,*[2] says: "The Mysteries of the Cabiric rites were accounted so sacred and powerful that whosoever was initiated in them, immediately secured, as they thought, some extraordinary gifts of holiness, and that in all their dangers they had a present remedy and expedient about them to deliver and rescue them; but that which most affected the Phoenicians was a confidence they had that those religious ceremonies preserved them from dangers by sea; therefore it is no wonder that, arriving in Britain, they taught the inhabitants that worship to which they held themselves most obliged for their safety."

In the above extract from Oliver reference is made to the rite of *circumambulation.* Every Mason will recognize that rite as an essential one in every degree of Masonry, both ancient and those degrees invented since 1717. Pythagoras required his initiates to pass *three* years in silence and darkness before admission to the mysteries. In all the ancient rites of the Orient the candidate was conducted by devious ways over many rough and rugged paths, and encountered various obstacles, and had to pass through the cold air, and water, the fire, and at last the earth, which four elements were symbols of purification, and lustrations by these were requisite before the postulant could receive the higher mysteries and become an *epopt.*

"The uniformity of practice which attended the progress of error in different nations is truly astonishing. They equally used the Ambrosia? Petræ as vehicles of regeneration; they shrouded their rites under the impenetrable mask of secresy; they possessed the same mode of instruction by symbols, allegory, and fable; the same repugnance to committing their abstruse secrets to writing; the same system of morality; the same attachment to amulets, telesmans, and perhaps Magic; and equally inculcated the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which were alike pantomimically exhibited during the initiations."[3]

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[1] Oliver's "Signs and Symbols," pp. 4, 5. [2] Ibid., p. 55. [3] Ibid., p. 5.

"The old Asiatic style, so highly figurative, seems, by what we find of its remains in the prophetic language of the sacred writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the mode of the ancient hieroglyphics; for, as in hieroglyphic writing, the sun, moon, and stars were used to represent States and empires, kings, queens, and nobility, their eclipse and extinction, temporary disasters, or entire overthrow, fire and flood, desolation by war and famine, plants or animals, the qualities of particular persons, etc.; so, in like manner, the holy prophets call kings and empires by the names of the heavenly luminaries; their misfortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and extinction; stars falling from the firmament are employed to denote the destruction of the nobility; thunder and tempestuous winds, hostile invasions; lions, bears, leopards, goats, or high trees, leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empires; royal dignity is described by purple or a crown; iniquity by spotted garments; error and misery by an intoxicating draught; a warrior by a sword or bow; a powerful man by a gigantic stature; and a judge by balance, weights, and measures. In a word the prophetic style seems to be a speaking hieroglyphic."[1]

Pythagoras expressed his mystical system by symbols which were explained to the initiated and were not comprehended by the rest of the world. His secrets were forbidden to be committed to writing and were communicated orally as ineffable mysteries. The Pythagoreans conversed with each other mostly by the sign language; instruction by symbols was found useful in impressing on the mind the most comprehensive truths, and it is said was adopted from Masonry into all the mystic associations: "The most ancient and such as were contemporary with, and disciples of Pythagoras, did not compose their writings intelligibly, in a common vulgar style, familiar to every one, as if they endeavored to dictate things readily perceptible by the hearer, but consonant to the silence decreed by Pythagoras, concerning divine mysteries, which it is not lawful to speak of before those who were not initiated; and therefore clouded both their mutual discourses and writings by symbols; which, if not expounded by those that proposed them, by a regular interpretation appear to the hearers like old wives' proverbs, trivial and foolish; but, being rightly explained, and instead

[1] Warburton's "Divine Legation," B. IV., s. iv.

of dark rendered lucid and conspicuous to the vulgar, they discovered an admirable sense, no less than the divine oracles of Pythian Apollo; and give a divine inspiration to the Philologists that understand them."[1]

The Druids used hieroglyphics which, with much reluctance, were communicated even to their initiates themselves. These symbols were imitated from natural objects. Of a man of enlarged mind it was said, "*he is an oak*;" an irresolute and wavering person was an "*Aspen-leaf;*" one who was deceitful was a "*Reed*."[2] The Druids used geometrical figures as lines, angles, squares, and perpendiculars as symbols. They did not use enclosed temples, as being thought by them inconsistent with the dignity and majesty of the gods; they did not employ carved images to represent deities, but employed the rude undressed stones, such as they found in the hills or on sides of mountains, which were erected in their circles for worship, which were marked out by rude stone pillars surrounding an altar placed in the centre. They also constructed of similar stones long passages between two rows of such stones. Some of these passages were miles in extent.

In Egypt, in all probability, originated those passages, where we find the remains of them as sphinxes, obelisks, and catacombs, all of which no doubt were erected for the observance of their mystic rites. Clement of Alexandria says: "Sphynxes were erected in front of temples and places of initiation, to denote that all sacred truth is enfolded in enigmatical fables and allegories."[3]

In the Egyptian mysteries the candidate was instructed in this as an ineffable secret, that the mysteries were received from Adam, Seth, Enoch; and in the last degree the postulant, after the completion of his initiation, was called, from the name of the Deity, AL-OM-JAH; pronounced Allhawmiyah. In India, the completed initiate was instructed in the great word, A. U. M., pronounced OME (o long); we thus see that the same word was used in Egypt as the second word. It has been supposed by some that these were initials of three certain names of Deity, *viz.:* Agni, Fire; Ushas, Dawn; and Mitra, Mid-day Sun, all of them referring to "Light" in its different degrees of intensity. In the higher degrees in Freemasonry these letters appear, having a deep significance, which we

[1] Stanley's "Life of Pythagoras," B. IV., ch. i.
[2] Davis, "Celt. Res.," p. 247.
[3] Clement of Alexandria, Lib. V., ch. iv.

are not at liberty here to say more of. We may here quote from Dr. Oliver: "It is an extraordinary fact that there is scarcely a single ceremony in Freemasonry but we find its corresponding rite in one or other of the idolatrous mysteries; and the coincidence can only be accounted for by supposing that these mysteries were derived from Masonry. Yet, however they might assimilate in ceremonial observances, an essential difference existed in the fundamental principles of the respective institutions. The primitive veneration for *Light* accompanied the career of Masonry from the creation to the present day, and will attend its course until time expires in eternity; but in the mysteries of idolatry this veneration soon yielded its empire over men's minds, and fell before the claims of darkness; for a false worship would naturally be productive of impure feelings and vicious propensities." It is true, indeed, that the first Egyptians worshipped ON (A. U. N. in Hebrew, but pronounced Own) as the chief deity, who was supposed to be the eternal Light; and hence he was referred to the Sun as its great source and emanation. Thus it was said that *God* dwelt in the Light, his *Virtue* in the Sun, and his *Wisdom* in the Moon. But this worship was soon debased by superstitious practices. The idolaters degenerated into an adoration of Serpents and Scorpions, and other representatives of the evil spirit; and, amidst the same *profession* of a profound reverence for Light, became most unaccountably enamoured of Darkness; and a Temple near Memphis was dedicated to *Hecate Scotia*,[1] which was styled the Lord of the Creation, and in some respects deemed oracular. The superstition of Egypt which gave divine honors to Darkness spread throughout the world of idolatry, upon the principle that Darkness of Night, which existed in Chaos before the Creation of Light, was of superior antiquity. They therefore gave precedence to Night; and hence to signify the revolving of the earth they said a night and a day. Even the Jews began their time with the evening or commencement of darkness, as in Genesis i. 2, 3. Moses said God created Light out of Darkness. (1 Kings viii. 12, 2; Chron. vi. 1; Psalms xviii. 9.) Darkness was considered the incomprehensible Veil of Deity.

In the Orphic Fragments Night is celebrated as the parent of

[1] "Diod. Sic," B. I., ch. vii.

gods and men and the origin of all things. In all the rites of initiation Darkness was saluted with three distinct acclamations; hence we may see that before the Aspirant could participate in the "higher mysteries "he was placed in a coffin, bed or *pastos,* or was subjected to confinement for a period of time, in seclusion and *darkness* for reflection, which custom is still employed in some secret societies. This was a representation of the symbolic death of the mysteries; when he was released from that ceremony, it was to indicate his deliverance, and represented the act of regeneration or being born again, or *being raised from the dead.*

We learn from Clement of Alexandria that in the formulary of one who had been initiated he was taught to say, "I have descended into the bed-chamber." Dr. Oliver says: "The ceremony here alluded to was, doubtless, the same as the descent into Hades; and I am inclined to think that when the Aspirant entered into the Mystic Cell, *he was directed to lay himself down -upon the bed, which shadowed out the tomb or coffin of the Great Father.* This process was equivalent to his entering into the infernal ship; and while stretched upon the holy couch, *in imitation of his figurative deceased prototype,* he was said to be wrapped in the deep sleep of death. *His resurrection from the bed was his restoration to life,* or his regeneration into a new world; and it was virtually the same as his return from Hades, or his emergence from the gloomy cavern, or his liberation from the womb of the ship-goddess."[1]

The time required for this ceremony or imitation of death was generally for the space of three days and nights; but was varied in different localities. *Nine* days in Great Britain were required for the solitary confinement. In Greece three times nine days. In Persia it extended to fifty days and nights of darkness, want of rest and fasting. The remains in Great Britain of the places where the ceremonies were observed by the Ancient Druids are very numerous and well known at the present day, and have been referred to in a former part of this sketch. Among these are the remains of the celebrated Kit's Cotti House, near Maidstone. "This was a dark chamber of probation, for Kit is no other than Ked, or Ceridwen, the British Ceres; and Cotti or Cetti meant an Ark or Chest; and hence the compound word referred to the Ark of the diluvian god

[1] Fab. Pag. Idol in Oliver's "Signs and Symbols," p. 79.

Noah, whose mysterious Rites were celebrated in Britain; and Ceridwen was either the consort of Noah, or the Ark itself symbolically the great Mother of Mankind. The peculiar names which these monuments still retain throughout the kingdom, are a decisive proof that they were appropriated, almost exclusively, to this purpose."[1]

Near a village in Somersetshire called Stanton Drew, or *Druid Stones,* there are the evidences of a rude structure which originally consisted of three circles of stones and an Adytune or a Pastos. There were various other similar structures in different parts of Britain, evidences of the prevalence of these ceremonies, religious in their character.

The initiation into the mysteries was a most important part of the religious worship; and all those who held any important place as priest or legislator, must pass through all their religious ceremonies, as indispensable preliminaries to their advancement, by *the solitary confinement in the darkened Pastos.* "The religionists of those days considered initiation as necessary as the Christians do baptism."[2]

We have referred, in a former page, to the several steps in the progress of initiation in the mysteries of the several degrees in Freemasonry, and that all of these were symbols by which the various principles sought to be inculcated were thus illustrated. Each individual item was emphasized as the candidate progressed; when he was prepared in the ante-room, *viz.,* his raiment, which should always be pure white, to represent that he was a *candidate,* from the Latin *candidus,* which means *white.* The peculiar arrangement of this raiment, in each degree, is explained in the lecture appertaining to each, as also the Zennaar[3] which accompanies the raiment of each degree, which is in Freemasonry denominated a Cable-tow. The different degrees require a different disposal of this cable-tow; in each there is a distinct symbolism, known only to the initiated. The candidate thus prepared is in darkness as to what he is to encounter, ignorant of what will be revealed to him in his progress in

[1] Oliver, "Signs and Symbols," p. 80.

[2] Warburton, "Divine Legation," B. IL, s. iv.

[3] The Zennaar in Hindustan was a cord composed of nine threads twisted into a knot at the end, and hanging from the left shoulder to the right hip. The Masonic scarf takes the place of the Zennaar.

the various steps of his initiation; he is to be regenerated, *born again* into a new world of mysteries; as he was originally born into the world of physical light, so now he is to be born again into the moral and intellectual Light of Freemasonry. The following preliminary steps are purely ritualistic, and each Mason who has passed through them can for himself apply the symbols to their appropriate significations. It would be well for us just here to call to mind what has been said by others on this method of instruction in the Church. In the Explanation of the Symbolism of the *Mass,* Bishop England said that in every ceremony we must look for three meanings. "The first, the literal, natural, and it may be said, the original meaning; the second, the figurative or emblematic signification; and thirdly, the pious or religious meaning; frequently the last two will be found the same; sometimes all three will be found combined." Bro. A. G. Mackey, in quoting the above extract from the "Churchman," makes the following just comment: "The Roman Catholic Church is, perhaps, the only contemporaneous institution which continues to cultivate, in any degree, the beautiful system of symbolism. But that which, in the Catholic Church, is, in a great measure, incidental, and the fruit of development, is, in Freemasonry, the very life-blood and soul of the institution, born with it at its birth, or rather, the germ from which the tree has sprung, and still giving it support, nourishment, and even existence. Withdraw from Freemasonry its symbolism, and you take from the body its soul, leaving behind nothing but a lifeless mass of effete matter, fitted only for a rapid decay."[1]

The candidate, after his admission to the lodge-room, follows the ancient custom of all the mysteries in a perambulation, which is a symbol of the Sun in his annual course through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, as also his diurnal course from east to west by way of the south. The candidates in the mysteries were said to "imitate the Sun and follow his beneficent example." This symbolism referred to the custom of Pythagoras, who required his candidates to pass *three* years in silence and in darkness. The various obstructions met with in this "circumambulation" were in imitation of those encountered in the Ancient Mysteries, but of quite a different character, as in the Ancient Mysteries these obstructions were

[1] Mackey, "Symbolism of Freemasonry," p. 74.

to severely test the courage and persistence of the candidate, and often resulted in the death of the individual; and in some of their underground passages which have been explored in modern times, evidences have been discovered that many persons thus lost their lives.

After the most solemn and impressive ceremonies, whereby the postulant becomes a Mason, he is brought to Light in Masonry by a symbolism, faint indeed, but highly significant of a great event in the history of creation. All that follows is instruction in the science and morals of Masonry. Each degree in Masonry is divided into "Sections"—the first section is always the Rite of Initiation. The other sections are for the instruction of the Neophyte, the second section being a rehearsal of the various steps in the first section, and exoteric reasons for these. The following sections contain the morals and dogmas in the several different degrees appertaining to each. In the Fellow-Craft's degree the second section is a pure allegorical representation; no intelligent Mason can for a moment accept it other than an Allegory. As such there is nothing more impressive than the important lessons in each part of the representations. The American Rite differs from all others in the arrangement and number of the steps, and in some particulars there are other differences along the whole line. That this legend of the second degree is an allegory we have simply to consult the only history of King Solomon's Temple as found in the "Great Light" and we will find that there was no possibility of adapting our Masonic ritual to that structure. In the sixth chapter of the First Book of Kings we read: "The door for the Middle Chamber was in the right side of the house; and they Went up with winding stairs into the Middle Chamber and out of the Middle Chamber into the third." Dr. Mackey, in commenting on this passage, says:[1] "Out of this slender Material has been constructed an Allegory, which if properly considered, in its symbolical relations, will be found to be of surpassing beauty. But it is only as a symbol that we can regard this whole tradition; for the historical facts alike forbid us for a moment to suppose that the legend as it is rehearsed in the second degree of Masonry is anything more than a magnificent philosophical myth."

[1] "Symbolism of Freemasonry," p. 215.

In addition to what Dr. Mackey has said, we would say that the middle and third chamber mentioned in the text referred to were the chambers on the north and south sides of the Temple mentioned in the same chapter of First Kings and fifth and sixth verses: Fifth, "And against the wall of the house, he built chambers round about, the walls of the house about, of the temple and the oracle;[1] and made chambers round about." Sixth, "The nethermost chamber five cubits broad, and the middle six cubits broad, and the third seven cubits broad: for without of the house he made narrowed rests round about that *the beams* should not be fastened in the walls of the house."

Then followed in the eighth verse, same chapter, as to where the door was to these three tiers of chambers, in the "right side of the house," *viz.*, at the east end, inside of the porch or vestibule. We take occasion at this place to say that in all of our rituals our lodge-rooms are diametrically opposite in their "Orientation" to that of the Temple, which it is supposed we copy, *viz.:* the east of a Masonic lodge-room is at the end opposite to the "entrance." Now the entrance to the Temple was at the east end, and the "Oracle," or Holy of Holies, was at the west end, where we now place the presiding officer, and all Masonic bodies claim it to be the "East" or "Orient."

The situation of Solomon's Temple, on Mount Moriah, on the eastern side of the City of Jerusalem, now occupied by several mosques of the Mohammedan worship, the central building being the mosque of Omar; the topography of that part of the city militates against every legend and myth in our Masonic rituals in all the various rites, and thus is destroyed any attempt at realism in our degrees, which many very excellent Brethren still adhere to in their firm belief in the "Masonry of the Temple." We again refer to Dr. Mackey for his comments on this point: "Let us inquire into the true design of this legend and learn the lesson of symbolism which it is intended to teach. In the investigation of the true meaning of every Masonic symbol and allegory, we must be governed by the single principle that the whole design of Freemasonry as a speculative science, is the investigation of divine truth. To this great object everything is subsidiary. The Mason is from the mo-

[1] Sanctum Sanctorum.

ment of his initiation as an Entered Apprentice, to the time at which he receives the full fruition of Masonic light, an investigator —a laborer in the quarry and the temple—whose reward is the Truth. All the ceremonies and traditions of the order tend to this ultimate design. Is there light to be asked for? It is the intellectual light of wisdom and truth. Is there a word to be sought? That word is the symbol of Truth. Is there a loss of something that has been promised? That loss is typical of the failure of Man, in the infirmity of his nature, to discover divine truth. Is there a substitute to be appointed for that loss? It is an allegory, which teaches us that in this world, man can only approximate to the full conception of truth."[1]

The proper lesson in the Allegory of the Fellow-Craft's degree is to teach the Seeker after Truth that the intellectual faculties must be cultivated and educated by a regular course of instruction in the liberal arts and sciences. In the Entered Apprentice degree the candidate has been instructed in the moral and fundamental principles so essentially necessary for the proper and due performance of his several duties in life, to God, his neighbor, and himself.

All Speculative Masonry must be philosophical. No man can become truly a Speculative Mason without a knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences. It is in the second degree that the postulant learns of Operative and Speculative Masonry, and these two divisions are simply described in the lecture. The candidate must apply himself diligently to those seven arts and sciences enumerated and symbolized by the seven steps in order to appreciate Speculative Freemasonry. Does anyone imagine that the eighty thousand craftsmen at the building of the Temple were instructed in those seven liberal arts and sciences? That there was among them all, or in that day anyone, who understood the mechanics of the heavens or who did believe that the Sun was the center of the solar system, and that the Earth was in annual revolution around the sun, and diurnal rotation on its own axis? And yet these two principles are the foundation of astronomy.

In our rituals of the United States, the winding stairs are divided into three sets of odd numbers. The ancient temples were all approached by steps, odd in number; and Vitruvius, the most an-

[1] Mackey, "Symbolism of Freemasonry," p. 216.

cient writer on architecture, assigns the reason to be that, commencing with the right foot at the bottom, the worshipper would find the same foot foremost when he entered the temple, which was considered a fortunate omen. Dr. Mackey thinks, however, that Masonry derives the use of odd numbers from Pythagoras, in whose system of philosophy it plays an important part, and in which odd numbers were considered as more perfect than even ones. Tracing boards of the 18th century show only five steps, delineated, and in some there are seven. The lectures used in England in the commencement of the present century, according to Preston, make as many as thirty-eight, in sums of one, three, five, seven, nine, and eleven.

After the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813, Dr. Hemming, the Senior Grand Warden, in his new lectures corrected the error in having an even number (38), by striking out the eleven. In the United States these numbers were changed to three, five, and seven, making fifteen. Like all intellectual acquirements there must be a gradual increase in knowledge. The postulant at his approach to the ascending scale of knowledge is primarily instructed in the lessons of the three steps; having acquired these, he advances to the next ascent of five, wherein he is instructed in the human senses, so essentially necessary for the apprehension of all physical knowledge of the objective world. Now, inasmuch as the comfort and happiness of mankind is greatly added to in the best methods of construction of our dwellings, as also all public structures, the science of building is taught by showing the fundamental principles of architecture as illustrated in the five Orders derived from the three original Orders of the Greeks. In the next steps the candidate rises to the highest position of intellectual cultivation in the liberal arts and sciences. Having attained to this elevation, he is entitled to his reward, which is denominated "wages." Here is introduced another allegory, which is derived from a scriptural passage, and is designed to prove the value of a secret pass-word, in all of our Masonic degrees, which is to distinguish a friend from a foe, and by which is proved the right of a member to admission to the lodge, and should always be given before opening the lodge, and by every member or visitor before admission. This is often entirely neglected in some jurisdictions.

King Solomons Temple as a Masonic Symbol.

Prior to 1860—many writers on Masonry held to the opinion that Speculative Masonry dates its origin from the building of King Solomon's temple by Jewish and Tyrian artisans, and, no doubt, general assent was given to the proposition; but subsequent authorities in Masonic history do not now concur therein.

Speculative philosophy existed prior to the construction of the Temple, but we may conjecture that in the formation of the rituals of the three degrees of Symbolic Masonry, the authors took the Temple and its construction as symbols, whereby the instructions in the moral principles, which formed the foundation of Speculative Masonry, were conveyed to the initiates. The very spirit of all of our lectures proves conclusively that when they were formulated they were designed to teach pure trinitarian Christianity, and while the Jewish scriptures did forecast the intermediary of a *Christos,* as all the ancient heathen mysteries did also, yet Jesus Christ as shown and demonstrated in the writings of the New Testament, was not understood by the Jewish writers of the Old Testament, nor by but very few of that faith since. The first three degrees taken in connection with the Holy Royal Arch, as they have always been with our Brethren of England, certainly show pure Christianity, as taught throughout the writings of the New Testament scriptures. It is possible that the investigations which for many years have engaged the earnest and serious attention of students of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge of London, may result in determining the period when our Masonic lectures were definitely formulated. We know historically that, commencing with the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, the separation of Masonic "Work" into distinct degrees did not occur earlier than 1719.[1] From that date, those who aided in the progressive movement were, first, Dr. Anderson and Dr. Desaguliers; by whom, principally, the "work "was divided into the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow of the Craft, and Master; second, Entick, by whom, perhaps, the lectures of the degrees were first clearly divided; the third one who made important and valuable improvements in the lectures was Hutchinson; and about the same period Dunckerly made many additions and subse-

[1] Chaps. xxxiii.-xxxvi., Part II. of this work.

quently united with Hutchinson, in the improvement of the work and lectures of the three degrees. The fourth attempt to improve the lectures was by William Preston. He entered the door of Masonry in a Lodge of the Ancients, but subsequently became a member of a Lodge of the Moderns. Preston's lectures recommended themselves at once to the more literary class of Masons, and toward the close of the 18th century were the prevailing lectures, and were introduced into all the English working lodges in the Colonies except in Pennsylvania, where we have understood the work and lectures of the ancients continued to prevail and are more or less the work and lectures of the present day.

When the two rival Grand Lodges of England united in 1813 and became the "United Grand Lodge," Dr. Hemming, the Senior Grand Warden of the new Grand Lodge, was intrusted with the work of preparing a new set of lectures and arranging the floor work of the three degrees and reconciling any discrepancies. This was the last change in the English work and lectures in England. About the close of the 18th century in the last decade Thomas Smith Webb, who became very conspicuous as a Masonic scholar in the northern part of the United States, made many changes in the work and lectures of all the several degrees in Masonry as far as they had been introduced into the country. Jeremy L. Cross, of Vermont, became his scholar, and about 1816 he too "took a hand " at the lectures and made changes in Webb's work; so that now, in all the States of the Union except, as before said, in Pennsylvania, the Webb-Preston work and lectures prevail.

The first section in all the degrees in Masonry is the initiatory rite. So soon as the candidate in any degree has been obligated he is essentially a Mason of that degree, and as such is entitled to all the secrets and mysteries appertaining to that degree; hence every following section in any degree comprises instructions and explanations of the several steps in the initiatory section of the degree.

In the third degree, the second section is a dramatical representation of the "Legend." To ordinary minds, unaccustomed to allegorical representations, it is received as a true representation of a real occurrence. Scholars who have critically examined and compared all the circumstances of the allegorical representation, are well satisfied that such an occurrence could not have happened in

the locality represented. The situation of the Temple and the surrounding topographical features all forbid any such circumstances as are related in the Legend. Hence we must assume that our authors of the legend intended it to be the culminating Symbol of Ancient Craft Masonry. In that legend is carried out to its ultimate extent the grand idea which prevailed and dominated every one of the Ancient Mysteries of the Oriental religious rites, and when we carefully "read between the lines" we learn how very near to the fundamental principles of "Christianity" all of those religious rites approached, even in their ignorance of what Dr. Oliver and Dr. Mackey have denominated "true Masonry." True Masonry, as originally designed, was intended to be strictly "Trinitarian Christianity," and every step taken in Masonry prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, in 1717, was Christian, and no one could be a Mason who was not such, and was true to "Mother Church," as all the Ancient Manuscripts prove, and in some Grand Lodges in Europe this test is still required and a Jew or an infidel is excluded. Perhaps the change made in this direction, after 1717, admitting only those who professed a belief in God as being the only test of eligibility, has done good, by spreading abroad all the valuable principles involved in our several lectures, founded, as they all are, upon *Faith* in God, and having no other dogma. To this end was the legend of the third degree invented, and the secret *mysteries* of the whole of Masonry are concealed in the *substitute* when properly interpreted, as that should be, and not as now generally explained, which has no meaning whatever. When properly explained, it agrees *precisely* with *that* for which it *was* substituted.[1]

Notwithstanding the conclusion reached by Dr. Mackey in the Chapter XXXI. referred to, we do not fully agree with him, but believe that the origin of the Mysteries involved in the third degree were invented some time subsequent to the organization in 1717; and that, perhaps, Chevalier Ramsay *may* have been the author, or, with the priests in the College at Clermont, have concocted those secrets, and invented the Royal Arch degree, which he brought with him into England, and endeavored to introduce into the work of the Grand Lodge of England. We know that the degree was finally introduced into the work of the "Ancients" of

[1] See in this work ch. xxxi., p. 290 *et sequiter*.

Dermott, and subsequently, by Dunckerly, into the old Grand Lodge of England, of which he was a very conspicuous and distinguished member. Through him the third degree was so altered that to obtain the original essential secrets of that degree it became requisite to take the Royal Arch degree. Now, in the Ancient and Accepted Rite the degree of "Mason of the Royal Arch," which is essentially the same as the Ramsay degree, is so nearly like the English Royal Arch degree that we may say they are both from the same original source. Everyone who is familiar with these several degrees must confess there is a family likeness, and they all concur, in their essential features, in demonstrating that the religious elements are the same.[1]

In reference to the occult science in India, we take the following extract from Louis Jacolliot, as translated by Willard L. Felt:

"Remember my Son, that there is only one God, the Sovereign Master and Principal of all things, and that the Brahmins should worship him in secret; but learn also that this is a mystery, which should never be revealed to the vulgar herd:—otherwise great harm may befall you. [Words spoken by the Brahmins upon receiving a candidate for initiation according to Vrihaspati.]"

Creator

Brahma A Agni

Creation

[Preserver] [Destroyer]

Vishnu Ushas U Mitra Siva

Preservation Transformation

This triangular arrangement of the great name, AUM, recognized as the WORD in the higher Mysteries in India, as the One God referred to in the above extract, represents the Triune God of all the Ancient Mysteries of the Oriental religions.

Under the head of Freemasonry, Chapter II., page 484, Dr. Mackay says:

"Krause gives ample proof that the Colleges of Artificers made use of symbols derived from the implements and usages of their craft. We need not be surprised at this, for the symbolic idea was, as we know, largely cultivated by the ancients. Their mythology, which was their religion, was made up out of a great system of symbolism. Sabaism, their first worship, was altogether symbolic,

[1] See in this work ch. xxii., pp. 135 to 139; also ch. xxvi., p. 178.

and out of their primitive adoration of the simple forces of nature, by degrees and with the advancement of civilization, was developed a multiplicity of deities, every one of which could be traced for his origin to the impersonation of a symbol. It would, indeed, be strange if, with such an education, the various craftsmen had failed to have imbued their trades with that same symbolic spirit which was infused into all their religious rites and their public and private acts."

In plates 1 and 2 (pages 1718 and 1720) we have shown a very few of the symbols used by the Ancients in their mythologies, and which are copied from Calmet, and herewith is a short description of each.

Figure 1, plate 1, is an Indian representation of Vishnu, the second person of the Trimurti—the semblance of the God, is seated on a lotus-plant having four arms, and in each hand a peculiar emblem is displayed. The stem is supported by Vishnu, represented as an immense turtle. A huge serpent encircles the pillar; the gods hold the tail part and the *daityas* or demons hold the opposite end. By pulling the serpent alternately the sea was converted into milk, and then into butter, and from this was obtained the *Amrita* or water of life which was drank by the Immortals.

Figure 2 represents Brahma seated on a lotus flower after the deluge. Calmet supposes it to represent Noah and his three sons. The connection between numbers one and two may be seen in the conch shells shown in the hands, and the chains of pearls around the necks.

Figure 4 represents the Sun-God and Deus Lunus.

Figures 3, 5, and 6 are different forms of Nergal. The word *Ner-Gal* divides into two parts: *Ner* signifies light, or luminary, etc., and *gal* signifies to roll, revolve, a revolution, a circuit, the two together implies the revolving or returning light. If this be truly descriptive of Nergal, there is nothing improbable in considering the cock as allusive to it, since the vigilance of the cock is well known, and that he gives due notice of the very earliest reappearance of light morning after morning. There are different senses in which *light* may be taken, besides its reference to natural light.

"1st. Deliverance from any singular danger, or distress. Esth. viii. 16.

"2dly. Posterity; a son, or successor, 1 Kings xi. 36; 2 Chron. xxi. 7.

"3dly. Resurrection, or something very like it. Job xxxiii. 28, 30; Psalm xcvii. 11."

In the figures 3, 5, and 6 there is no allusion to the first of these principles, but they have a strong reference to the second, Posterity, and the idea of fecundity is expressed in the adaptation of the figure of a cock, which signifies the returning of light. In figure 5, which is taken from a gem in the Gallery at Florence, Italy, two cocks are yoked to the car of Cupid, and driven by one Cupid and led by another; and not merely as if harnessed to a common car, but as if they had been in a race and had come off victorious; as the driving Cupid carries a palm-branch, which is the reward of victory, obtained by these his emblematical coursers.

In figure 3 we have a car with a cock standing in the attitude of crowing and flapping his wings; which is the custom of this bird on certain occasions. The star shown is the Star of Venus, and distinguishes this equipage as the consecrated vehicle of that supreme goddess of love and beauty. At a short distance in the background sits Hymen, the god of marriage and conjugality; his torch brightly blazing; at his feet is a cock crowing, etc., in a manner and attitude very like the other; and with precisely the same allusions. The indication of this allegory is the influence of Venus and Hymen, the genial powers of vitality, on the renovation of life, in human posterity.

As the extinction of lamps, or torches, indicated utter desolation, deprivation of children and misery, so on the contrary we are led to imply the joy of connubial engagements.

The figure 6 represents a cock holding in his bill two ears of corn; he is attended by Mercury, having a Caduceus in one hand, and a bag of money in the other. This gem has puzzled the learned. Montfaucon[1] says: "To see Mercury with a cock is common enough; but to see him walking before a cock larger than himself, is what I have never noticed, except in this representation. It may denote that the greatest of the qualities of Mercury is vigilance. The cock holding the corn in his bill, may, perhaps, mean

[1] Vol. i., pp. 123, 128.

that vigilance only can produce plenty of the productions necessary to the support of life." Ancient Mythology adopted various representations of the human form.

Figure 7 is an Abraxas, taken from Montfaucon. It represents a man with two faces having on his head the bushel or sacred *Calathus;* two wings are on his shoulders and two wings on his hips, and a scorpion's tail and a staff in each hand.

Figure 8 evidently represents Neptune.

Figure 9 represents Ashtaroth or Astarte, which is the same as Venus. She holds a long cross in her hand and has the sacred *Calathus* on her head. This is a Medal of Zidon, which was a city of great antiquity; St. Ambrose, in writing to Symmachus, implies that Venus is the Metrane of Persia, and though worshipped under different names yet is constantly the same power. In this connection we must enlarge somewhat upon the names of Ashtaroth, Astarte, and Venus, as in the description of several of the following figures the subject will be better understood.

Venus represented with a dove is referred to Askelon, and yet we know that Egypt had her Venus and dove, as shown in a medal when she stands with a staff in one hand and a dove supported by the other hand extended. This medal was struck in Tentyra, a city of Egypt. This shows that the worship of the dove was very prevalent in these countries. The etymology of Askelon is derived from weight, or balance, *shekel.* Another origin is suggested; *Ash* in Hebrew denotes fire; *Kel* denotes activity, briskness, and heat, even to wasting; *lun* denotes to reside, to stay, to remain. These ideas combined, mean, "the residence, or station, of fire, in activity or heating." To explain this the following Hindoo story is found in *Asiatic Researches,* vol. iv., p. 168, which agrees with this etymology." The Puranas relate that Sami Rami, in the shape of a dove, came and abode at Asc'halanorthan, which is obviously Askelon; here Samiramis was born, according to Diodorus Siculus, and here she was nursed by doves. She was, says he, the daughter of Derketos. Here, say the Indian Puranas, she made her first appearance. Now, by *doves*, we are to understand priestesses; by her birth, the institution or establishment of her worship, as daughter, *i.e.,* immediate successor or offspring of Derketas. *Sami* is the Hindoo word for fire, and *Rama* signifies the fir-tree; *'Sthan* is station, residence, dwelling. By uniting these ideas, we find they also

signify 'the residences,' *'Sthan,* of fire, *Samt,* in perfect conformity to the Hebrew name, as above explained."[1]

Figure 10 represents Dagon, properly Dag-Aun. We must anticipate the description of this figure by reference to another figure, not shown, *vis.:* There is a gem in the Florentine Gallery which is probably of Grecian workmanship; it shows the progress of those variations by which in process of time Art relinquished the truly ancient representation of Dagon. This figure exhibits a union of the human and fishy parts; but this union is contrary to the original idea of the emblem, which was that of a person coming out of a *fish,* not making a part of the fish, *but issuing from it.* (As will be seen in figure 10.) Shall I be thought fanciful in referring the figures of this plate to traditional memorials of Noah, his wife, and three sons? All of them having human upper parts, but piscine lower parts; *i.e.,* all of them originally considered as having issued from a fish; though by lapse of time the import of that allegorical representation was forgot. N. B. The original *Merman* and *Mermaid* of our heraldry supporters.[2] In figure 10, instead of the male and female, and three children, all having piscine lower parts, there is one person allied to a fish; but this one person has four arms, or governing powers. Now I take the fact to be this: when the *male* personage was used as a type of the event commemorated in this emblem, then the original allusion was to Noah and his three sons; but when a female personage was used, as an emblem of the very same event, then the allusion was to the wife of Noah. On the same principle genealogies were reckoned, and are still in the East, only by the male sex; we have no genealogy by women in Scripture; but this rule was departed from, *speciali gratia,* when the universal mother of the second race of mankind was to be commemorated. *Vide* figure 2 for the picture of a man with four heads and four arms, that is, four governing powers, Mental and Corporal; or in this Indian emblem, the four states and conditions of life, or the four *castes* and distinctions among the inhabitants, which *castes* are, on the Indian system, equally attributable to Noah as the *father,* or to his wife as the mother of succeeding generations. The four bearded heads *may* be those of the four fathers of mankind united into one; signifying *legislative* govern-

[1] Calmet, Fragment 269, p. 373. [2] Ibid., p. 133.

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ment, morals, etc. The four arms to the female figure, No. 10, *may* signify executive government. Still they represent government in some manner or other; and wherefore *four?* unless four persons had originally their respective departments in conducting the general welfare of the community, their descendants.

Figure 10, plate 2, is from Maurice's *History of India*.[1] It represents a female, crowned, having four arms, each holding its proper symbol, coming out of a great fish; as if this great fish was casting forth this personage, after the tempestuous ocean was calmed, the evil demon destroyed, and the verdant meadows were again clothed with cheerful herbage, as appears in the background of the original.

This emblem is called in Indian one of the appearances of Avartas of Vishnu.

There is an ancient fable that Oannes, who was said to be half a man and half a fish, came to Babylon *and taught several Arts; and afterward returned to the sea* . . . there were several of these Oannes . . . the name of one was Odacon, *i.e.,* ó *Dagon* [the *Dagon*]. Berosus, speaking of Oannes, says he had the body and head of a fish; and *above the head of the fish he had a human head;* and below the tail of the fish he had human feet. This is the true figure of Dagon, who was the God of the Philistines, *i.e.,* the most of the inhabitants of Palestine, long prior to the time when Joshua led the children of Israel across the river Jordan and took possession of the whole country and divided it among the twelve tribes. Etymologists say that Dagon was Saturn; others say he was Jupiter; others say Venus, whom the Egyptians worshipped under the form of a fish; because in Typhon's war against the gods, Venus concealed herself under this shape.[2] Diodorus Siculus says,[3] that at Askelon the goddess Derceto, or Atagatis, was worshipped under the figure of a woman, with the lower parts of a fish (see figure 18, plate 2), and Lucian, de Dea Syr: describes that goddess, or Venus, as being adored under this form.

There is an ancient fable, that Oannes, a creature half man, half fish, rose out of the Red Sea, and came to Babylon, where he taught men several arts, and then returned again to the sea. Apollodorus reports that four such Oannes, in several ages, had arisen out of the Red Sea, and that the name of one of them was Odacon; whence the

[1] Plate VII., p. 507, per Calmet, vol. iii., p. 183.
[2] Ovid, "Met.," lib. v., fab. 5. [3] Lib. ii., p. 65.

learned Seiden derives Dagon.[1] The worship of Dagon continued in Palestine until the change in the mythology of early days to the Greek nomenclature, after the days of Alexander the Great. The temple of Dagon was pulled down by Sampson at Gaza. The Philistines deposited the ark in the temple of Dagon at Azoth.

Figure 11, plate 11, represents Succoth Benoth, and is a companion to the Deity Nergal; which the Babylonians selected as their favorite object of worship (2 Kings xvii. 30).

This representation is evidently Venus rising from the sea, attended by Tritons, who regard her with veneration and triumph united; but this is not the original Venus; it is the story poetically treated, varied by the looser imagination of the Greeks, from the ancient emblem; retaining the idea, but changing the figures, etc., as seen they did in Dagon, and as they were accustomed to do in all their Deities; from whence the Egyptians, etc., thought them impious; and indeed their images became hereby altogether *desecrated.* To this incident of Venus rising from the Sea ought to be referred all that the poets have written on the birth of the goddess of beauty from the briny wave, from the froth or foam of the sea, etc., of which enough may easily be met with among the classic writers, Greek or Latin.

The Hebrew word Succoth is usually rendered *booths*, *i.e.*, temporary residences, as tents, etc. The Rabbins translate it "tents of the young women": it is literally "*the tabernacles of the daughters, or young women*" that is, "if *benoth* be taken as the name of a female idol, from *Beneh* to build up, procreate children, then the words will express, *The tabernacles* sacred to *the productive powers feminine*."

The dove, when used as an *insignia* or as a token, referred primarily to the dove at the deluge; and the double-faced Jason referred primarily to Noah; who looked backward on one world, ended, and forward on another, beginning. In the illustrations connected with Succoth Benoth the head of Venus on one side of a medal with a dove for its reverse, and a head of Janus with a dove also for its reverse, must originally have referred to the same event; and this event was what the figure of Derketos, who was the Syrian goddess, commemorated; in other words, Venus rising from the Sea.

[1] Calmet's Dictionary, Dagon.

Derketos issuing from a fish; 1st, Noah, as the great progenitor of mankind, restored to light and life; 2dly, the prolific powers again in exercise, to 3dly, the revival of human posterity, etc., after a temporary residence in that floating womb of mankind, the ark of preservation.[1]

The composition of a woman with the form of a fish is seen in a medal of Marseilles representing Atergatis, Derketos, the Syrian goddess Venus. Marseilles was settled by a colony of Phoenicians from Syria. They, like the Men of Babylon, carried their country worship and gods with them to their distant settlement.[2]

In figure 12 is a representation of the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, in which he represents the Good Black Shepherd treading upon the head of the Serpent Calanach. The promise made to Adam and Eve when they were turned out of the garden of Eden, was that their seed should bruise the head of the Serpent. Now, this figure of Vishnu, the second person of the Indian Trimurti, was called Krishna—the Anointed one—and some have thought that this myth was to illustrate the promise made to Adam and Eve, as above stated.

Figure 13 is a representation of Ashtaroth, the same as Astarte or Venus. The horns are not united to form a crescent as in other pictures but are more natural; around the beautiful head are the Seven stars by three and four, and two figures of lightning to show her authority as regent of night.[3]

Figure 14 represents another form of Abraxas which has more emblems than figure 7. This figure has on its head the lotos; it has four wings; and connected with each wing an arm; and in each of its four hands different destructive emblems. It has on its feet what might be taken for a third pair of wings; but these are very imperfect, if they be wings.

Figure 15 is Dea Luna or Deus Lunus. This represents a man with a Phrygian bonnet on his head, clothed in a short dress, a sword in his right hand, in his left a man's head, which he has recently cut off from the body lying by him, whose flowing blood spirts upward. Marcrobius says "the Moon was both *male* and *female*;" and adds one particular from Philocorus, that the male sex sacrificed to him in the female habit, and the female sex in the

[1] Calmet, vol. ii., p. 283. [2] Ibid., p. 234. [3] Ibid., p. 375.

male habit. Though Spartian speaks of Carhœ as a place famous for the worship of Lunus, the reader must not think this worship was confined to that place and to Mesopotamia; for it was spread all over the East. This worship was established in Phoenicia long before the empire of Caracalla; a medal published by Vaillant hath Antoninus Pius on one side and the god Lunus on the other, with his Syrian cap on, and holding a spear with a great star on one side of him, and a crescent, which signifies the moon, on the other. The medal was struck at Gaba, near Cæsarea in Palestine, by the borders of Phœnicia.[1]

Figure 16 represents the Egyptian Venus. This medal was struck in Tentyra, a city of Egypt, as appears by the legend upon it. Strabo mentions a temple of Venus at Tentyra. This is a reverse of a medal of Adrian; it represents Venus holding her dove in one hand, in the other a staff. On the whole, this has a strong similitude to medals of Askelon, and shows that the worship of the dove was very prevalent in these countries, and in their respective adjacencies.[2]

Figure 17 is a representation of a four-horned goat, which is said to be from Spain, with two upright and two lateral horns. This animal was alive in London about 1769. It is a symbol of the goat of Mendes.

Figure 18 represents the figure of a woman united to the form of a fish, and is similar in composition and shape of Atergatis-Derketos, the Syrian goddess.

Figures 19 and 20 represent two appearances of Baal. They are human heads with symbols of an ox added to them.

Observe in No. 19 the stars which accompany the head; if these stars, or if a single star, be referred to the Deity it accompanies, then we see how easily the Israelites might "take up the Star of their God" (Amos v. 26), *i.e.*, portrayed on medals, or small figures, whether images or coins, etc., carried about them; and secured from detection by their smallness and readiness of concealment. This figure has the bull's or cow's horns and ears on its head.

No. 20 has only the ears of a bull or cow; but has on its head a garland of vine-leaves and grapes, whereby it is allied to Bacchus; with two apples on the front of the head, whereby it is allied to

[1] Calmet, vol. ii., p. 375. [2] Ibid., p. 374.

Ceres, or to Pomona, *i.e.,* it indicates a fruit-bearing divinity, perhaps *Isis fructiferæ.*[1]

We have selected the foregoing examples of the very earliest symbols employed by the Ancient Nations to express their ideas of the Deities whom they worshipped; these all coalesce at last in the Sun and Moon. What was Fortune? *Baal Gad;* the Luna Dea which presided over favorable times; where then is the wonder that the Israelites should be tempted to solicit favorable seasons from this goddess, instead of entreating them from the Lord? as he complains; or that they should offer propitiatory incense to the queen of heaven? (Jer. xliv. 17) or that the question be asked, Can any of the deities of the heathen *give rain?* which is so necessary to fertility; and an act of true divinity alone. We see, too, how Gad and Meni terminate in the Sun and Moon.[2]

We now revert to quite a different class of symbols, which we find prevailed in Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and was employed by the Almighty himself when he revealed his worship to the children of Israel. We allude to the Cherubim. The first authentic reference which we have in history we find in Genesis, ch. iii., v. 24, and in Exodus, ch. xxv., vs. 18, 19, and 20, which we quote, *viz.:* "And thou shalt make two Cherubims of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, on the two ends of the Mercy Seat. And make one Cherub on the one end, and the other Cherub on the other end; *even* of the Mercy Seat[3] shall ye make the Cherubims on the two ends thereof. And the Cherubims shall stretch forth *their* wings on high, covering the Mercy Seat with their wings, and their faces *shall look* one to another; toward the Mercy Seat shall the faces of the Cherubim be."

It would seem from the directions here given by the Almighty to Moses, that the cherubic form was well known to him, from his familiarity with the Cherubim so common in Egypt. We must therefore look to the Cherubim of Egypt to understand the subject and appreciate the Cherubim of the first Ark of the Covenant carried by the children of Israel in their forty years of "Wanderings in the Wilderness," and into the "land of Promise" and the great Miracle wrought by it in the midst of the river Jordan. (Joshua, ch. iii., vs. 15, 16, 17.)

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[1] Calmet, vol. ii., p. 122. [2] Ibid., p. 124.

[3] Another rendering may be, "*of the matter of the Mercy Seat*"

In all the different nations, where the cherubic forms were employed, they were compound animals. The various authors on this subject have employed many articles. Mr. Parkhurst, in his Dictionary, uses no less than *sixty;* and M. Calmet has many pages and numerous illustrations, some of which we will use. In these articles Calmet proceeds by giving a description of the various parts, separately entering into the compound animal.

I. He first takes the Cherubim described in the Bible, of their *heads* or *countenances.* Each Cherub has four: 1st, that of a man; 2d, that of a lion; 3d, that of an ox; 4th, that of an eagle. In what manner were they placed? Were they four heads attached to four necks rising from the trunk of the body; or four faces attached to one head? He thinks they were four faces attached to one head.

II. Of their *bodies, i.e.*, from the neck downward. This was human; the "likeness of a man," which extended below the navel and to the lower rim of the stomach.

III. Of their *wings.* Ezekiel describes them as having *four* wings; Isaiah describes the Seraph as having *six* wings, *viz,:* two on the head, two on the shoulders, and two on the flanks.

IV. Of their *arms.* The translations say *hands,* but certainly imply arms at length; their number was *four,* one on each side.

V. The *lower part.* It must have been 1st, either human thighs, legs, and feet to which was appended at the posteriors the body and hind legs of an ox; or, rather, 2d, the body and four legs of an ox, out of which the human part seemed to rise, so that all below the rim of the belly was in the form of an ox, and all above that was human.

VI. Their *services;* or, what they appeared to do. The vision seen by Ezekiel, and also by Isaiah, was the resemblance of a movable throne or chariot, of prodigious dimensions, on which the sovereign was supposed to sit; that the wheels were annexed to it in much the same manner as to the royal traveling or military thrones of the Persian Kings; and that the four Cherubims occupied the places of four horses to draw this capacious machine.

Did our limits permit, we could extend this examination into the subject of the Cherubim with great profit; but our object will have been obtained if we can succeed in showing how almost universal was the idea of compounding different animals into one for the pur-

pose of illustrating the general ideas of the different attributes of their deities among all the nations of antiquity.

We copy from Calmet's Dictionary the following description of the Cherub.

CHERUB—derived from the Chaldee, signifies *as a child;* from the adverb *ki, as,* and *rabia, a young man,* a child; otherwise, *as multiplying,* or *as combating;* from *rahab,* or *abundance,* or *multitude of knowledge;* from *rab, a multitude,* and *Nacar, to know;* otherwise, in Hebrew, *rahar* signifies *to grow great,* to nourish, to bring up; in Syriac, *to labour.*

This term in Hebrew is sometimes taken for a calf or an ox. Ezekiel i. 10 mentions *the face of a Cherub,* as synonymous to *the face of an ox.* The word *Cherub* in Syriac and in Chaldee signifies to till or plough, which is the work of oxen. Cherub also signifies strong and powerful, possessing the strength of an ox. Grotius says the Cherubim were figures like a calf. Bochart thinks they were nearly the figure of an ox. So does Spencer. Josephus says they were extraordinary creatures of a figure unknown to mankind. Clemens of Alexandria believes that the Egyptians imitated the Cherubim of the Hebrews in their Sphinxes and hieroglyphical Animals.[1]

The descriptions, in various parts of Scripture, of the Cherubim differ, but agree in a figure composed of various creatures except in the first description in Exodus. The others an ox, a lion, a man, and an eagle, as in Ezekiel i. 5, and x. 2. Those placed in the Temple by Solomon were probably similar to these. (1 Kings vi. 23.) We can readily see that those on the Original Ark could not have been like those in the Temple, for there evidently was but one head on each one from the expression "and their faces shall look one to another; toward the mercy seat shall the faces of the Cherubim be." (Ex. xxv. 20.) There could only be one head and face to each of the two Cherubim.

Calmet's own conclusion on this difficult question is as follows:

"So great obscurity has hitherto overwhelmed this figurative representation, notwithstanding it has been the theme of many very learned men, that I cannot flatter myself with succeeding at once in explaining it. I think, however, that this opens a new way for

[1] Calmet Dictionary, Cherub.

attaining some conception of its real forms; and I feel some satisfaction in the idea that these symbols were not unknown in kingdoms and countries independent of Judea."

The Cherubic or compound form was common to most of the nations of the Orient. In Egypt, the sphynx and other examples are extant at the present day; in Assyria, all the Temples had such compound figures at their entrances, and we show some of these in figures 21, 22, 23, 24.

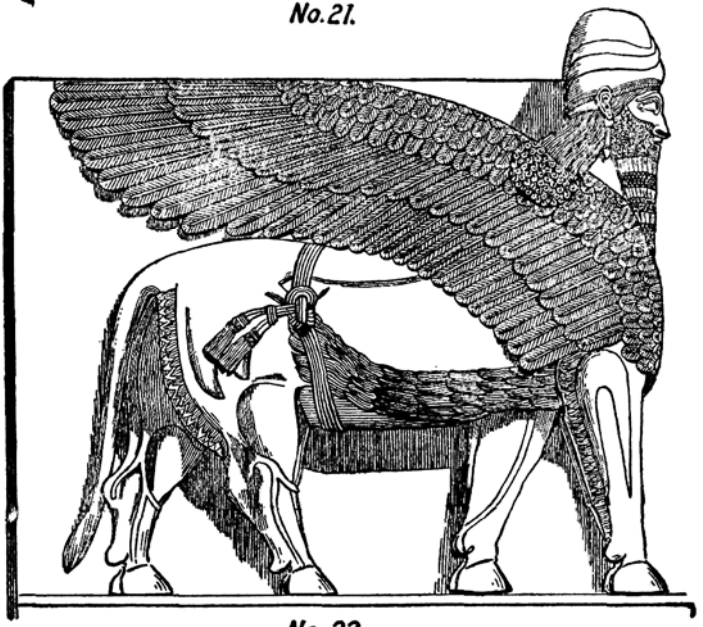
"In regard to these Cherubic forms, there were two extreme opinions: 1st. That it pleased God to compose the Jewish religious rites, ceremonies, and symbols, of materials as unlike as possible to those of the countries around them, especially of Egypt, in order to establish a total dissimilarity, and to exclude idolatry. 2d. That a close resemblance, especially to Egyptian manners, was established, in order to accommodate the services to the temper and habits of a people who had been used to such in Egypt. This was the hypothesis of the learned Spencer. The truth, I apprehend, lies between these opinions. . . .

"The Jews considered the Cherubim as of the utmost importance under the Levitical priesthood; yet they have lost their true representation. If the flame placed to keep the way to the tree of life was a Cherub, then this emblem is extremely ancient. Mr. Parkhurst finds resemblance to this symbol in the West Indies; in the Temple of Elephanta, in the East Indies; in Diana; in Proserpine; in Rhadigust, an ancient German idol; in Mithras, a Persian Deity; in the gryphon, or griffion, of Cochin-China; in Yahuthana Nasr, Arabian idols resembling a lion and an eagle; and in many other parts of the world. The opinion of this writer seems to be sufficiently established to warrant the inference, that this emblem was not borrowed by the Jewish ritual from Egypt only, but was known among many other nations in its principle at least."[1]

When we reflect that at the very earliest ages, when religious rites were new among all the nations of the earth, it does seem probable that they all derived their ideas from one original stock; and in time the varieties of manners and customs, and also following these, the methods of worshipping their gods with the same central and general ideas; the variations were like branches of an original

[1] Calmet.

No. 21.



No. 22.

FIG. 21.—Assyrian Winged Man-headed Lion.

From a doorway in the palace of Assur-nasir-pal, King of Assyria(B.C. 885-860), discovered at Calah (Nimrûd), now in the British Museum. According to an inscription of Esar-haddon, the colossal figures which flanked the doorways of the royal palaces turned back the enemy and protected and blessed the paths of the kings who set them up.

FIG. 22.—Assyrian Winged Man-headed Bull.

Taken from the same locality.

No.23.

No.24.

FIG. 23.—Assyrian Eagle-headed Deity.

From a bas-relief on walls of the palace of Assur-nasir-pal, King of Assyria (B.C. 885-860), discovered at Calah (Nimrûd), now in the British Museum.

FIG. 24.—Assur-nasir-pal, King of Assyria (B.C. 885-860).

No.25.

No.26.

No.27.

FIG. 25.—The Egyptian God, Thoth, Scribe of the Gods. FIG. 26.—An Indian Warrior of the Present Day, clothed and equipped similarly to the foregoing Assyrian figures. FIG. 27.—Osiris, Judge of the Dead, having in his right hand the Crux-Ansata, the symbol of eternal life, and in the left hand a rod having on its top the head of the Hopooe, the symbol of purity.

This is similar to the rod or spear in the right hand of Fig. 26, having an eagle's feather forming a cross with the rod. The warrior should have on his forehead the scalp and horns of a buffalo, which they frequently wear. He has also around his neck a necklace of bears' claws and teeth. In his left hand the same form of bag as in numbers 23, 24, and 28.

stock. The fact that in the vast number of cherubic forms, found in any part of the original heathen and idolatrous world, the common symbols have a great likeness to those symbols used by the Jewish people and described in the Jewish sacred books.

No.28.

FIG. 28.—Assur-nasir-pal, King of Assyria (B.C. 885-860), and winged attendants performing a ceremony before a sacred tree. Above is the emblem of the god Assur, who was the Arian God Ormudz.

From a bas-relief on the walls of the palace of Assur-nasir-pal, discovered at Calah (Nimrûd), now in the British Museum. In the middle is the famous "Ashera" translated in English version "Grove" and "Groves," which were not growing trees but were as here drawn.

The Cross.

When the Cross became a symbol is lost in the remotest antiquity, and there is no mention of it, historically, at any period, or to the country, or the people who were the first to make use of it as a symbol; nevertheless, it is found at a very early period, by which certain forms have been recognized by certain names having specific meanings.

There are principal forms of the cross which are used as symbols, and others frequently employed in ornamentation having no special signification. There are a great many forms of the cross. Among these we call attention to 卐 which is the usual form of the Swastika, or Svastika, a symbol which has recently excited very much attention among archaeologists. In 1894, the Smithsonian publication contained a very lengthy paper of 221 pages, giving the most complete history with full illustrations and examples of this

symbol by Professor Thomas Wilson, *Curator Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, U. S. National Museum.* He says: "The swastica has been called by different names in different countries, though nearly all countries have in later years accepted the ancient Sanskrit name of Swastika; and this name is recommended as the most definite and certain, being now the most general and, indeed, almost universal. It was formerly spelled s-v-a-s-t-i-c-a and s-u-a-s-t-i-k-a, but the later spelling, both English and French, is s-w-a-s-t-i-k-a. The definition and etymology of the word is thus given in Littré's French Dictionary:

" 'Svastica, or Swastika, a mystic figure used by several (East) Indian sects.'

"It was equally well known to the Brahmans as to the Buddhists. Most of the rock inscriptions in the Buddhist caverns in the West of India are preceded or followed by the holy (*sacramentelle*) sign of the Swastika. (Eugene Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la bonne loi;* Paris, 1852, p. 625.) It was seen on the vases and pottery of Rhodes (Cyprus) and Etruria.

"Etymology: A Sanskrit word signifying happiness, pleasure, good luck. It is composed of *Su* (equivalent of Greek εύ), 'good,' and *asti,* 'being,' 'good being,' with the suffix *ka* (Greek κα, Latin *co*)."

In the *Revue a'Ethnographie* (IV., 1885, p. 329), Mr. Dumoution gives the following analysis of the Sanskrit *swastika:*

"*Su,* radical, signifying *good, well, excellent,* or *suvidas,* prosperity.

"*Asti,* third person, singular, indicative present of the verb *as,* to be, which is *sum* in Latin.

"*Ka,* suffix forming the substantive."

The Century Dictionary says, Swastika—[Sanskrit, lit, "of good fortune." Svasti (*su,* well, + *asti,* being), welfare]. Same as fylfot.

Compare *crux ansata* and gammadion.[1]

In *Ilios* (p. 347), Max Müller says:

"Ethnologically, svastika is derived from *svasti* and *svasti* from *su,* 'well,' and *as,* 'to be.' *Svasti* occurs frequently in the Veda, both as a noun in a sense of happiness, and as an adverb in the sense of 'well' or 'hail!' It corresponds to the Greek εύεστω. The derivation *svasti-ka* is of later date, and it always means an auspicious sign, such as are found most frequently among Buddhists and Jainas."

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1894, p. 769.

M. Eugene Burnouf defines the Mark Swastika as follows:

"A monogrammatic sign of four branches, of which the ends are curved (or bent) at right angles, the name signifying, literally, the sign of benediction, or good augury."

The foregoing explanations relate only to the present accepted name "Swastika."

The *sign* Swastika must have existed long before the name was given to it. It must have been in existence long before the Buddhist religion or the Sanskrit language.

In Great Britain the common name given to the Swastika from Anglo-Saxon times by those who had no knowledge whence it came, or that it came from any other than their own country, was Fylfot, said to have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon *fower fot,* meaning four-footed, or many-footed.[1]

"Many theories have been presented concerning the symbolism of the Swastika, its relation to ancient deities and its representation of certain qualities. In the estimation of certain writers it has been respectively the emblem of Zeus, of Baal, of the Sun, of the sun-god, of the sun-chariot, of Agni the fire-god, of Indra the rain-god, of the Sky, of the sky-god, and finally the deity of all deities, the Great God, the Maker and Ruler of the Universe. It has also been held to symbolize light or the god of light, of the forked lightning, and of water. It is believed by some to have been the oldest Aryan symbol. In the estimation of others it represents Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, Creator, Preserver, Destroyer. It appears in the footprints of Buddha, engraved upon the solid rock on the Mountains of India. It stood for the Jupiter Tonans and Pluvius of the Latins, and the Thor of the Scandinavians. In the latter case it has been considered—erroneously, however—a variety of the Thor hammer. In the opinion of at least one author it had an intimate relation to the Lotus sign of Egypt and Persia. Some authors have attributed a phallic meaning to it; others have recognized it as representing the generative principle of mankind, making it the symbol of the female. Its appearance on the person of certain goddesses, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, and the Chaldean Nana, the leaden goddess from Hissarlik, has caused it to be claimed as a sign of fecundity."[2]

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[1] R. P. Greg per Smithsonian Report, 1894, p. 769.
[2] Smithsonian Report, 1894, p. 771.

Commenting upon the theories of the various writers quoted, Professor Wilson says:

"In forming the foregoing theories their authors have been largely controlled by the alleged fact of the substitution and permutation of the Swastika sign on various objects with recognized symbols of these different deities. The claims of these theorists are somewhat clouded in obscurity and lost in the antiquity of the subject. What seems to have been at all times an attribute of the Swastika is its character as a charm or amulet, as a sign of benediction, blessing, long life, good fortune, good luck. This character has continued into modern times, and while the Swastika is recognized as a holy and sacred symbol by at least one Buddhistic religious sect, it is still used by the common people of India China, and Japan as a sign of long life, good wishes, and good fortune."

Whatever else the sign Swastika may have stood for, and however many meanings it may have had, it was always ornamental. It may have been used with any or all of the above significations, but it was always ornamental as well.

"Dr. Schliemann found many specimens of Swastika in his excavation at the site of ancient Troy on the hill of Hissarlik. They were mostly on spindle whorls. . . . He appealed to Professor Max Müller for an explanation, who, in reply, wrote an elaborate description, which Dr. Schliemann published in *Ilios*."

He commences with a protest against the word Swastika being applied generally to the sign Swastika, because it may prejudice the reader or the public in favor of its Indian origin. He says:

"I do not like the use of the word *Svastika* outside of India. It is a word of Indian origin and has its history and definite meaning in India. . . . The occurrence of such crosses in different parts of the world may or may not point to a common origin, but if they are once called *Svastika* the *vulgus profanum* will at once jump to the conclusion that they all come from India, and it will take some time to weed out such prejudice.

"Very little is known of Indian art before the third century B.c., the period when the Buddhist sovereigns began their public buildings.

"The name Svastika, however, can be traced (in India) a little farther back. It occurs as the name of a particular sign in the old grammar of Pânani, about a century earlier. Certain compounds are mentioned there in which the last word is *karna*, '*ear*.' One of the signs for marking cattle was the Svastika, and what Pânani teaches in his grammar is that when the compound is formed,

svastika-karna, i.e., having the ear marked with a sign of a Svastika, the final *a* of Svastika is not to be lengthened, while it is lengthened in other compounds, such as *datra-karna, i.e.,* having the ear marked with the sign of a sickle."

"It (the Swastika) occurs often at the beginning of Buddhist inscriptions, on Buddhist coins, and in Buddhist manuscripts. Historically, the Svastika is first attested on a coin of Krananda, supposing Krananda to be the same king as Xandrames, the predecessor of Sandrokyptos, whose reign came to an end in 315 B.C. (See Thomas on the identity of Xandrames and Krananda.) The paleographic evidence, however, seems rather against so early a date.

"In the foot-prints of Buddha the Buddhists recognize no less than sixty-five auspicious signs, the first of them being the *Svastika;* the fourth is the *Suavastika,* or that with the arms turned to the left; the third, the *Nandyâvarta,* is a mere development of the *Svastika.* Among the Jainas the *Svastika* was the sign of their Seventh Jina, Supârsva."

"In the later Sanskrit literature, Svastika retains the meaning of an auspicious mark; thus we see in the Râmâyana, that Bharata selects a ship marked with the sign of the Svastika. Varapamihira in the Brihat-samhitâ mentions certain buildings called Savastika and Nandyâvarta, but their, outline does not correspond very exactly with the form of the sign. Some Sthupas, however, are said to have been built on the plan of the Svastika. Originally, Svastika may have been intended for no more than two lines crossing each other, or a cross. Thus we find it used in later times referring to a woman covering her breast with crossed arms, *Svahastasvastika-stani,* and likewise with reference to persons sitting cross-legged."[1]

Max Müller continues:

"Quite another question is, why the sign 卐 should have an auspicious meaning, and why in Sanscrit it should have been called Svastika. The similarity between the group of letters *sv* in the ancient Indian alphabet, and the sign of Svastika is not very striking, and seems purely accidental.

"A remark of yours [Schliemann] (*Troy,* p. 38) that the Svastika resembles a wheel in motion, the direction of the motion being indicated by the crampons, contains a useful hint, which has been confirmed by some important observations of Mr. Thomas, the distinguished Oriental numismatist, who has called attention to the fact that in the long list of the recognized devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras the sun is absent, but that while the eighth Tirthankara has the sign of the half-moon, the seventh Tirthankara is marked with the

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1894, p. 772.

Svastika, *i.e.,* the sun. Here, then, we have clear indications that the Svastika, with the hands pointing in the right direction, was originally a symbol of the sun, perhaps of the vernal sun as opposed to the autumnal sun, *Suavastika,* and, therefore, a natural symbol of light, life, health, and wealth.

"But, while from these indications we are justified in supposing that among the Aryan nations the Svastika may have been an old emblem of the sun, there are other indications to show that in other parts of the world the same or a similar emblem was used to indicate the earth. Mr. Beal . . . has shown . . . that the simple (+) occurs as a sign for earth in certain ideographic groups. It was probably intended to indicate the four quarters—north, south, east, west—or, it may be, more generally, extension in length and breadth.

"That the cross is used as a sign for 'four' in the Bactro-Pali inscriptions (Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop,* Vol. II., p. 298) is well known; but the fact that the same sign has the same power elsewhere, as, for instance, in the Hieratic numerals, does not prove by any means that the one figure was derived from the other. We forget too easily that what was possible in one place was possible also in the other places; and the more we extend our researches, the more we shall learn that the chapter of accidents is larger than we imagine."[1]

In the Smithsonian Report (Annual) for 1897 we find an article by Marquis De Nadaillac on the "Unity of the Human Species," who, in concluding one part of the subject, says:[2]

"The accumulated proof renders it incontestable that the funeral rite of cleaning the bones and coloring them red was practised in different countries widely separated by sea or desert. Thucydides says the history of a people is to be sought in their tombs. In the cases cited, the tomb has responded and has thrown a clear light on the earliest origin of the rite, and at the same time on the common origin of man. A question arising from these facts is, whether they relate to religious or funeral rites. But this is comparatively of small importance. It was surely a custom of the unknown ancestors of these peoples, transmitted from generation to generation. These facts do not allow us to say that primitive life was everywhere the same, nor that if the productions of men are everywhere the same, they are always to satisfy the same needs. In the strange rite that we have recounted, a rite which has required much thought and multiplied cares and which one can believe was strange to barbarous and nomadic races, it is not a question of similar needs growing out of similar creations. In order to find a solution it is necessary to

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1894, p. 773. [2] Ibid., 1898, pp. 563 to 569.

seek higher and farther; it is the identity of the genius of man in all times and in all regions that should be inquired of, and it is only-there that it can be found.[1]

"The mysterious Swastika sign born in undefined regions and rapidly extended over the entire world, goes to support this hypothesis. We will seek the lessons it teaches.

"For a long time the Swastika (the croix gammee, a Greek cross, with arms bent to the right at right angles) has been regarded as an Aryan sign, even the Aryan sign par excellence. From this, or from its apparent place of origin, the name Indian (East Indian) has been given it; a name difficult at present to maintain because of the daily discoveries of its diffusion or spread among absolute strangers to the Aryan race.[2]

"It appears from the researches made during late years that the origin even of the Swastika sign appears to be contested. Thus we read in the work of Count Goblet d'Alviella,[3] one of those who has best studied the question:

" 'The croix gammee (Swastika) appears from prehistoric times among the peoples originating in the valley of the Danube, who have respectively colonized the Troad and the north of Italy. It extends with the products of this antique culture, on one side, among the Greeks, Etruscans, Latins, Gauls, Germans, British, and Scandinavians; on the other side, to Asia Minor, Persia, the Indies, and to China and Japan.'

"Such is also the opinion of M. Salomon Reinach.[4] According to him the sign of the Swastika already represented in the city of Hissarlik, prior, according to all probabilities, to the thirteenth cen-

[1] J. McGuire, Classification and Development of Primitive Implements. "Amer. Anthrop.," July, 1896.

[2] The literature upon the Swastika has increased in late years until it has become a library. In 1889 Count Goblet d'Alviella made a communication to the Royal Academy of Belgium entitled "La croix gammee, or Swastika." It has since been enlarged and published under the title "La migration des Symboles," Paris, 1891. An English translation appeared with an introduction and note by Sir G. Birdwood. Among recent publications were those of Michael Zmigrodzki, "Zur Geschichte der Swatika," Brunswick, 1890, and Thomas Wilson, "The Swastika," Washington, 1896. Eminent savants in all countries have been occupied with the question of its origin and signification, but it appears, nevertheless, that it is not yet entirely cleared, for Dr. Brinton writes: "It is easy to read into barbaric scratches the thoughts of later times, and we must acknowledge that something more than the figure itself is needed to prove its symbolic sense."

[3] La migration des Symboles. "Revue des deux Mondes," May 12, 1889.

[4] Le mirage oriental. "L'Anthropologie," 1895.

tury B.C., did not penetrate the Indies until after that period.[1] He continues that one does not find the symbol in Egypt,[2] nor in Phœnicia, nor Assyria; while, on the other hand, it is frequent in northern Italy, in the valley of the Danube, in Thrace, in Greece, and on the western shores of Asia Minor. Thence comes his conclusions that we should seek in Europe for its origin.[3]

"I do not pretend to contradict this, but the first discovery of the Swastika on the hill of Hissarlik determines that this was not its place of origin. When came this mysterious sign which we see at Troy? To what rite does it belong? Where did it originate? These are questions we would like to have answered. In the present state of our knowledge, the question is insoluble. One point excites my interest, that is the long persistence of the Swastika and its rapid diffusion throughout such different regions. I see in this an important argument in favor of the unity of the human species. This argument should be further presented and such facts produced as justify it.

"An infant, the child of a savage, might amuse himself by tracing in the sand or on stone, or on the first object that came under his hand, squares and circles and crosses, and lines, making all imaginable angles; with progress the child can reproduce the images of his mind, the scenes that strike him most, even to bizarre figures which are due only to his imagination. He will not produce a sign as complicated as the Swastika unless he has it or has had it before his eye, or unless it shall have been transmitted to him by his ancestors. It is puerile to explain its presence in so many and such widely separated regions by the theory of the identity of the psychologic state among human races which have the same rudimentary culture.

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[1] M. Reinach afterward recognized that the Swastika mentioned by Goblet d'Alviella on certain ingots of silver in the form of dominoes, serving as money, and also those with inscriptions in honor of Acoka, belonged to the third century B.C.—"L'Anthropologie," 1894, p. 248.

[2] Flinders Petrie has found at Naukratis certain vases ornamented with the Swastika (Third Memoir Egyptian Exploration Fund), but this pottery appears to have been imported from Caria or from Cyprus. Stuffs ornamented with the same sign have also been discovered at Panopolis, Upper Egypt, but these have been attributed to Greek workmen who were numerous at Coptos, a neighboring village where Clermont Ganneau has recently discovered a Greek inscription.—"Acad. des Inscriptions," March 5, 1897 (Forrer, "Die Graber und Textilfunde von Achmin Panopolis").

[3] "As for India, everything induces the belief that the Swastika was there introduced from Greece, from the Caucasus, or from Asia Minor, by routes as yet unknown."—Goblet d'Alviella, "La migration des symboles," p. 107.

"The mysterious Swastika[1] figured on the idols and spindle whorls[2] of the ancient Dardania, on the diadem of the daughters of Priam, and on the numberless objects from the early cities on the hill of Hissarlik,[3] in the sacred temples of India as on the bas relief of Ibriz, attributed to the Hittites,[4] on Celtic funeral urns, and on the hut urns of Albano or Corneto, a curious imitation of the habitations of the living wherein they have piously deposited the ashes of the dead.[5]

"We see the Swastika on the balustrades of the porticos of the temple of Athena at Pergamos, on the sculptured ceiling of the Treasury at Orchomenos, on the vases of Milo and Athena, those of Bologna, the ancient Felsina of the Etruscans,[6] of Caere (Cervetri),[7] Cumes,[8] Cyprus,[9] and on the pottery gathered at Konigswalde on the Oder; on a golden fibula of the Museum of the Vatican, and a copper fibula of the Royal Museum of Copenhagen.

"It is encountered in the most ancient paintings of the catacombs of Rome, on the tunic of the Bon Pasteur,[10] and on the archbishop's chair of St. Ambrose at Milan, where it is associated with

[1] Sometimes the arms of the Swastika turn to the left, to which Professor Max Müller says has been given the name Suavastika. (Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi reports that while studying an ancient Sanscrit philosophy, in the British Museum library, he found the word Suavastika in connection with Swastika.—T. W.)

[2] The number of these objects casts a doubt upon their use as spindle whorls only. They have been religious objects, a sort of ex-voto, for example.

[3] Schliemann, "Ilios," Figs. 1873, 1911, and others.

[4] S. Reinach, Le mirage oriental. "Anthropologie," 1893.

[5] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," vol. i., p. 69; vol. ii., p. 457. Dennis regards these urns as anterior to the Etruscan civilization. See also "Annali Dell' Inst. Romano," 1871, pp.239, 279. Professor H. W. Haynes, of Boston, is of opinion that these belong to the "Iron Age" (Nation, January 24, 1889). Professor Heilbig, "Guide to the Collection of Classic Antiquities in Rome," vol. ii., p. 267; Pigorini, "Bulletino Ethnologia Italiana," vol. xii., p. 262; Chantre, "Necropoles Halstattiennes de Italie et de l'Autriche, Materiaux," vol. xviii., pp. 3, 4.

[6] Gozzadini, "Scavi Archæologici," Plate IV.

[7] In a tomb at Caere there has been found a golden fibula with engraved Swastika. Greffi, "Monumenti di Caere," Plate VI., No. 1.

[8] At Cumes has been found the sign (Swastika) on pottery, buried at great depth, which mark the establishment of sepulchres at the most ancient periods, beneath the tombs of the Hellenic epoch, they in turn being under those of the Roman epoch. Alex. Bertrand ("Arch. celtique et gauloise," p. 45).

[9] "Cesnola, Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples," Plates XLIV. and XLVII.

[10] Roller, "Les Catacombes de Rome," Plates VI., X.. XXXII., XXXIX., LIV., LXXXVII., XCIV.

the Latin cross and the monogram of Christ; on the ancient sacred books of Persia, as well as on the coins of Arsacides and the Sassanides; on the most ancient Christian monuments of Scotland and Ireland, often accompanied with Ogam inscriptions;[1] on the Scandinavian runic books; in the Halstattien sepulchres of San Margarether or de Rovische,[2] and in the necropolis of Koban.[3]

"Schliemann found it at Tiryns and at Mycenæ;[4] Cartailhac in the citanias, those strange fortified towns of Portugal, some of which date from Neolithic times;[5] Chantre in the tombs in Caucasus,[6] and the Russian archaeologists on the bronze objects from their country in the Museum of Moscow.

"The Swastika has been found in France, in the Tumuli (mounds) of Haguenau, engraved on the cinctures of bronze.[7] It is perpetuated on objects posterior or strange to the Roman domination. For example, on those taken in the Frankish tombs opened at Colombe (Loire-et-Cher), on a funeral stèle at the Museum of Toulouse, on a vase at the Museum of Rouen,[8] on the cinctures, Gallo-Roman or Merovingian, near La Fere.[9] The Swastika also is found on a Celto-Roman altar erected at Ambloganna, in England by a Dacian legion in honor of Zeus or Jupiter.[10] On the right and left are two circles, rayed after the fashion of stars, which Gaidoz believes to be a representation of the sun.[11] The Laplanders still engrave the Swastika on their drums intended to be used in Magic rites.

"The Chinese decorate with it their standards, instruments of music, and their cannon.[12]

"The Japanese employ it as a mark on their pottery, and the

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[1] Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, "Proceedings Roy. Irish Acad." Ludvig Müller reports the same.

[2] "Materiaux," 1884, pp. 137, 139, 466, and Fig. 84.

[3] Ibid., 1888, p. 352.

[4] "Mycenas," p. 193.

[5] "L'Espagne et le Portugal prehistoriques," Figs. 410-412. Recently M. da Veiga has recognized the Swastika in the compartments of a mosaic found in Algarve. "L'Anthropologie," 1891, p. 222.

[6] M. Chantre assimilates these burials to those of Villanoba, Halstatt, and Bismentovia in upper Italy. "Materiaux," 1881, pp. 164, 165.

[7] De Mortillet, "Album prehistorique," pp. 98, 99, 100.

[8] Ibid., Figs. 1247, 1257.

[9] Moreau, "Album de Caranada."

[10] Goblet d'Alviella, "La migration des symboles," p. 65.

[11] "Le dieu gaulois du soleil et la migration des symboles."

[12] The Letter of Gordon to Schliemann. "Ilios," p. 352.

Hindus paint it in red on their houses at the beginning of the New Year, and make it with flour or sacred rice upon a table or stand when entering a house or church as a sign of good luck or good wishes, or the occasion of a wedding or fête.[1]

"The diffusion of a sign so complicated as the Swastika throughout all time and in all countries is something to be remarked, and of which we should recognize the importance. Our astonishment is doubled when we find the same symbol among the Ashantes on the western coast of Africa,[2] and see it figured in America among the most ancient civilization of which we have any knowledge. By what migration has it crossed the Atlantic, by what migrations has it penetrated such distant countries and appeared among races of men so different? And if, as we believe, all these representations are due to an indigenous art, either Indian or African, where did they obtain their model? Our ignorance on these points is complete, and the most we can do is to give a résumé of the principal known facts.

"The Swastika has been found engraved on a shell from a mound in Tennessee which contained thirty-two human burials,[3] on plates (five) of copper from the mounds of Chillicothe, Ohio,[4] a stone hatchet from Pemberton, N. J., on an Arkansas vase in the National Museum, on a silver ornament, the authenticity of which appears incontestable, and which was shown in 1887 at the reunion of the Association Française at Toulouse.[5]

"Nordenskiold cites numerous examples of the Swastika, now engraved in straight lines, other times indicated by dots, among the

[1] It has been contended by some persons that the triskelion was an evolution from or to the Swastika—the triskelion of three human legs bent at the knee and joined at the thigh. It is found on the Lycian coins about 480 B.C., and thence was carried by Agathocles to Sicily. (Barclay Head, "Coins of the Ancients," Plate XXXV.) It is also found on a vase from Agrigentum. (Waring, "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," Plate XLII.) Newton explains how the symbol (triskelion) is found on the arms of Sicily, and also those of the Isle of Man. ("Athenaeum," September, 1892.) The Duke of Athol, proprietary of the Isle of Man, sold in 1765 his right to the Crown of England, but because he had been its sovereign he kept the triskelion in his coat of arms.

[2] "It is not possible to admit," says Count Goblet d'Alviella ("Migration des symboles," p. 108), "that this has been spontaneously conceived and executed. Of all a priori hypotheses, this is certainly the most difficult to accept."

[3] "Third Annual Report," Bureau of Ethnology, Fig. 140.

[4] "Twelfth Annual Report," Bureau of Ethnology. Other similar discoveries have been made in Ohio.

[5] "Comptes rendus," i., p. 284.

cave dwellers of Mesa Verde, and the same is done by Max Müller in Yucatan and Paraguay, while other savants have found it among the Huacas of Peru and among savage tribes of Brazil, where the triangular pieces of pottery, sometimes bearing the mysterious Swastika sign, often form the only dress of the women.[1]

"We find it in the paintings of the Navajos[2] and on the ornaments of the Pueblo Indians, while the Sac Indians of the Southwest wear it on their collars and garters on occasion of their religious fêtes, although it is not possible that they should know the sense which is attached to it,[3] and the Wolpis paint it on their dance rattles.[4]

"I have omitted to treat of numerous figurines ornamented with the Swastika in the hope to find an explanation of this mysterious symbol. We find it engraved on a figure of Buddha in the United States National Museum,[5] on the base of a bronze Buddha from Japan, and on a vase in the Kunsthistorische Museum of Vienna where it figures on the breast of Apollo.[6] Astarte bears it on her arms and shoulders,[7] Adonis on his arms, a follower of Aphrodite, on her robe,[8] a centaur from Cyprus on his right shoulder.[9] In a rude representation of Apollo directing the car of the sun it is found on the wheels of the chariot.[10] A female statue in lead found at Troy wears a triangular covering over the ulva, the center of which bears a Swastika.[11] Numerous cinctures or girdles worn by women bore this same Swastika sign. Does this not indicate that it may have been regarded as an emblem of the generative forces of nature?

"But we will not venture further in our researches for the signification of a sign so obscure as is the Swastika. Probably (and the figurines just mentioned give this hypothesis a semblance of

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[1] Wilson, Swastika, "Report U. S. Nat. Mus.," 1894, Plate XVIII.

[2] Ibid., Plate XVII.

[3] Ibid., Plates XV. and XVI. (Nevertheless these Indians recognize it as a sign of good luck and give it a corresponding name.—T. W.)

[4] "Rev. d'Ethnographie," 1885, No. 1.

[5] Wilson, 1. c., Plate I.

[6] Goblet d'Alviella, 1. c, Plate I.

[7] "Bul. Soc. d'Anth.," 1888, p. 676.

[8] This statuette was found in 1887 in a Greek tomb. "Bul. Soc. d'Anth.," 1888, p. 677.

[9] Cesnola, "Salaminia," p. 243.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Schliemann, "Ilios," Fig. 226.

truth) it was a religious emblem, an amulet consecrated by the varied superstitions of man, as is the hand with the fingers raised a survival of an ancient Chaldean symbol which is worn to-day by the Italians, as is the little pig by the Parisians.[1] Was it dedicated to the living sun; to Zeus or Baal; to Astarte or to Aphrodite; to Agni, the god of fire; or to Indra, the god of rain; or, still further, to Vishnu or to Siva, the Hindu representatives of creation and destruction? All these hypotheses are possible; more than this, all of them are probable, for the signification of Swastika has singularly varied according to the time and to tradition.[2] Those persons who in the actual state of our knowledge pretend to formulate general conclusions are sadly in error.

"I approach the end of my task. By the side of the similarity of the anatomic structure of man in all times and of all races, I have sought to place the similarity of his genius, as proved by the identity of his conceptions. The ossuaries which contain the remains of his predecessors, the custom of coloring his bones red after they had been denuded of their flesh, the mysterious sign to which we have given the name Swastika, and other conceptions, other almost universal creations, which it would be easy to add, all tend toward the confirmation of the knowledge given to us by the earliest arms, the first tools and implements of flint, and the most ancient pottery. We believe it impossible to misapprehend or mistake the multiplied proofs that flow from modern researches, all of which affirm with an irrefutable eloquence the unity of the human species."

Among the very ancient symbols of the Orient we find the Pentalpha, or five-pointed star. In one of the illustrations in the *Iconographic Encyclopædia* of the late Professor Baird, President of the Smithsonian Institution, who succeeded Professor Henry, we observe that the Pentalpha occupies the most conspicuous place. That picture represents the universe, *viz.,* the great celestial serpent forms a circle having the tail in its mouth, at the top; diametrically opposite, at the bottom the serpent twists the body in a large coil; upon this coil is a huge tortoise; on the back of the tortoise stand

[1] W. W. Rockhill ("Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet," 1891-92) cites the Tibetan who had a Swastika tattooed on his hand.

[2] Sewell ("Indian Antiquary," July, 1881) presents innumerable hypotheses to which the Swastika has given rise. To cite but one: Mr. Cunningham, a distinguished savant, believes the Swastika to have been a monogram.

four elephants occupying the four cardinal points; on these elephants rests the earth, which is flat on the bottom and hemispherical on the top; above the earth are represented concentrically the seven heavenly spheres; immediately above the uppermost sphere, and suspended from the junction of the tail and mouth of the serpent, is the Pentalpha.

The Pentalpha has been so called, because the five (*pente*) points each represented the Greek letter Alpha (A). It was called Hygeia or symbol of health by Pythagoras.

We refer our readers to Book IV., Chapter IV., pages 1755 to 1783—and especially on pages 1781 to 1783—wherein we have shown the connection between some of the symbols now employed in our modern Masonic system, with those of the remotest antiquity, and have made frequent references to Dr. Mackey and to his predecessor, Dr. Oliver, from whose works on symbolism we have freely quoted such passages as would demonstrate our subject.

The writer of this treatise on Symbolism has endeavored to place before the reader the intimate relation between all the forms of language, as displayed by man, from the earliest ages, in the crudest efforts to convey his ideas to others, down to the perfected forms of animal life, as displayed in the unnatural compositions in the cherubim, which was shown first to Moses, and subsequently to the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah, as described in the text.

We can give no further explanations than those taken from ancient writers, as, down to the present day, they are as mysterious as they have always been in every age of the world, like the image of the veiled Isis in her temple on the island Philæ in Egypt, with the following inscription: "I am that which was, which is, and which is to come, and no mortal hath lifted my veil" .

PART FIVE

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE
ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH RITE

N Chapter LI of this work will be found a "History of Christian Knighthood," and in the following chapter, LII, "Knight Templarism in America." In pages 1332 to 1336, Chapter LI, is given the history of the suppression of the "Templar Order," the death of the last Grand Master, Jacques De Molay, and the dispersion of the "Order."

There is no need to repeat in this place the account of the destruction of the greatest of the three great military orders, the "Poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ and Solomon's Temple" as they officially described themselves. On March 11, 1314, the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, was burned to death in Paris, declaring with his last breath that the confessions wrung from him and other knights by torture were untrue, and that the order was innocent. The Papal Bull, issued by Clement V. the year before, had suppressed the order and transferred its estates to the Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, for centuries the bitter foes of the Templars. The Templars who escaped the cruelty of the French King, Philip the Fair, fled to other countries.

From this period until the invention of printing there was a slow but gradual increase in learning, which was mostly confined to the priesthood; very few, even of the nobility, could read or write; hence they employed as chaplains the learned class of the clergy, who conducted all of their business affairs, and became domesticated in their families. After the invention of movable type and the increase of books, "learning" became more popular, and by the polit-

ical changes in the kingdoms of Europe there were important improvements in science and the arts brought about, so that from the close of the 14th century to the death of Charles II. of England, very important events had taken place and an entire revolution of society had occurred, growing out of the "Reformation" in religion. The great fire in London—although a local affair—had its effects upon other parts of Europe. The reconstruction of the city of London—and particularly of the religious edifices—produced a revolution in architecture under the supervision of Sir Christopher Wren, who was appointed by Charles II. as superintendent of all the public buildings after the great fire. Under the sanction of the King, Wren visited the continent and became familiar with the classic orders of architecture, of which there were few examples in England. There is no doubt that the great cathedral of St. Paul's in London, in its order of architecture, was a copy of St. Peter's in Rome.

Sir Christopher Wren has often been called by Masonic writers a Grand Master of Masons, but there is no evidence whatever that he was even an Apprentice Mason when he became the government architect or "Superintendent."

Lessing, the German critic, goes so far as to describe Wren as the inventor of Speculative Masonry, but later investigators affirm that while Inigo Jones, the great architect of so many noble buildings in England, is claimed to have held a place in the Masonic order, yet Sir Christopher Wren is only mentioned in a professional capacity. As the first code of Masonic laws and the first items of Masonic history were published by authority, it may justly be inferred that the triumvirate of compilers had no knowledge of his having ever been a member of the Society. The English Freemasons of the period of the so-called revival of 1717 seemed to have found no reason to believe in Wren's connection with the Society. Wren was one of the most eminent men of the time, "a prodigy of universal science," President of the Royal Society, the builder of the new cathedral of St. Paul's, London, and numerous colleges and other buildings, and, more than all, the rebuilder of London after the Great Fire, and it would be strange that the initiation or affiliation of such a distinguished man as the King's Architect should have been forgotten by the lodges of Masons subsisting when the revival of 1717 took place.

The invention of new degrees was continuous, in the countries of Europe, during the middle portion of the 18th century, but most of them were worked to a limited extent only and soon passed into oblivion. The three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason were the source from whence this prolific development of degrees sprang, and these three degrees were selected, with twenty-two others, to compose a Rite which was destined to retain its vitality, and to spread its influence, throughout the world. This Rite was known as the "Ancient and Accepted Rite."

There have been various accounts of the manner in which these degrees were selected and arranged in the so-called "Rite of Perfection." The most reasonable statement is as follows:

The Chevalier de Bonneville established a chapter of twenty-five degrees of the so-called High Degrees in the College of Jesuits of Clermont, in Paris, in 1754. The adherents and followers of the House of the Stuarts had made the College of Clermont their asylum, they being mostly Scotchmen. One of these degrees being the "Scottish Master," the new Body organized in Charleston, S. C, in 1801, gave the name of "Scottish Rite" to these degrees, which name ever since that time has characterized the Rite all over the world, of which more anon. The name previously given to these degrees was the "Rite of Perfection," or the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

The Marquis de Lernais carried these degrees to Berlin in 1758 and they were introduced into and adopted by the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes. The Rite was revived in Paris that year under the authority of the "Council of Emperors of the East and West." In consequence of the interference of the Jesuits, who, finding that their former efforts had not succeeded in finally suppressing the Rite, again forced themselves into the Rite and "sowed seeds of dissension," the result was that a new organization was formed called the "Council of the Knights of the East; "and as a consequence a rivalry sprung up between these two bodies and the Grand Orient of France. In 1781, however, both of these bodies became incorporated with that Grand Body which held the Rite of Perfection within itself.

In 1762 it is asserted that Frederick the Great, who had taken under his patronage all of Masonry in Germany, formed and promulgated what have been known ever since then as the Grand Constitutions of 1762.

The "Rite of Perfection," which for a quarter of a century, with many struggles, had not fully accomplished the work proposed for it by its authors, was improved, it is said, by Frederick himself, by a reorganization and reconstruction which placed it on a higher standard in its philosophy and in its teachings; that eight other degrees were added to it, and the name was changed to "The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry," and that the Grand Constitutions of 1786 were ratified and signed by Frederick in Berlin, in May of that year.

By these Constitutions of 1786, Frederick the Great resigned the authority he had held from 1762 as Grand Commander of the Order of Princes of the Royal Secret, and Supreme Chief of the Scottish Rite or of Perfection. His Masonic prerogatives were by the same document deposited with a council for each nation, to be composed of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the Thirty-Third and last degree of legitimate Freemasonry, limited in numbers to that of the years of Christ on earth.

The Grand Constitutions formed in 1762 were ratified in Bordeaux, October 25th of that year, and were proclaimed as the governing laws for all the several Bodies of the "Rite of Perfection" over the two Hemispheres.

Prior to this, in 1761, Stephen Morin was invested with power by the Grand Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret in Paris, on the 27th of August, 1761, to carry the "Rite of Perfection" to America. He received a Patent, as his credential, of which the following is a copy:

Morin's Patent.

To the glory of the G. A. O. T. U., etc., and by the good will of H. S. H. the very illustrious Brother Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, Prince of the Blood Royal, Grand Master and Protector of all Lodges.

At the Orient of a most enlightened place where reign Peace, Silence, and Concord, Anno Lucis 5761, and according to the common style, 27th August, 1761.

Lux ex tenebris. Unitas, concordia fratrum.

We the undersigned, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Wardens and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of

St. John of Jerusalem, established at the Orient of Paris; and We, Sovereign Grand Masters of the Grand Council of the Lodges of France, under the sacred and mysterious numbers, declare, certify, and decree to all the very dear Bros., Knights, and Princes scattered throughout the two hemispheres, that being assembled by order of the Substitute General, President of the Grand Council, a request was communicated to us by the worshipful Bro. Lacorne, Substitute of our very illustrious G. M., Knight and Prince Mason, and was read in due form.

Whereas our dear Bro. Stephen Morin, Grand Perfect Elect (G. elu parfait) and Past Sublime Master, Prince Mason, Knight and Sublime Prince of all orders of the Masonry of Perfection, member of the Royal Lodge of the "Trinity," etc., being about to depart for America, desires to be able to work with regularity for the advantage and aggrandisement of the Royal Art in all its perfection, may it please the Sovereign Grand Council and Grand Lodge to grant him letters of constitution. On the report which has been made to us, and knowing the eminent qualifications of Bro. S. Morin, we have, without hesitation, accorded him this slight gratification in return for the services which he has always rendered this Order, and the continuation of which is guaranteed to us by his zeal.

For this cause and for other good reasons, whilst approving and confirming the very dear Brother Morin in his designs, and wishing to confer on him some mark of our gratitude, we have, by consent, constituted and invested him, and do by these presents constitute and invest him, and give full and entire power to the said Bro. Stephen Morin, whose signature is in the margin of these presents, to form and establish a Lodge in order to admit to and multiply the Royal Order of Masons in all the perfect and sublime degrees; to take measures that the statutes and regulations of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge, general or special, be kept and observed, and to never admit therein any but true and legitimate brothers of sublime Masonry.

To rule and govern all the members who shall compose his said Lodge, which he may establish in the four quarters of the world wherever he may arrive or shall sojourn, under the title of Lodge of St. John, and surnamed "Perfect Harmony;" we give him power to choose such officers as he may please to aid him in ruling his

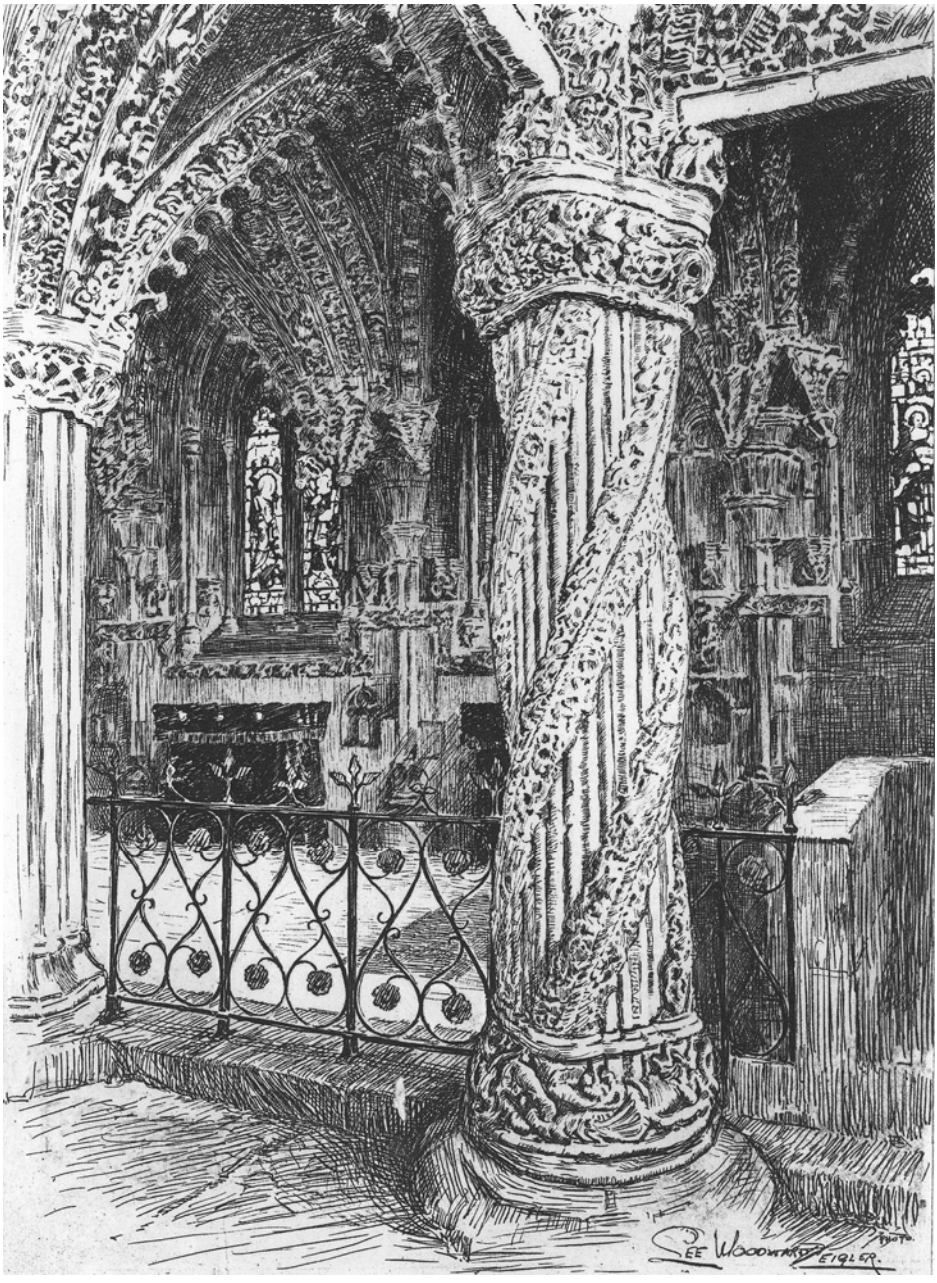
Lodge, whom we command and enjoin to obey and respect him; do ordain and command all Masters of regular Lodges of whatsoever dignity, scattered over the surface of land and sea, do pray and enjoin them in the name of the Royal Order, and in the presence of our very illustrious G. M., to acknowledge in like manner as we recognise our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin as Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Perfect Harmony, and we depute him in his quality of our Grand Inspector in all parts of the New World to reform the observance of our laws in general, etc., and by these presents do constitute our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin our G. M. Inspector, authorising and empowering him to establish perfect and sublime Masonry in all parts of the world, etc., etc.

We pray, consequently, all brothers in general to render to the said Stephen Morin such assistance and succour as may be in their power, requiring them to do the same to all the brothers who shall be members of his Lodge, and whom he has admitted and constituted, shall admit or constitute in future to the sublime degree of perfection which we grant him, with full and entire power to create Inspectors in all places where the sublime degrees shall not already be established, knowing well his great acquirement and capacity.

In witness whereof we have given him these presents, signed by the Substitute-General of the Order, Grand Commander of the Black and White Eagle, Sovereign Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, and Chief of the Eminent Degree of the Royal Art, and by us, Grand Inspectors, Sublime Officers of the Grand Council and of the Grand Lodge established in this capital, and have sealed them with the Grand Seal of our illustrious G. M. His Serene Highness, and with that of our Grand Lodge and Sovereign Grand Council. Given at the G O. of Paris, in the year of light, 5761, or according to the Vulgar Era, 27th August, 1761. (Signed) Chaillon de Jonville, Substitute-General, W. M. of the first lodge in France called "St. Thomas," Chief of the Eminent Degrees, Commander and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret. Bro. the Prince de Rohan, Master of the Grand Lodge "Intelligence," Sovereign Prince of Masonry. Lacorne, Substitute of the Grand Master, W. Dep. M. of Lodge "Trinity," Grand Perfect Elect, Knight and Prince Mason. Savalette de Bucheley, Grand Keeper of the Seals, Grand Elect, Grand Knight and Prince Mason. Taupin, etc., Prince Mason, Brest-de-la-Chaussée, etc., W. M. of the Lodge "Exactitude," Grand Elect

APPRENTICE'S PILLAR

Roslyn Chapel, near Edinburgh, Scotland


LEE WOODWARD EIGLER.

Perfect Master, Knight Prince Mason. Count de Choiseul, etc., Prince Mason Boucher de Lenoncourt, etc., W. M. of the Lodge "Virtue," Prince Mason.

By order of the Grand Lodge. Daubertin, Grand Elect Perfect Master and Knight Prince Mason, W. M. of the Lodge "Saint Alphonse," Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge and of the Sublime Council of Prince Masons in France, etc.

The first soil which Morin touched on his mission to America was San Domingo, and afterward, on his arrival at Kingston, Jamaica, he appointed Henry Francken a Deputy Inspector-General.[1] Later on other appointments were made by him to this office, and these Deputies he supplied with copies of the Grand Constitutions, which had been adopted in 1762. Soon after his appointment Francken visited the North American Colonies, where he gave an appointment of Deputy Inspector-General to Moses M. Hayes, at Boston, Mass.

Francken established under his commission from Morin a lodge at Albany, N. Y. This was a Lodge of Perfection of the 14th Degree. On December 20, 1767, he conferred the degree of Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, the 25th Degree of the Rite, on several Brethren of the order. This lodge seems not to have prospered, and was nearly forgotten when in 1822 Giles Fonda Gates, one of the most active Brethren of the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction, discovered the original Warrant, together with some patents of the Brethren of the body, and its books of record.

This was, no doubt, the very first body of the "Rite of Perfection "ever planted on the Continent of North America, and there were, doubtless, several such bodies in the Islands of the West Indies.

Those Masons who have progressed beyond the Blue Lodge degrees, and are familiar with the Capitular and Cryptic Rites, as also the degrees of the Commandery and those of the A.·. A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. can readily perceive how Thomas Smith Webb was able to manufacture the degrees attributed to him, after his residence in Albany, and his connection with the Masons of that city.

[1] The date is not known, but it must have been between 1762 and 1767.

Brother Da Costa was made Deputy Inspector-General for South Carolina by Hayes in 1781; he also appointed Solomon Bush Deputy for Pennsylvania, and B. M. Spitzer Deputy for Georgia.

Da Costa established in Charleston in 1783 a Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection.

A Council of Princes of Jerusalem was duly constituted in Charleston, and Meyers, Spitzer, and Frost were present and installed the Officers. The Council of Knights Kadosh was organized in Philadelphia in 1796 by refugees from San Domingo. When France again assumed authority over San Domingo, these Brethren returned home and the council became dormant if not entirely extinct.

In New York City a chapter of Rose Croix (18th Degree) was established in 1797, the Grand Constitution of 1786 and the ritual of the eight added degrees having been received in Charleston at that time. The bodies already established in Charleston accepted the new *régime* and adopted the new degrees, and in 1801 a convention was held and preliminary steps inaugurated to form a Supreme Council of the 33d and Last Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry.

The name of this new body was "The Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the Thirty-third and Last Degree for the United States of America." It was formed and organized by John Mitchell and Frederic Dalcho, and during the year the full number of members, nine, was admitted.

This new body recognized the Constitutions of 1762, the Secret Constitutions, and the much-discussed Constitutions of 1786.

These latter constitutions are believed to have been approved and ratified by Frederick the Great of Prussia, as Supreme Head and Governor of the Rite, and, as already stated, provide for the government of the Rite, after his death, by a council in each nation. Although these constitutions claim to have been recognized as the Supreme Law of the Rite in 1786, they were not published till 1832, when a French version appeared. A Latin text was published two years afterward which, while agreeing with the French book in essentials, differs in many of the details. It may be broadly stated that the Latin version is more precise, more complete, more in legal form, and, hence, some students have arrived at the conclusion that the Latin constitutions, thus written in a language uni-

versally understood, were the original, while the French version was really an adaptation for the use of the Brethren in France.

But the question whether the French or Latin text is the original is a mere trifle of little importance compared with another vital one, namely: "Were the Constitutions of 1786 ever seen or sanctioned by Frederick the Great? Were they not forged in Charleston?" Those who asserted the falseness of the constitutions made no attempt to demonstrate the commission of forgery at Charleston, but confined themselves to denying that they were ever sanctioned by Frederick. The reasons alleged for this opinion were that in 1786 Frederick was mentally and physically incapacitated for business, and, furthermore, that the names subscribed to the Latin version were fictitious. The injurious suspicions as to the veracity of numerous Masonic statements, caused by the injudicious zeal and the uncritical methods of many Masonic writers, led to the general acceptance of the belief that the constitutions as contained in the Latin version were like many of the stories invented by the arch-impostor, Cagliostro, and others, simply stupid forgeries by men ignorant or careless of historical facts and historical probabilities. This belief, it may be repeated, was held not only by men not affiliated to any Masonic order, but by many Masons of good standing. It was reserved for an American Mason, of the highest degree, Brother Albert Pike, to refute this theory. That eminent Mason, in his *Historical Inquiry,* showed from documents of the period that in 1786 Frederick the Great, while undoubtedly suffering from physical ailments, was still in the habit of attending to business. Brother Pike likewise showed that the names appended to the Constitution of 1786 were those of men who were connected with the Court of Berlin. The result of his investigations, after an extensive and impartial study of all accessible sources of information, was to the effect that the aforesaid constitutions were drawn up at Berlin and duly ratified by Frederick in the year assigned to them. As such they were recognized by the Southern Supreme Council. This refers to the Latin version of the constitutions. Another student of the history of the Rite considers the French version the original, and this is the version which is recognized by the Northern Supreme Council.

Without quoting at length from Bro. Pike's *Historical Inquiry,* it may be advisable to give some of his conclusions. He shows that

when Francken in 1767 introduced the Rite into the American Colonies it was generally understood that the supreme governing power was in Berlin, and that in 1770 the Lodge of Perfection at Albany was directed to transmit reports to Berlin, while, still earlier, a tracing-board made by one of its members displays the double eagle of Prussia as a symbol of the head of the order. Moreover, in 1785, the Lodge of Perfection at Philadelphia drew up an address to be presented to Frederick as head of the order.

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33°, the title of which heads this chapter, like all the so-called Scottish Masonry, has nothing whatever to do with the Grand Lodge of Scotland. No portion of it, except perhaps the Royal Order of Scotland, ever originated in Scotland, nor were any of these so-called Scottish degrees at any time practiced in Scotland. Gould, in his history, applies the word Scots as distinguished from Scottish to show these additions to Freemasonry made on the Continent. These so-called Scottish or Scots degrees seem to have originated about the year 1740 in France. The statement that Irish chapters existed in Paris from 1739, holding their constitutions from the Grand Chapter of Dublin, cannot be accepted. There is no evidence to support it, and Masonic authorities reject it, holding that a much later date must be assigned to all these Irish degrees. Nor must we confuse the "Orient de Bouillon" with these so-called Scots Masons, for that was simply a Grand Lodge established in Luxemburg, years afterward.

What these Scots lodges taught nobody knows and nobody need care. Rituals exist in lamentable profusion, but unfortunately they do not agree. They are, however, all permeated with one notion, the absurdity of which will show the absurdity of the system. They state that some Scottish crusaders found in a vault the long-lost ineffable word, and that in their search they worked "with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other." This expression is taken from the Hebrew account of the building of the Second Temple of Zerubbabel, and while natural enough as applied to builders, is quite out of place in the case of men rummaging in some subterranean passage. The story of the "long lost, ineffable word" we meet with in the *Arabian Nights,* where we learn that the knowledge of it made Solomon, the King of Genii, able to perform all kinds of marvels. The *Arabian Nights* is the fit place for the story. It

must be remembered, too, that the temple that the Crusaders saw was not Solomon's nor Zerubbabel's, but Herod's, erected a little before the birth of Christ.

At any rate, relying on this fable, the Scots Master claimed to be in possession of the true secrets of Freemasonry, the true history and the real designs of the order. He claimed also to be in every way superior to the Master Mason, and to hold various peculiar privileges.

In utter contempt for the great principle on which Freemasonry is founded, the perfect equality of all its members with a governing body elective and representative, the Scots Masters claimed to rank before the W. M. of any lodge even when they were only present as visitors. They claimed the right to wear a distinctive dress and to remain covered even in a Master's Lodge. They claimed to impart the secrets of the E. A., F. C, and W. M. degrees, personally and either with or without ceremony as the whim seized them. They would not, if they were members of a lodge, permit anyone but other Scots Masons to sit in judgment upon them. Matters became still worse when the Scots Lodges were "grafted on the ordinary Lodges," and increased in number and in arrogance. In these cases the W. M., instead of being elected by the lodge, was nominated by the Scots Lodge, and as was inevitable, he was almost always one of themselves. All questions of ritual and doctrine were decided by the Scots Lodge, all the finances were managed by the Scots Lodge, in fact all the governing powers were usurped by the Scots Lodge. Nay, the Scots Lodge went so far as to arrogate to itself all the powers of a Grand Lodge, and as such to issue Warrants of Constitution. From the exercise of these powers arose the so-called Scots Mother Lodges which became so numerous in France, each Mother Lodge claiming and exercising the right of granting constitutions and warrants to other lodges, and of developing systems of degrees peculiar to themselves, and worked in chapters all independent of each other. France, it has been said, was the inventor of all these novelties, and the most important of its Scots Mother Lodges was the one established in Marseilles in 1751 under the title of St. John of Scotland. To give it some ground for calling itself Scots, it professed to be founded by a traveling Scotsman, and proceeded to grant warrants to a large number of lodges in France and elsewhere. From it descended another so-called Mother Lodge, the Mother Lodge of the county of Venaissin, with its seat

at Avignon, which in turn became the mother of the Scottish Philosophic Rite. In all these new systems not only was the true original and beautiful simplicity of the Craft overlaid and disfigured by foolish legends and childish ceremonies, but to quote Br. Gould, "the governing power is autocratic and irresponsible, a hierarchy is formed, the highest class rules all the others, and directs the lower classes without appeal from those below it." France, we have seen, may be considered as the inventor of what a German historian of Masonry calls "the lying fictions" of the so-called High Degrees, and in the 18th century, as in the present, set the fashion to Europe. The arch impostor Balsamo, who called himself the Count Cagliostro, was in the height of his reputation, preaching the doctrines of his Egyptian Masonry, of which he made himself the Grand Cophta; his dupes were persons of the highest rank, and speedily a flood of imbecile mysticism overwhelmed most of the lodges on the Continent of Europe. From France it spread to Germany, and the name of its introducer into the Empire is given as a Count von Schmettau. In Berlin the members of the lodge entitled the Three Globes erected a Scots Lodge in 1741, Hamburg followed with a Scots Lodge or two in 1744, and the Saxon city of Leipzig in 1747, and the Free City of Frankfort followed suit in 1753. It is stated that between 1742 and 1764 no fewer than forty-seven such lodges were erected in Germany. These Scots Lodges, however, were soon absorbed by the Clermont system with its low chapter degrees, which system in its turn was absorbed by the Templar system of "Strict Observance." Even now, some of these Scots Lodges, according to Mr. Gould, form the basis of the German Grand Lodge Systems, styled the "Inner Orient."

To France and to the Scots Lodges in France must be assigned the manufacture of those new degrees which connected the Scots Masons with the Knights Templars and thus gave life to the whole system of Templarism. It was an age of disbelief and credulity, of sensuality and mysticism, of the hardest common-sense and the wildest tomfoolery. It was an age of unrest, of decay, and a longing for a new birth, and the teachings of history were scorned, and every fable—the more improbable the better—was eagerly accepted, till men really believed that there was some foundation for the legend that the Military and Religious Order of the Temple, in spite of its having perished in fire and blood, had in some unknown way,

preserved a germ of vitality for some four hundred years. In 1741 a degree called the Kadosh degree, representing the Vengeance of the Templars, was invented by the Masons of Lyons, and henceforth all the new rites of French origin contain Knightly and almost all Templar degrees, the connection being in all instances formed by some of the Scots degrees. The German Handbook enumerates over sixty-eight such degrees in various rites, and it is probable this list could be extended. The name Scottish, too, is assumed by many rites to designate the whole system, for instance the Scottish Philosophic Rite. The above-mentioned system of the chapters of Clermont was a Templar continuation of the Scots degrees, and grew into the so-called Emperors of the East and West, and finally developed into the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°."

It was on the Continent of Europe that these innovations on the simple ceremonies and beneficial doctrines of the Craft spread out most luxuriantly. Under the assumption that the Scots lodges could issue warrants of constitutions, whole swarms of irresponsible lodges were formed, in which the principles of the Craft were little considered. From this period may be dated the enmity of the Church and the Kings of Europe to any association that bore the name or claimed any affiliation with the Freemasons. There is no doubt that most of these lodges became political centers of social and political conspirators. In the hierarchy of these rites, each class is self-elected, and thus admits only those it pleases, while the lower classes have no voice in the management of their affairs or in the election of their rulers.

Our limits will not permit any very extended reference to the varied changes in these so-called "High Degrees" prior to the full establishment of the Ancient and Accepted Rite; but we must mention the most important events, that the reader may appreciate the subsequent and final establishment of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, which took its origin, as such, in Charleston, S. C, in 1801, and the formation of the very first "Supreme Council of Grand Inspectors General of the 33d degree, in South Carolina," with Colonel John Mitchell Sov. Grand Commander.

From all the authorities which have been examined, in respect to the Chapter of Clermont, the system of Masonry therein prac-

ticed gives no definite information. Thory, who wrote sixty years subsequently, states that Chevalier de Bonneville founded a chapter on November 24, 1754. Brother Gould, in his history of this chapter, denies the statement of Thory, that Von Hund took the Templar degrees in that chapter, as he had left France for the last time in 1743, or eleven years previously, and erected his first Templar Chapter in Unwurde in 1751.

Thory also says: "The Chapter was based on the three degrees of Freemasonry, and the Scots or St. Andrew degree, and worked three higher, 5°, the Knight of the Eagle or Select Master; 6°, the Illustrious Knight or Templar; 7°, the Sublime Illustrious Knight."

The Chevalier de Bonneville, mentioned above, is probably the same person as the Count de Bonneville who founded in 1760 a lodge in the Nouvelle France, near Paris, which is described as being brilliantly conducted and frequented by persons of high rank. The difference in the titles given to Bonneville can be explained by the old French system by which a younger son was styled Chevalier until by the death of older members of the family he attained the higher rank of Count, and such deaths may have occurred between the two dates of 1754 and 1760. Not much information can be found respecting the doings of this lodge created by M. de Bonneville, and it is probable that Kloss's opinion of it referring to the "Emperors of the East and West" is the nearest to the truth. As to the "Emperors of the East and West," an account will be given later. While the history of the Rite, as far as France is concerned, is obscure, its history in Germany is more important.

We will now briefly state the Masonic affairs of Germany in connection with this "Chapter of Clermont." In 1742 the members of the "Three Globes" erected the Scots Lodge "Union" to work the fourth or Scots degree. The Baron Von Printzen was, in 1750-54 and 1757-61, W. M. of the Mother-Lodge "Three Globes" of Berlin; *i.e.,* he was *ex-officio* Grand Master of all the lodges of "Three Globes." In 1757 the French Marquis Gabriel Tilly de Lernais came to Berlin as a prisoner of war, and in 1758, with Printzen, founded a chapter of the three Clermont degrees, grafted upon the Mother-Lodge of the "Three Globes," and the Scots Lodge "Union." On June 10, 1760, this chapter constituted the chapter "Sun" at Rostock; and on July 19, 1760, took

the title of "Premier Grand Chapter of Clermont in Germany." Philip Samuel Rosa was appointed to travel over the north of Germany, to bring the lodges under the control of the "Three Globes" and to institute chapters. A fourth chapter was constituted by Rosa at Stettin, March, 1762; he then, subsequently, instituted eight others, in different cities, until in June, 1763, his career was terminated by being expelled from the Craft; his successor, Schubart, instituted the last and fifteenth German chapter of Clermont, at Magdeburg, November 27, 1763.

It has been thought by some writers that the name of Clermont was derived from the College of Jesuits of that name. Brother Gould, however, does not concur therewith, and says: "I am unable to believe that the Jesuits could have consented to glorify the Knights Templars, nor can I see anything new in these degrees, being, as they were, merely amplifications and rearrangements of previous ones. I prefer to consider the title a delicate compliment to the Duke of Clermont, Grand Master of French Masonry from 1743 to 1770."[1]

Inasmuch as the "Knights of the East" was a body of "improved" Masonry about that period, it becomes proper to give some account of that organization, and we are again indebted to Brother Gould above all other authors for his very impartial examination into the history of not only this particular body, but also in that connection all of those systems which flooded the Continent about the middle of the 18th century and toward the close of it.

The only real attempt to arrive at the facts, in regard to this early system, was made by Dr. Kloss. Other writers had overlooked the separate existence of Masons, who were called "Sovereign Princes of Masonry," "either confusing them with certain special degrees of other systems, or treating them as an offshoot of the Emperors of the East and West." Even the usually diffuse *Handbuch* is excessively meager in the information which it supplies. Yet if Kloss's extensive and minute researches are to be given their just weight, it is to the rivalry between the Knights and the Emperors that must be attributed the sorrowful picture of discord presented by the Grand Lodge of France, 1760-80.

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[1] Gould, vol. v., p. 95.

In 1754 the Grand Lodge of the members of the Chapter of Clermont had been founded, and in the following year the Grand Lodge of France acknowledged the privileges which were claimed to be possessed by the so-called Scottish Masons. This action may probably have been with a desire to counterbalance the influence of the Chapter of Clermont. This chapter seems to have been decidedly of an aristocratic order, and to have enrolled as its members only the high nobility, members of the Court circle, high officers in the military and other professions reserved to nobles, while all less favored individuals were refused admission to it. It was a period in French history when the lower noblesse, and the noblesse of the robe, as the highest lawyers or judges were entitled, as distinguished from the noblesse of the sword, the designation of the old feudal nobility, with its military traditions, were striving to obtain great influence and higher recognition in the social hierarchy. It was from this class of the lower nobility and less highly placed officials that the association of "Knights of the East, Princes and Sovereigns of Masonry" was formed in 1756. Its separate subdivision took the name of colleges, each of which bore the name of its president. The chief college was that of Valois of Paris. If this college followed the usage of its fellow colleges, Valois must have been a man who as yet remains undiscovered. Under these circumstances, it is more probable that the name is taken from the province of the Valois, adjoining the Isle of France, in which Paris is situated, and which gave its name to the royal family that sat on the throne of France from Francis I. to Henry III. Be this as it may, some names of these Knights of the East survive, and they clearly show that the association was recruited mainly from the lower nobility and the upper middle class. The occurrence of a name like Baron Tschadi is no objection to this view. In the first place, the name shows he was not a Frenchman, and in the second place the title baron was that reserved to the richer members of the mercantile or financial class.

The statutes of the Rite are elaborate; one article provides that the position of Sovereign shall be held for the space of one year by each member in turn. Another article, No. 7, decrees that the Knights of the East are the born princes of the complete order, just as the Scottish Masters are the Grand Superiors of the Masonic Order. The next article lays down the doctrine that if a Knight of

the East comes in his travels to a place where no lodge of the Rite exists, he may dispense the light of the first six degrees to a Master Mason. The term "first six degrees" implies that the degrees were more than that number, and that therefore there were at least seven degrees beyond that of Master, or ten degrees in all, thus working three degrees higher than the Chapter of Clermont.

The dominant position of the College of Valois in the Knights of the East was lost in 1762, as the result of an intestine quarrel. Its place was taken by a Sovereign Council of the Knights of the East, of which the following officers of the Grand Lodge of France were members: The Grand Keeper of the Seal, Brest de la Chaussée; the President, one of the Wardens; the Grand Orator, the Secretary General and the Grand Secretary. The prime mover of this resolution is said to have been a Parisian tailor named Poilet, but this is improbable, as in 1764 we find a Poilet acting as a leading member of the rival Emperors, and his humble profession would certainly have excluded a tailor from the aristocratic Emperors. There is reason, however, to believe that from this period the aristocratic Emperors of the East and West lost much of their influence in Grand Lodge, while the lower class Knights gained power. The old rivalry still went on and in 1766 the Knights sustained a defeat from the Emperors and many of their members were expelled. The Sovereign Council of the Knights of the East retaliated by a circular in which it requested all lodges to cease working Templar degrees. The Knights evidently did not do so. The Emperors of the East and West, as they were an offshoot and continuation of the Chapter of Clermont, certainly did so. The quarrels of the Emperors and the Knights continued and grew more bitter, till it became necessary in 1767 for the Government to issue an edict dissolving the Grand Lodge. From that the Knights of the East, as a body, sank into insignificance.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINAL SUPREME COUNCIL

THE very first Supreme Council of which we have any knowledge whatever, either by tradition or history, was the one organized by John Mitchell, Frederic Dalcho, Emanuel De La Motta, Abraham Alexander, Major T. B. Bowen, and Israel Delieben, at Charleston, S. C, May 31, 1801. This was a transformation of the former "Rite of Perfection," or Ancient and Accepted Rite.

The Brethren who constituted this new Rite were all members of the several Constituent Bodies, which derived their Masonic life, and *constituted* authority from Morin through his Deputies duly appointed by him to propagate the Rite on the American Continent, or more extensively the Western Hemisphere.

The pedigree is as follows: Morin commissioned Francken, and Francken commissioned Moses M. Hayes, Moses M. Hayes commissioned Barend M. Spitzer, and the latter, on April 2, 1795, commissioned John Mitchell as Deputy Inspector-General, reciting in his patent of commission that he does so by authority of the Convention of Inspectors held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1781. This new Rite, which came into the world apparently fully developed, was really a transformation of the Rite of Perfection.

To show conclusively as to when the Supreme Council of the 33d and last degree was organized, we are permitted to furnish herewith a *facsimile* copy of the "Register" of the several bodies of the A.·. A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. which met in the city of Charleston, S. C., in 1802. The original is in the Archives of the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction in Washington, D. C

ANNUAL REGISTER

OF THE

BRETHREN WHO COMPOSE THE

SUBLIME GRAND LODGE OF PERFECTION OF SOUTH-CAROLINA,

ESTABLISHED AT CHARLESTON, ANNO LUCIS 5783.

ALSO,

THE LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE

GRAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM;

OFFICERS OF THE SOVEREIGN CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX DE HERODEN;

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE GRAND CONSISTORY,

AND

GRAND INSPECTORS GENERAL OF THE 33d DEGREE.

Hoc maxime officii, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari. TULL.

REGISTER FOR THE YEAR 5802.

CHARLESTON (SOUTH-CAROLINA)

PRINTED BY T. B. BOWEN, NO 3, BROAD-STREET

BY THE GLORY OF THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE.

LUX E TENEBRIS.

Officers of the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection of South Carolina.

Sublime Grand Master.

FREDERICK DALCHO, native of Maryland, Doctor of Medicine, Member of the Medical Society of South-Carolina, Honorary Member of the Chemical and Medical Societies of Philadelphia, and one of the Physicians of the Charleston Dispensary, &c. &c. aged 32 years, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree, and Lieutenant Grand Commander for the United States.

Sublime Deputy Grand Master.

JOSEPH JAHAN, native of Montargis, en Gatinois, Planter of Saint Domingo, aged 43 years, Master of the Lodge *la Candeur*, N. 12, Past Sublime Grand Master, R.·.M.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

Sublime Senior Grand Warden.

ISAAC AULD, native of Pennsylvania, Doctor of Medicine, Member of the Medical Society of South-Carolina, Honorary Member of the Medical and Chemical Societies of Philadelphia, and one of the Physicians of the Charleston Dispensary, &c. aged 32 years, R.·.M.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree.

Sublime Junior Grand Warden.

WILLIAM PORTER, native of Ireland, Commission Merchant, aged 37 years, Prince of Jerusalem.

(5)

Grand Orator and Keeper of the Seals.

JAMES MOULTRIE, native of South-Carolina, Doctor of Medicine Port Physician, Vice-President of the Medical Society of South-Carolina, and one of the Physicians of the Charleston Dispensary, &c. aged 38 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree.

Sublime Grand Treasurer.

JAMES ALLISON, native of North-Britain, Cooper, aged 46 years, R.·.✠.·.

Sublime Grand Secretary.

JOHN PETER PROYS, native of Hanover, Accountant, aged 33 years, Prince of Jerusalem.

Grand Master of Ceremonies.

ALEXANDER PLACIDE, native of Bourdeaux, Manager of the Charleston Theatre, aged 45 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

(6)

Captain of the Guards.

PIERRE RIGAUD, native of Nantz, Planter of Saint-Domingo, aged 31 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

Grand Tyler.

DAVID LABAT, native of Hamburgh, Storekeeper, aged 42 years, Perfection.

Members.

JOHN MITCHELL, native of Ireland, Justice of the Quorum and Notary Public, late a Lieutenant-Colonel in the American Army, Member of the Cincinnati; and Past Sublime Grand Master, aged 60 years. R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d Degree and Grand Commander for the United States.

THOMAS BARTHOLOMEW BOWEN, native of Ireland, Printer, late a Major in the American Army and Member of the Cincinnati; Past Sublime Grand-Master, aged 60

years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d Degree and Ill. Grand Master of Ceremonies.

ABRAHAM SASPORTAS, native of Bourdeaux, Merchant, aged 56 years, R.·.✠.·. Knight of the Sun.

PIERRE BOUYSSOU, native of Cape Francois, Planter, late Captain of Gendarmerie, and Orator of the Lodge *la Candeur*, aged 48 years. R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

ISRAEL DELIEBEN, native of Bohemia, Commission Merchant, aged 61 years, R. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree.

MICHEL FRONTY, native of Saint-Martial, en Limousin, Doctor of Medicine, aged 50 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

EMANUEL DE LA MOTTA, native of Santa Croix, Commission Merchant and Auctioneer, aged 42 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree, and Ill. Treasurer General of the H. Empire.

ROBERT L'ALLEMAND, native of Port Republican, Planter of St Domingo, aged 53 years R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

JOSEPH BEE, native of South-Carolina, Planter, aged 56 years, R. .✠.·.—Grand Pontiff.

ETIENNE DUBARRY, native of Jarbes, en Bigore, Planter of St Domingo, aged 49 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

PETER SMITH, native of South-Carolina, Factor, aged 53 years, Prince of Jerusalem.

JOSEPH CLARET, native of Narbonne, Master of Lodge No. 45, aged 36 years, R.·.✠.·.

SOLOMON HARBY, native of London, Commission merchant and Auctioneer, aged 40 years, R.·.✠.·. K. H—P. R. S.

JEAN ANDRE PELLETANT, native of Planter of St. Domingo aged years, R.·.✠.·.

THOMAS BAKER, native of England, Insurance

Insurance Broker, aged 27 years, Secret Master.

JEAN REIGNE', native of Castillon, near Bourdeaux, aged 30 years. R.·. ✠.·.

JOSEPH DICKINSON, native of South-Carolina, Inspector of Exports, late a Captain of Infantry, aged 33 years, Intimate Secretary.

JEAN JACQUES THOMAS, native of London, Merchant, aged 42 years, R. ✠.·.

JACOB DELEON, native of Jamaica, Commission Merchant and Auctioneer, aged 38 years, Intendant of the Building.

JEAN DESBEAUX, native of Buzet, Cooper, aged 37 years, R. ✠.·.

FRANCIS LOUVRIER SAINT MARY, native of Nevers, aged 39 years, Intimate Secretary.

PIERRE JOSEPH MORE, native of Fontaine, en Franche Comte, Surgeon, aged 50 years, Knight of the East and West.

JEREMIAH WILCOX, native of Rhode-Iſland, Painter; aged 33 years, Provoſt and Judge.

GEORGE ESTILLET, native of New Orleans, aged 28 years, intimate Secretary.

ISAAC CANTER, native of Santa Croix, Auctioneer, aged 33 years, Knight of the Eaſt.

JOHN HINCKLEY MITCHEL, native of South-Carolina, Juſtice of the Peace, and Notary Public, aged 33 years, Secret Maſter.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, native of South-Carolina, Factor, aged 26 years, Secret Maſter.

LEWIS T. RAYNAL, native of South-Carolina, Accountant, aged 24 years, Elected of Nine.

JOHN BANKS, native of England, Accountant, aged 30 years, Intimate Secretary.

MORRIS GOLDSMITH, native of

London. Merchant, aged 21 years, Secret Master.

JOHN BILLEAUD, native of Saint-Sezaire, en Xaintonge, aged 30 years, Elected of Fifteen.

THOMAS NAPIER, native of North-Britain, Merchant, aged 30 years, Knight of the East.

EMANUEL CANTOR, native of Santa Croix, Merchant, aged 30 years, Intimate Secretary.

Honorary Members.

His Royal Highness CHARLES, Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sudermania, Heir of Norway, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormarrie and Dittmarche, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. Grand Admiral of Sweden, Vicar of Solomon of the 7th and 9th Province, and National Grand Master of the Kingdom of Sweden, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.— P. R. S.

Comte ALEXANDER FRANCOIS AUGUSTE DE GRASSE, native of Verſailles, Planter of Saint Domingo, aged 36 years, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inſpector General of the 33d degree, Grand Commander for the French Weſt Indies, and Repreſentative of the Sublime Grand Lodge of South-Carolina, in and to the Sublime Lodge in Saint Domingo.

JEAN BAPTISTE MARIE DELAHOGUE, native of Paris, Planter of Saint Domingo, aged 58 years, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S. Sov. Grand Inſpector General of the 33d degree, and Lieutenant Grand Commander for the French Weſt Indies.

JOHN SUCKLEY, native of London, Merchant of Saint Domingo, aged 24 years, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

NICOLAS SAMSON PANEL, native of Normandy, Merchant of Porto-Rico, aged 28 years, R.·. ✠.·.

JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH, native

of Pennſylvania, aged 50 years, late Grand Maſter of the State of Penſylvania, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

SAMUEL MYERS, native of New-York, Merchant of Virginia, aged 43 years, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

MOSES MICHAEL HAYES, native of Merchant, of Boſton, R.·. ✠.·. K. H.—P. R. S.

ADDRESS:

TO DOCTOR FREDERICK DALCHO,

EAST-BAY.

CHARLESTON, (*South-Carolina.*)

The Sublime Grand Lodge, meets at the Ineffable Lodge Room, Meeting-ſtreet, every other Saturday evening at ſix o'clock, from the Autumnal to the Vernal Equinox, and on the firſt Saturday in every month at ſeven o'clock, in the evening, from the Vernal to the Autumnal Equinox.

D. G. M. T. P. S. G. M.

and Keeper of the Seals.

Command.

S Grand Secretary.

(15)

(XV—&—XVI)

BY THE GLORY OF THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE.

LUX E TENEBRIS

HEALTH, STABILITY AND POWER.

Officers of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, in South-Carolina A. L. 5802.

ILL. BRO. COL. JOHN MITCHELL—Most Equitable.

DR. FREDERICK DALCHO—Senior Most Enlightened.

DR. ISAAC AULD—Junior Most Enlightened.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER—K. D.

SOLOMON HARBY—Grand Orator and Keeper of the Seals.

ISRAEL DELIEBEN—Grand Treasurer.

JOSEPH BEE—Grand Secretary.

ALEXANDER PLACIDE—Master of ceremonies.

. Tyler (vacant)

(16)

Representative in St. Domingo.

AUGUSTUS DE GRASSE—K. H—P. R. S.

Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d Degree.

Conventions are held on the first Sundays of February, May, August and November, at 12 o'clock, M. *at the Ineffable Lodge Room.*

XVIII.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

SS. SS. SS.

Officers of the Sovereign Chapter of Rose Croix de Hereden, in South-Carolina, A. D. 1802.

Bro. Col. JOHN MITCHELL—E. M. Perfect Sovereign.

Dr. FREDERICK DALCHO—M. E. P. Senior Warden.

Dr. ISAAC AULD—M. E. P. Junior Warden.

EMANUEL DE LA MOTTA—Grand Treasurer.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER—Grand Secretary.

Major T. B. BOWEN—Grand Master of Ceremonies.

Grand Tyler (vacant)

(13)

Assemblages of the Knights are held in the Ineffable Lodge Room at Meridian, on the day of the Annual Feast, Shrove Tuesday, Tuesday after Easter, the day of Ascension, the day of Penticost, all Saints day and the two festivals of St. John.

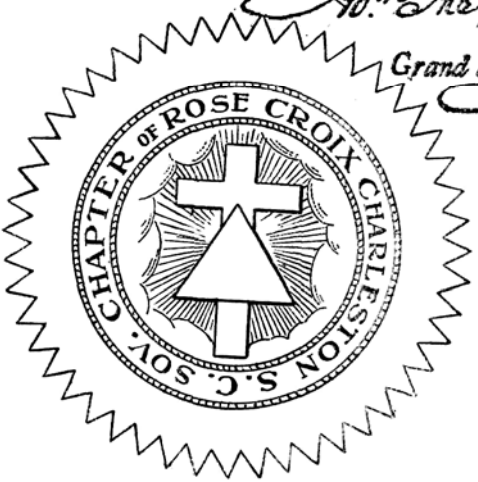
E. M. P. S.

M. E. P. S. W.

M. E. P. J. W.

By Command.

Grand Secretary.



AD GLORIAM DEI.

Knights of K. H. and Members of the Grand Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret in South-Carolina, A. L. 5802.

COL. JOHN MITCHELL—T. Ill. Grand Commander.

DR. FREDERICK DALCHO—T. I. Lieutenant Grand Commander.

JOSEPH JAHAN—T. I. Lieutenant Grand Commander.

DR. JAMES MOULTRIE—Minister of State and Grand Orator.

DR. MICHAEL FRONTY—Grand Chancellor

EMANUEL DE LA MOTTA—Grand Treasurer.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER—Grand Secretary.

PIERRE BOUYSSOU—Grand Master Architect and Engineer.

DR. ISAAC AULD—Physician General.

ISRAEL DELIEBEN—Keeper of the Seals and Archives.

MAJOR T. B BOWEN—Grand Master of Ceremonies.

PIERRE RIGAUD—Captain of the Guards

(S. Tyler vacant.)

(J. Tyler vacant.)

SOLOMON HARBY. ETIENE DUBARRY

ROBERT LALLEMAND. ALEXANDER PLACIDE.

MOSES C. LEVY.

Representative in St. Domingo.

AUGUSTUS DE GRASSE—K. H—P. R. S.

Sov. Grand Inspector General of the 33d Degree.

Consistories are held at M. at the Ineffable Lodge Room, on the 21st March, 25th June. 21st September and 27th December.

T. I. G. C.

T. I. I. G. C. T. I. L. G. C.

the Seals and Archives.

By Command.

Grand Secretary.

GRAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES

INDUSTRIA MODO MONERI

SOUTH CAROLINA

(21)

(XVII—to—XXXIII inc.)

Universi terrarum Orbis Architectonis gloria ab ingentis.

DEUS MEUMQUE JUS.

ORDO AB CHAO.

Supreme Council of Grand Inspectors General of the 33d degree, in South-Carolina.

COLONEL JOHN MITCHEL—Sov. Grand Commander.

DR. FREDERICK DALCHO—Lieutenant Grand Commander.

EMANUEL DE LA MOTTA—Ill. Treasurer General of the H. Empire.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER—Ill. Secretary General of the H. Empire.

MAJOR T. B. BOWEN—Ill. Grand Master of Ceremonies.

ISRAEL DELIEBEN—Sov. Grand Inspector General.

HIS MAJESTY, KING EDWARD VII

P.G.M. and Protector of Masons of England

Dr. ISAAC AULD—Sov. Grand Inſpector General.

MOSES C. LEVY—Sov. Grand Inſpector General.

Dr. JAMES MOULTRIE—Sov. Grand Inſpector General.

Ill. Capt. of the Life Guards (vacant.)

(23)

Representative in Saint Domingo.

AUGUSTUS DE GRASSE—Sov. Grand Commander for the French West Indies.

Councils are held at the house of the Grand Commander at Meridian, every third new Moon, reckoning from the new Moon in May.

Lt. Gd. Com. Sov. Gd. Com.

By Command,

etary General of the H. Empire.

SUPREME COUNCIL 33

DEUS MEUMQUE JUS

CHAPTER III

THE SCOTTISH RITE IN THE UNITED STATES

COUNCIL of Princes of Jerusalem was duly constituted in Charleston, February 20, 1788, and Brothers Joseph Meyers, Behrend M. Spitzer, and A. Forst installed the Officers.

Notwithstanding that in planting the Scottish Rite, or, as it was then known, the "Rite of Perfection," in many States, by the appointment of Inspectors, who had only received what was at that early date recognized as the 25th Degree or "Prince of the Royal Secret," the Rite was only worked in Charleston. In consequence of the zeal of the Brethren in that city and their devotion to the Rite, we owe the foundation of the first bodies, as shown in the fac-similes given, the last one being the "Supreme Council of the 33d and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Mother-Supreme Council of the World." A council of Knights Kadosh was organized in Philadelphia in 1796, by Masons who were refugees from San Domingo, during the negro insurrection on that island. This body soon ceased to exist, in consequence of the return of the Brethren to that island very soon after its organization.

In New York, in 1797, a chapter of Rose Croix was instituted.

In 1792 it is said a Lodge of Perfection was formed at Baltimore, Md., by Henry Wilmans.[1] There is no certainty as to his authority for such establishment. Brother Edward T. Schultz gives a list of seventy-six members. There was also a Lodge of Perfection at Albany, N. Y., which was in accord with the symbolic lodge, and at one time had the same Brother for Master; and we notice also that the symbolic lodges in Philadelphia were in union with the Lodge of Perfection in that city.[2]

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[1] "History of Masonry," by Edw. T. Schultz, vol. vi., p. 1555.

[2] There is an old volume in the archives of the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction, which contains the history of "Sublime Free-Masonry in the United States

A circular, which we give in part below, was issued by the Supreme Council at Charleston (adopted October 10, 1802), under date of December 4, 1802, and copies were sent to every Grand Lodge then in existence in the United States and also in other countries.

"*Circular*"

"As Society improved, and as discoveries of old records were made, the numbers of our degrees were increased, until, in progress of time, the system became complete.

"From such of our records as are authentic, we are informed of the establishment of the Sublime and Ineffable degrees of Masonry in Scotland, France, and Prussia, immediately after the crusades. But from some circumstances, which to us are unknown, after the year 4658 they fell into neglect until the year 5744, when a nobleman from Scotland visited France and re-established the Lodge of Perfection in Bordeaux.

"In 5761 the Lodges and Councils of the Supreme degrees being extended throughout the Continent of Europe, his Majesty the King of Prussia, as Grand Commander of the Order of Prince of the Royal Secret, was acknowledged by all the Craft as the head of the Sublime and Ineffable degrees of Masonry throughout the two hemispheres. His Royal Highness Charles, Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Duke of Sudermania, Heir of Norway, was, and still continues the Grand Commander and protector of the Sublime Masons in Sweden; and his Royal Highness Louis of Bourbon, Prince of the Blood, Duke de Chartres, and the Cardinal Prince and Bishop of Rouen, were at the head of these degrees in France.

"On the 25th of October, 5762, the Grand Masonic Constitutions were finally ratified in Berlin and proclaimed for the government of all the Lodges of Sublime and Perfect Masons, Chapters, Councils, Colleges, and Consistories of the Royal and Military art of Free-Masonry, over the surface of the two hemispheres. There are Secret Constitutions, which have existed from time immemorial, and are alluded to in these instruments.

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of America. Being a Collection of all the Official Documents which have appeared on both sides of the question with Notes and an Appendix. By Joseph McCosh, Charleston, S. C., 1823."

"In the same year the Constitutions were transmitted to our illustrious Brother, Stephen Morin, who had been Appointed[1] on the 27th of August, 5761, Inspector-General over all Lodges in the new World, by the Grand Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret convened in Paris, at which presided the King of Prussia Deputy, 'Chaillon de Joinville, substitute General of the Order, Right Worshipful Master of the first Lodge in France, called St. Anthony's, Chief of the Eminent degrees, Commander and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret,' etc.

"The following Illustrious Brethren were also present: The Brother Prince of Rouen, Master of the Grand Intelligence Lodge and Sovereign Prince of Masonry, etc.

"La Coine, substitute of the Grand Master, Right Worshipful Master of the Trinity Lodge, Grand Elect, Perfect, Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Maximillian de St. Simon, Senior Grand Warden, Grand Elect, Perfect and Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Savalette de Buchelay, Grand Keeper of the Seals, Grand Elect, Perfect Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Duke de Choiseuil, Right Worshipful Master of the Lodge of the Children of Glory, Grand, Elect, Perfect Master, Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Topin, Grand Embassador from his Serene Highness, Grand, Elect, Perfect Master, Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Boucher de Lenoncour, Right Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Virtue, Grand, Elect, Perfect Master, Knight and Prince of Masons.

"Brest de la Chausee, Right Worshipful Master of the Exactitude Lodge, Grand, Elect, Perfect Master, Knight and Prince of Masons. The Seals of the Order were affixed and the Patent countersigned by

"Daubertiny, Grand, Elect, Perfect Master, Knight and Prince of Masons, Right Worshipful Master of the Lodge of St. Alphonso, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge and Sublime Council of Princes of Masons, etc.

"When Brother Morin arrived in St. Domingo, he, agreeably to his patent, appointed a Deputy Inspector General for North-

[1] A copy of his commission is in the archives of the Supreme Council, Southern Jurisdiction, and is given in chapter i of A. A. S. R.

America. This high Honor was conferred on Brother M. M. Hayes, with the power of appointing others, where necessary. Brother Morin also appointed Brother Frankin Deputy Inspector-General of Jamaica and the British Leeward Islands, and Brother Colonel Provest for the Windward Islands and the British Army.

"Brother Hayes appointed Brother Isaac Da Costa Deputy Inspector General for the State of South Carolina, who, in the year 5783, established the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection in Charleston. After Brother Da Costa's death, Brother Joseph Myers was appointed Deputy Inspector-General for his State, by Bro. Hayes, who, also, had previously appointed Brother Colonel Solomon Bush Dep. Insp. Gen. for the State of Pennsylvania, and Bro. Barend M. Spitzer to the same rank for Georgia, which was confirmed by a Convention of Inspectors when convened in Philadelphia, on the 15th of June, 5781.

"On the 1st of May, 5786, the Grand Constitutions of the Thirty-Third Degree, called the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, was ratified by his Majesty the King of Prussia, who as Grand Commander of the Order of Prince of the Royal Secret, possessed the Sovereign Masonic power over all the Craft. In the New Constitution this Power was conferred on a Supreme Council of Nine Brethren in each nation, who possess all the Masonic prerogatives in their own district that his Majesty individually possessed, *and are Sovereigns of Masonry.*

"On the 20th of Feb., 5788, the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem was opened in this City (Charleston, S. C), at which were present Bros. J. Myers, D. I. G. for South Carolina, B. M. Spitzer, D. I. G. for Georgia, and A. Forst, D. I. G. for Virginia. Soon after the opening of the Council, a letter was addressed to his Royal Highness, the Duke of Orleans, on the subject, requesting certain records from the Archives of the Society in France, which in his answer through Col. Shee, his Secretary, he very politely promised to transmit, but which the commencement of the French Revolution most unfortunately prevented.

"On the 2d of Aug., 5795, Brother Colonel John Mitchell, late Dep. Quarter Master Genl. in the Armies of the United States, was made a Dep. Ins. Genl. for this State by Bro. Spitzer, who acted in consequence of Bro. Myers' removal out of the Country.

"Bro. Mitchell was restricted from acting until after Bro. Spitzer's death, which took place in the succeeding year.

"As many Brethren of eminent degrees had arrived from Foreign parts, consistories of Princes of the R. S. were occasionally held, for initiations and other purposes.

"On the 31st of May, 5801, the Supreme Council of the Thirty-third degree for the United States of America was opened with the high honors of Masonry, by Brothers John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho, Sov: Gr: Insp: Genl:; and in the course of the present year the whole number of Grand Inspectors General was completed, agreeably to the Grand Constitutions.

"On the 21st of January, 5802, a Warrant of Constitution passed the Seal of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem for the establishment of a Master Mark Mason's Lodge in this City (Charleston, S. C).

"On the 21st of February, 5802, Our Illustrious Brother, Count Alexandre Francois Auguste Degrasse, Deputy Inspector General, was appointed by the Supreme Council a Grand Inspector General, and Grand Commander of the French West-Indies; and our Illustrious Brother, Jean Baptiste Marie De La Hougue, Dep. Insp. Genl., was also received as an Insp. Genl. and appointed Lieut. Grand Commander of the same Islands.

"On the 4th of December, 5802, a Warrant of Constitution passed the seal of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, for the establishment of a Sublime Grand Lodge in Savannah, Georgia.

THE NAMES OF THE MASONIC DEGREES ARE AS FOLLOWS, VIZ.:

1st degree, called		Entered Apprentice.	Given in the Symbolic Lodges.
2d	"	Fellow Craft.	
3d	"	Master Mason.	
4th	"	Secret Master.	Given in the Sublime Grand Lodge.
5th	"	Perfect Master.	
6th	"	Intimate Secretary.	
7th	"	Provost and Judge.	
8th	"	Intendant of the Building.	
9th	"	Elected Knights of 9.	
10th	"	Illustrious Elected of 15.	
11th	"	Sublime Knight Elected.	
12th	"	Grand Master Architect.	
13th	"	Royal Arch.	
14th	"	Perfection.	

15th	degree,	called	Knights of the East.	Given by the Princes of Jerusalem, which is a governing Council.
16th	"	"	Prince of Jerusalem.	
17th	"	"	Knight of the East and West.	Given by the Council of Grand Inspectors, who are Sovereigns of Masonry.
18th	"	"	Sovereign Prince of Rose Croix de Heredom.	
19th	"	"	Grand Pontiff.	
20th	"	"	Grand Master of all Symbolic Lodges.	
21st	"	"	Patriarch Noachite, or Chevalier Prussian.	
22d	"	"	Prince of Libanus.	
23d	"	"	Chief of the Tabernacle.	
24th	"	"	Prince of the Tabernacle.	
25th	"	"	Prince of Mercy.	
26th	"	"	Knight of the Brazen Serpent.	
27th	"	"	Commander of the Temple.	
28th	"	"	Knight of the Sun.	
29th	"	"	Knight of St. Andrew.	
30th	"	"	K-H.	
31st	"	"	Grand Inquisitor Commander.	
32d	"	"	Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret Prince of Masons.	
33d	"	"	Sovereign Grand Inspectors General. Officers appointed for life.	

"Besides the degrees, which are in regular succession, most of the inspectors are in possession of a number of detached degrees, given in different parts of the world, and which they generally communicate, free of expense, to those brethren who are high enough to understand them. Such as Select Masons of 27 and the Royal Arch as given under the Constitution of Dublin. Six degrees of Maconnerie D'Adoption, Compagnon Ecossais, Le Maitre Ecossais and Le Grand Maitre Ecossais, making in the aggregate 52 degrees.

"The Committee respectfully submit to the consideration of the Council the above report on the principles and establishment of the Sublime degrees in South Carolina extracted from the Archives of the Society. They cannot, however, conclude without expressing their ardent wishes for the prosperity and dignity of the institution over which this Supreme Council preside; and they flatter themselves that if any unfavorable impressions have existed among the Brethern of the Blue degrees, from a want of a knowledge of the principles and practices of Sublime Masonry, it will be done away,

and that harmony and affection will be the happy cement of the Universal Society of Free and Accepted Masons. That as all aim at the improvement of the general condition of Man-kind by the practice of Virtue, and the exercise of benevolence, so they sincerely wish that any little differences which may have arisen, in unimportant ceremonies of *Ancient* and *Modern,* may be reconciled, and given away to the original principles of the order, those great bulwarks of Society, universal benevolence and brotherly love, and that the extensive fraternity of Free-Masons, throughout the two Hemispheres, may form but one band of Brotherhood. 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity.'

"They respectfully Salute your Supreme Council by the *Sacred Numbers.* Charleston, South Carolina, the 10th day of the 8th Month, called Chisleu 5553, A.L. 5802, and of the Christian Era, this 4th day of December, 1802.

"FREDERICK DALCHO.

"K-H.P.R.S., Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d, and Lieutenant Grand Commander in the United States of America.

"ISAAC AULD.

"K-H.P.R.S., Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d.

"E. DE LA MOTTA.

"K-H.P.R.S., Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d, and Illustrious Treasurer General of the H. Empire.

"The above report was taken into consideration, and the Council was pleased to express the highest approbation of the same.

"Whereupon, *Resolved,* That the foregoing report be printed and transmitted to all the Sublime and Symbolic Grand Lodges, throughout the two Hemispheres.

"JNO. MITCHELL.

"K-H.P.R.S., Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d. and Illustrious Secretary General of the H. Empire."

Deus Meumque Jus.

The major part of this circular recites the history of Masonry, as generally understood at that early day, and which we omit, confining our extracts to that part which refers only to the A:A:A:S:R.

The Supreme Council, having been thus established and made known to the whole world of Masonry, is the mother of all the other regular Supreme Councils which have since been organized either immediately or mediately by her authority.

The council in Charleston conferred the 33d Degree on Count de Grasse Tilley, Hacquet, and de la Hogue; and through these Brethren by the authority of letters patent dated February 21, 1802, were established the Supreme Councils of France and also of the French and English West India colonies. Illustrious de Grasse Tilley installed the Supreme Council of France on December 22, 1804, at Paris. This was the first and only Supreme Council established in France; many years subsequently it was divided into two branches, in consequence of the dissension heretofore mentioned; one was called the Supreme Council of France, and the other the Supreme Council of the Grand Orient of France. Both of these bodies are still in existence; the former only, however, is in relations of comity with the Mother Supreme Council, and all the other regular Supreme Councils of the world. The Supreme Council of the Grand Orient is not so.

The Supreme Councils of Italy, Naples, Spain, and the Netherlands were also established by de Grasse Tilley.

Only one Supreme Council of the 33d Degree can exist in each nation or kingdom (by Article V. of the Grand Constitution of 1786): two in the United States of America, as far as possible one from the other; one in the British Islands of America, and one also in the French colonies.

The first Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C, began its labors on May 31, 1801, as hereinbefore stated, and its jurisdiction covered all of the United States of America, until August 5, 1813, at which date the "Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States" was established by special Deputy Emmanuel de la Motta at New York. This Supreme Council was substituted for the Grand Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, 32d Degree. Brother D. D. Tompkins, Vice-President of the United States of America, was M. P. S. Grand Commander.

At a later period the seat of the Northern Supreme Council was changed to Boston. The jurisdiction of the Northern Supreme Council included all the northern and northeastern States east of the Mississippi River, *viz.:* Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The other States and Territories were reserved for itself by the Supreme Council for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States.

The Supreme Council of England and Wales was created by the Northern Supreme Council in March, 1846, and that body created the Supreme Councils of Scotland and of the Canadian Dominion. The Supreme Council for Ireland was established by the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction.

From August 5, 1813, Article V. of the Constitutions of 1786 has been complied with, and there have been consequently in the United States of America but two legitimate Supreme Councils, which have ever endeavored to preserve and enforce their authority: and they have always discountenanced all attempts against that authority which rightfully, according to the Grand Constitutions, belongs to them.

A third Supreme Council could not be established in the United States of America, without a violation of the Constitutions of 1786. Neither the 33d Degree nor a Supreme Council can exist without a compliance with that constitution. The establishment of a second Supreme Council in the United States was not a wise measure, although the constitutions provided for it, as subsequent events demonstrated. It was a remarkable coincidence that in the very year when the two Grand Lodges of Blue Masonry in England were consolidated into one, Scottish Masonry in the United States was amicably divided into two organizations, in consequence of which each Supreme Council altered and amended its own constitutions and statutes, and changed and made material alterations in the rituals, and thereby destroyed the harmony and uniformity of the work.

The injurious and pernicious consequences of this division were soon manifested and both Supreme Councils were called upon to make their defense against the invasion of illegitimate bodies, which not only affected Scottish Rite Masonry, but also all the other

Grand Bodies of Masonry, from the Grand Lodges to the Grand Commanderies of Knights Templars, illegitimate bodies of which were soon established, as well as of the Scottish Rite, by these unauthorized parties.

On October 7, 1856, Foulhouze formed a new Supreme Council and commenced making Masons at sight, and manufacturing Thirty-thirds. Pursuing the same system of misrepresentation as in 1850-51, he succeeded in causing two lodges to withdraw their allegiance from the Grand Lodge of Louisiana. This rebellion was short-lived; in 1858-59 these lodges memorialized the Grand Lodge to be reinstated on its register, and with difficulty obtained their request. On February 4, 1859, the Grand Orient of France expelled Foulhouze, and his so-called Supreme Council soon became dormant. In the early part of 1867 an attempt was made to revive it, and it obtained recognition from the Grand Orient of France; that recognition, however, failed to give it vitality, and in a short time it either became dormant or ceased to exist.

It would be useless to waste valuable time in tracing out all these irregular bodies; yet it would be unwise not to acknowledge that they have had an existence, and that some still continue to the detriment of Freemasonry.

We quote from a letter of the late Ill. Bro. Dr. Henry Beaumont Leeson, the Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of England and Wales and their Dependencies, to the Grand Commander of the Southern Supreme Council of the United States, written at London in 1860, in which he says: "Our own Council is now in a flourishing condition, nearly all of the élite of Masonry in England being ranged under our banners; although we are distinct from Grand Lodge, who acknowledge only the first three degrees, and the Royal Arch, and Grand Conclave, governing the Knights Templars. These two last degrees are in this country, perfectly different and distinct from any of the Ancient and Accepted Degrees, and of very modern origin, neither having existed previous to the middle of the last century. The Knight Templar Degree was concocted in France AND I POSSESS THE ACTUAL MINUTES AND OTHER RECORDS OF THE FRENCH CONVENT. The Royal Arch (Dermott's) was concocted by Ramsay, and modernized by a Chaplain (G. Brown) of the late Duke of Sussex." (Grand Master.)

This spurious French Knight Templar Degree differed from the Webb Templar Degree; it was carried to England and established there; it was also brought to the United States by Joseph Cerneau, who made Templars of New Orleans Masons[1] as well as he did those in New York, where he and his coadjutors also established bodies of Templars, and of the Rite of Perfection with twenty-five degrees, in New Orleans and New York, changed the names of his bodies as suited his pleasure, and declared himself and his coadjutors Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the 33d Degree. There is no evidence that Cerneau ever had received the 33d Degree. We give below a copy of the only document he ever had to show his status as a Mason.

[*Translation*]

TO THE GLORY OF THE [Gr.·. ARCH.·. OF THE UNIV:]

Lux ex Tenebris.

From the Orient of the Very Great and Very Puissant Council of the Sublime Princes [of the Royal Secret], Chiefs of Masonry, under the C: C: of the Zenith [which responds] to the 20° 25' N: Lat:

To our Ill: and Very Valiant Knights and Princes, Masons of all the Degrees, over the surface of the two Hemispheres:

HEALTH!

We, ANTOINE MATHIEU DUPOTET, Grand Master of all the Lodges, Colleges, Chapters, Councils, Chapters and Consistories, of the higher degrees of Masonry, Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Pennsylvania, in the United States of America; and of the Grand Lodge and Sovereign Provincial Grand Chapter of Heredom of Kilwinning, of Edinburgh, for America, under the distinctive title of the Holy Ghost, Grand Provincial of San Domingo in the Ancient Rite, Grand Commander or Sovereign President of the Th: Puissant Grand Council of the Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, established at Port au Prince, Island of San Do-

[1] See chapter liii., pp. 1390, 1391, of this work; also chapter lviii., p. 1624.

mingo, by constitutive patent of 16 January and 19 April, 1801, under the distinctive title of The Triple Unity; transferred to Baracoa, Island of Cuba, on account of the events of war,

Do declare, in the name of the Sublime and Th: Puissant Grand Council, do certify and attest, that the Very Resp: Gr: Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle, *Joseph Cerneau,* Ancient Dignitary of the Lodge No. 47, Orient of Port au Prince, Grand Warden of the Provincial Lodge, same Orient, Venerable founder of the Lodge of the Ancient Constitution of York, No. 103, under the distinctive title of The Theological Virtues, Orient of the Habana, Island of Cuba, has been regularly initiated in all the Degrees of the Sublime Masonry, from that of Secret Master to and including that of Grand Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle; and wishing to give the strongest proofs of our sincere friendship for our said Very Dear Bro: *Joseph Cerneau,* in recognition of the services which he has rendered to the Royal Art, and which he is rendering daily, we have initiated him in the highest, in the most eminent and final Degree of Masonry; we create him our Deputy Grand Inspector, for the Northern part of the Island of Cuba, with all the powers that are attached thereto, giving him full and entire power to initiate the Bros: Masons, whom he may judge [worthy?], to promote them to the Sublime Degrees, from the 4th up to and including the 24th; provided, however, that these Masons shall have been officers of a Lodge regularly constituted and recognized, and in places only where there may not be found Sacred and Sublime and regularly constituted Asyla; from which Bros: he will receive the obligation required and the authentic submission to the Decrees of the Sublime Princes; consulting, however, and calling to his aid the BB: whom he shall know to be decorated with the Sublime Degrees; we give him full and entire power to confer in the name of our aforesaid Grand Council the highest Degrees of Masonry on a Kt: Prince Mason, one only each year, whose virtues he shall recognize, and the qualities required to deserve this favor; and to the end that our dear Bro: *Joseph Cerneau,* so decorated, may enjoy, in this quality, the honours, rights, and prerogatives which he has justly deserved, by his arduous labors in the Royal Art, we have delivered to him these presents, in the margin whereof he has placed his signature, that it may avail him everywhere, and be useful to him alone.

We pray our Resp: BB: regularly constituted, spread over the two Hemispheres, with whatever Degree they may be decorated, whether in Lodge, Ch:, Col:, Sovereign Council . . . Sublime, to recognize and receive our dear Bro:, the Very Illustrious Sov: and Subi: Prince, *Joseph Cerneau,* in all the Degrees above mentioned; promising to pay the same attention to those who in our Orients shall present themselves at the doors of our Sacred Asyla furnished with like authentic titles.

Given by us, S: Sublime Princes, G: C: G: I: G'al: of our aforesaid Grand and Perfect Council, under our Mysterious Seal, and the Grand Seal of the Princes of Masonry, in a place where are deposited the greatest treasures, the sight whereof fills us with consolation, joy, and gratitude for all that is great and good.

At Baracoa, Island of Cuba, anno 5806, under the sign of the Lion, the 15th day of the 5th month called Ab, 7806, of the Creation 5566, and according to the Common Style the 15th July, 1806.

Signed, MATHIEU DUPOTET,
President, Sov: . . . G'al:

A true copy: Signed, MATHIEU DUPOTET,
President, S: G: I: G'al:

I certify that what is transmitted above and the other portions are conformable to my Register.

TIPHAINE,
S: P: R: S:, D: I: G'al: G: Comm:

The foregoing translation of the ancient copy in French has been correctly and faithfully made by me.

March 20, 1882. ALBERT PIKE.

The Northern Supreme Council for a few years was divided into two factions and one of them compromised with and affiliated some of these irregular Masons and took them in, which resulted in a very unfavorable condition of the Northern Supreme Council, which for a time was infected with an unhealthy absorption of bad material, by this unwise compromise, which was made, as was supposed, for the good of Freemasonry.

Some of these irregular Masons had caused a division even in the Grand Lodge of New York, and the original chief of them, Joseph Cerneau, had previously represented the irregular Knights Templars of New Orleans and the irregular council of the Rite of Perfection of Louisiana in the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of New York, as is found in the records, *viz.:* "On the 4th day of May, 1816, a meeting of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of New York was called to act upon an application by a collected body of Sir Knights Templar, Royal Arch Masons and members of the Sov. Grand Council of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret for the State of Louisiana, sitting at New Orleans, praying that a constitutional charter be granted them, etc. They had previous to this application elected and installed their officers. The charter, by resolution, was granted them. and it was also

"*Resolved,* That the Ill. Bro. Joseph Cerneau, having been designated by the Louisiana Encampment to be their representative and proxy near this Grand Encampment, be and is hereby acknowledged and accredited as such."

In this manner the irregular French Templar Degree that was carried from France to England got into the United States at New Orleans, and allied with an irregular rite and body, became amalgamated with the American Webb Templar Degree at New York.

These evils which have beset the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, have not prevented its great advancement and prosperity; and during the past decade, in the Northern Jurisdiction alone, it has increased over fifty per cent. in numbers.

The Southern Supreme Council did not meet from February, 1862, until November 17, 1865, which was in Charleston, S. C. Six members only were present, and all of them are now dead.

There were no bodies of the Rite working anywhere except in New Orleans.

With indomitable energy and zeal the Illustrious Sovereign Grand Commander, Albert Pike, 33d Degree, who during the last two years and a half of the war had been engaged in rewriting and restoring the rituals of the degrees, and whose scholarship and knowledge of the Ancient Mysteries and their philosophy,

assisted by Albert Gallatin Mackay, 33d Degree, the late Secretary General of the Southern Supreme Council, reconstructed the Rite at Charleston, S. C.

The Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction has now its headquarters in Washington, D. C. Its library of nearly fifty thousand volumes is not surpassed by any other in the country in rare and valuable works.

The constituency is constantly increasing, with five hundred and twenty-five organized bodies of the Rite over its extended territory, and nearly approaching in numbers that of its more prosperous sister council of the Northern Jurisdiction, which was exempt from the calamities of war, as a reference to the tabular statements following this chapter will show.

The legitimate Supreme Councils duly recognized by each other around the globe are the following:

Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A	Constituted	May 31, 1801.
France (Supreme Council)	"	Sept. 22, 1804.
Northern Jurisdiction, U.S.A	"	Aug. 5, 1813.
Belgium	"	Mar. 11, 1817.
Ireland	"	June 11, 1825.
Brazil	"	April 6, 1826.
Peru	"	Nov. 2, 1830.
New Granada	"	—— 1833.
England, Wales and Dependencies	"	Mar. 1846.
Scotland	"	—— 1846.
Uruguay	"	—— 1856.
Argentine Republic.	"	Sept. 13, 1858.
Turin, of Italy	"	—— 1848.
Colon (Cuba)	"	—— 1855.
Venezuela	"	—— 1864.
Mexico	"	April 28, 1868.
Portugal	"	—— 1842.
Chili	"	May 24, 1862.
Central America	"	May 27, 1870.
Hungary	"	Nov. 25, 1871.
Greece	"	June 24, 1872.
Switzerland	"	Mar. 30, 1873.
Canada	"	Oct. 1874.
Rome, of Italy	"	Jan. 14, 1877.
Egypt	"	—— 1878.
Spain	"	—— 1879.
Tunis	"	May 11, 1880.
Canada	"	—— ——

"The following Supreme Councils have been formed, but have not received formal recognition and the courtesy of an exchange of representation: Naples, of Italy, Dominican Republic, Turkey, Palermo, of Italy, Florence, of Italy, and Luxemburg."

The rituals of the degrees differ very much in their dramatic representations. In the Northern Jurisdiction they apply more directly to the history and scenes of the Crusades; in the Southern Jurisdiction they are very much more intellectual, philosophical, and historic.

Councils of Deliberation are held in each State in the Northern Jurisdiction of all the bodies from the 14th to the 32d degrees inclusive, which are presided over by the deputies for the States. In these are presented all matters of local legislation, action upon which must subsequently be approved, or otherwise, by the Supreme Council.

The Supreme Council of the Rite is the governing body over all, and as such it makes and promulgates laws and statutes for the various divisions of the organized body. This Supreme Council confers the Governing Degree, namely, 33d Degree, Grand Master of the Kadosh or Sovereign Grand Inspector-General. The active members, according to the Statutes of the Southern Supreme Council, are limited to thirty-three active members of the 33d Degree and no more, but in the Northern Supreme Council this number is doubled, so that the active members of the 33d Degree are sixty-six. These active members are for their respective States relatively the Grand Masters of the Rite. The title of Honorary Inspectors-General is given to those who are elevated to the degree with specifically delegated powers and no others, or they are sent as special delegates to establish new bodies or propagate the Rite by communicating the degrees. These special delegates have a voice in council but no vote.

In the Southern Supreme Council, with its number of active members of the 33d Degree limited to thirty-three, there is a "Court of Honor," which may be called the vestibule to the 33d Degree. This Court of Honor comprises two grades or ranks, both of which are carefully reserved and can only be conferred as a free

NOTE.—In the Southern Supreme Council, the council or preceptory of the Knights Kadosh or 30th degree is separate from the consistory of 31st and 32d degrees, but in the Northern Supreme Council it is within the consistory.

gift, and a mark of appreciation for services rendered. Each active member and each *Emeritus* member of the Southern Supreme Council is *ex-officio* a member of both grades. These grades are, first, that of Knight Commander. This is conferred upon Brethren of the 32d Degree for general meritorious service rendered to the Rite, and only upon the recommendation of the Grand Consistories or by the Active Inspectors-General of the respective States. The second grade, which is higher than the grade of Knight Commander, is that of Knight Grand Cross. It is conferred with the jewel upon Brethren of the 32d Degree for extraordinary services to the Rite. Neither of these grades can be given to anyone who solicits for them; it must be repeated that they are special marks of honor, gratuitously conferred. According to the Statutes of the Southern Jurisdiction the possession of at least the first of these grades is a condition precedent of eligibility for the reception of the 33d Degree.

The difference in the working of the degrees in the rituals of the Rite, between the ritual of the Southern and that of the Northern Jurisdiction, may require some explanation, which likewise will explain why the changes were necessarily made in working the degrees. The late Ill. Brother Azariah T. Pearson, 33d Degree, Active Inspector-General for the State of Minnesota in the Southern Jurisdiction, a little while before his death, made the following statement: "That the late Masonic firm of Macoy and Sickles of New York City, both of whom are 33d degree, and belong to the Northern Supreme Council, printed in the rituals for the supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction as well, but who unfortunately failed in business, and that the stereotype plates which belonged to either or both regular Supreme Councils, were surreptitiously seized upon and taken by persons connected with the Cerneau fraud, who had claimed that they had bought them with the rest of the property of Macoy and Sickles, which was sold for the benefit of their creditors; and that it was with these stereotype plates of the rituals thus surreptitiously obtained that the fraudulent Cerneau Supreme Council was thus enabled to improve its own meagre skeleton, and give its subordinate bodies a semblance of the true work conferred under the authority of the regular Supreme Councils, which for self-protection against impostors and clandestine Scottish Rite Masons, had to call in all the rituals then out, and to issue new ones in lieu thereof."

It must be again repeated, with a degree of reiteration which may be tiresome but is necessary, that the Scottish Rite confers no degrees but those of its own Rite, and also that while many of its members belong to legitimate bodies of other rites of Masonry, it has no conflict with any such. The Scottish Rite has doubled its members in the last few years, and year by year gains new accessions.

Antoine Bideaud, who had been created a Deputy Grand Inspector-General and a Sovereign Grand Inspector-General, September 10, 1802, by De Grasse Tilley, at Cape Francois, in San Domingo, so soon as he had opened his Supreme Council, after the return of the French to that island, was in New York and on August 4th conferred upon J. J. Gourgas, John B. Tardy, Lewis de Soulles, John B. Desdoity, and Pierre Du Peyrot all the degrees of the A: A: S: Rite to the 32d. Two days thereafter a consistory was opened, which although exceeding his patent, was afterward confirmed by proper authority. John B. Tardy was subsequently appointed Deputy Inspector-General by Du Plessis, of Philadelphia, who had received his appointment in 1790 from Augustine Prevost, who derived his authority directly from Francken in 1774, at Jamaica.

Abraham Jacobs, who claimed to be a Grand Inspector-General, made such by Moses Cohen in 1790, came to New York in 1804, and began his work of conferring degrees. He states, in his register, that by the wishes of J. B. Tardy there was opened a council of Princes of Jerusalem November 6, 1808, there being present J. J. Gourgas, John B. Desdoity, Maduro Peixotto, Moses Levy, John B. Tardy, and Abraham Jacobs. At this time Richard Riker received the degrees. It appears from a statement by Gourgas that Jacobs had exceeded his authority by interlining words in his patent, for which he was afterward expelled. Gourgas also says that on November 8, 1808, Daniel D. Tompkins, Richard Riker, and Sampson Simpson received the degrees, including the 32d Degree, in the consistory which was formed August 6, 1806, and that he was made a Deputy Inspector-General on November 12, 1808, Desdoity on the 18th, and Peixotto on the 16th.

In consequence of a rumor of the irregularities which had occurred in the bodies in New York having reached the Supreme Council in Charleston, De la Motta, who was an officer in that

body, was sent to New York with authority from the Supreme Council to investigate the whole matter, in 1813. August 5th he conferred the 33d Degree upon J. J. Gourgas and Sampson Simpson; these three then opened a Supreme Council and conferred the degree on Richard Riker, John B. Tardy, Daniel D. Tompkins, and Maduro Peixotto. On the same day, De la Motta, by authority of the Mother Supreme Council at Charleston, regularly and constitutionally organized what was then called the "Second Grand and Supreme Council" for the United States. Daniel D. Tompkins was installed Grand Commander; the other Officers were appointed and installed. At the next meeting of the "Mother Supreme Council," at Charleston, the following December, these proceedings were duly confirmed.

As heretofore stated, a treaty was entered into by and between the two Supreme Councils, and the jurisdiction over the various States and Territories of the United States was determined for each of these.

Like all human voluntary institutions, the histories of both the Northern and Southern Supreme Councils are records of bitter controversies growing out of rival bodies which were irregularly started in opposition to each of these duly constituted Supreme Councils, and which greatly retarded the advancement of this valuable Rite.

In the Southern Jurisdiction these controversies continued to keep the Scottish Rite entirely in the shade, as it were, until General Albert Pike received the several degrees and was elected the Grand Commander. Since the close of the war in 1865 the progress has been onward and upward, as has been shown in the preceding pages of this chapter.

In the Northern Supreme Council the Rite encountered a more bitter and relentless opposition in the bodies organized by Joseph Cerneau, originally in 1807, and although that body repeatedly declined, until it would appear to be utterly extinguished, yet it would quite unexpectedly arise again, deceive the unwary, and so soon as the sunlight of Truth was poured upon it would again decline, wither, and disappear.

The opposition to which the Northern Supreme Council was subjected was of such a character that it is incumbent on us to take some notice thereof to demonstrate what the Scottish Rite of the

Northern Supreme Council had to contend against in defense of the truth.

Giles Fonda Yates, of Albany, became, at an early date (1822), interested in the study of Masonry. He discovered the Warrant of the Lodge of Perfection granted by Francken at Albany and a copy of the Constitutions of 1762; he then succeeded in resuscitating the old lodge. After this a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem was organized at Albany, and several lodges of Perfection were constituted in other places. A consistory was instituted in 1824 at Albany, and several bodies were established in Boston. These were under patents of the Supreme Council at Charleston. Yates received the 33d Degree from McCosh, who was the special Deputy of this council. Afterward, in 1828, Yates became a member of the Northern Supreme Council. Just at this period, from 1826, the Morgan affair having occurred, nearly all the Masonic bodies at the North became extinct, as recited in the chapter devoted to that subject. In 1832 Gourgas suspended all efforts in the affairs of the Scottish Rite. In 1842, however, the great excitement had mostly died out and the fire of persecution, bigotry, and fanaticism having had no fuel for many years, waned, and all efforts against the Institution ceased. Yates having conferred with Gourgas and other Brethren who had not succumbed under their severe ordeal, they determined to resume their labors. June 15, 1844, a meeting was held; Gourgas was then Grand Commander, and Yates Lieutenant Grand Commander. These two, by a law of the Rite, that if only one member of a Supreme Council survives, that council does not cease to exist, opened the Supreme Council.

At this meeting, November 13, 1844, applications were received from Edward A. Raymond, Ruel Baker, and Charles W. Moore (all of Massachusetts), who, having received the 32d Degree, were crowned Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General.

At the meeting held April 3-5, 1845, Gourgas declared that the recent publication by Clavel, relating to the Ancient and Accepted Rite, was utterly incorrect, and stated that Cerneau's name was struck from the Tableau of the Grand Orient of France in 1830, the Grand Orient having written to him that it was *a matter quite inexplicable* to them that it should have remained there so long.

At this meeting Gourgas reorganized the Supreme Council, the officers being appointed by the constitutional provisions. From

this time the Supreme Council became very industrious in establishing bodies in many cities; harmony prevailed over this jurisdiction, and the Rite, although slowly, was steadily extended.

At an important meeting held September 4, 1851, Gourgas's resignation as Grand Commander and his appointment of Yates as his successor were received. Yates presided at this meeting, the Sovereign Grand Consistory was organized, and the degrees in the various bodies were conferred. At the close of the meeting Yates resigned as Grand Commander and appointed Raymond to that position. In his address Yates gave a forcible exposition of the laws, the objects, and the history of the Rite, and it contains so much information, of interest and value to its members, that we give it in full:

ADDRESS OF M. P. BRO. GILES FONDA YATES

Respected and Beloved Associates: You have been listening to the valedictory address of our honored friend, long tried, true, and trusty. His sentiments, I am well assured, are reciprocated. He has been called by our transatlantic Brethren "the patriarch of our 'Illustrious Order,' " and not without appropriateness. John James J. Gourgas—*clarum et venerabile nomen!*

He has been pleased to allude to my own participation in some of the works and administrative duties of our order, but such participation, as you are well aware, has been at a later day and for a shorter period. Under the circumstances in which I now appear before you, it can hardly be deemed egotistic in me if I advert briefly to a few of the humble contributions to the cause of "Sublime Freemasonry" previous to 1840, which it fell to my lot to render. These, with the "sublime works" performed by other Brethren of our order before and since, in Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, furnish altogether evidence supplemental to that given by my predecessor, in complete confutation of the preposterous charge that "Sublime Freemasonry" has been dormant in our jurisdiction since its establishment among us. A charge of this kind has been the stereotype apology of surreptitious Masons for their occasional attempts to foist their spurious creations upon our "Sublime System" within our Masonic territory. The abundant parole testimony which can be

adduced to show how untrue is this charge, can be corroborated by our archives, and will be found iterated in manifestoes issued by our own and our sister council for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States.

I turned my attention to the history of the "Sublime Degrees " very soon after my initiation as a Mason. My intercourse in 1822 with several old Masons in the city of Albany, led to the discovery that an "Ineffable Lodge of Perfection" had been established in that ancient city on December 20, 1767. I also discovered that not only the Ineffable, but the Superior Degrees of our Rite, had been conferred at the same time on a chosen few, by the founder of the lodge, Henry A. Francken, one of the Deputies of Stephen Morin[1] of illustrious memory. It was not long, moreover, before I found the original Warrant of this lodge, its book of minutes, the patents of Ill. Brother Samuel Stringer, M.D., Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and Peter W. Yates, Esquires, Dep. Inspectors-General, under the old system; also "the regulations and contributions of the nine commissioners," etc., 1761, and other documents that had been left by Bro. Francken with the Albany Brethren when he founded their lodge. With the concurrence of the surviving members of said lodge residing in Albany, Dr. Jonathan Eights and the Hon. and R. W. Stephen Van Rensselaer, P.G.M. of the Grand Lodge of New York, I aided in effecting its revival. The necessary proceedings were thereupon instituted to place the same under the superintendence of a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, as required by the old constitutions; and such Grand Council was subsequently opened in due form in said city.

Having been made aware of "the new Constitution of the Thirty-third degree," ratified on the first of May, 1786, conferring the Supreme Power over our Rite on "Councils of Nine Brethren," I hastened to place myself in correspondence with Moses Holbrook, M.D., at the time S. G Commander of the Supreme Council at Charleston, and with my esteemed friends, Joseph M'Cosh, Ill. Gr. Sec. Gen. of the last-named council, and Bro. Gourgas, at that

[1] Stephen Morin was on the 27th day of August, 1761, appointed "Inspector General over all Lodges, &c, &c, &c, in the new world by the Grand Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret convened in Paris, at which presided the King of Prussia's Deputy, Chaillon De Joinville, Substitute General of the Order." See circular issued by the Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C, December 4, 1802.

time Ill. Gr. Sec. Gen. of the H.E. for this Northern Jurisdiction. Lodges of Perfection in the counties of Montgomery, Onondaga, Saratoga, and Monroe in the State of New York, were successively-organized, and placed agreeably to the constitutions under the superintendence of the Grand Council before named. The establishment of this last-named body was confirmed, and all our proceedings in "Sublime Freemasonry" were legalized and sanctioned by the only lawful authorities in the United States, the aforesaid Supreme Councils.

On the 16th day of November, 1824, I received a patent, appointing me S. of S. of a consistory of S.P.R.S., established in the city of Albany. I would here also state that on the 13th day of February, 1825, a Charter was granted to Ill. Bro. Edward A. Raymond, of Boston, Mass., and eight associates, constituting them a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem; a Charter was also granted them for a consistory of S.P.R.S., both bodies to be holden in the city of Boston. All these several bodies named, as well as the Albany Grand Council and Consistory, have since their establishment paid due faith and allegiance to our Northern Supreme Council.

In the organization of the New York State Grand Council, and of the different lodges of Perfection under its superintendence, I received the most effective aid and co-operation of several dear companions whom "it delights me to remember." These lodges numbered on their lists of initiates some of the brightest and worthiest Masons that State produced, and enjoyed for a series of years a good share of prosperity, until the persecuting fires of anti-Masonry swept over the land. Their labors were then intermitted for awhile, in common with those of other departments of the Masonic Institution, from the same cause. But the consequences were not in the main inauspicious. The legitimate effect was to purify and cement more closely the materials subjected to the fiery ordeal.

In 1825 I took my vows as a "Sovereign Grand Inspector General" "between the hands" of our Brother Joseph M'Cosh, he having been specially deputized for that purpose. I was shortly after constituted and accredited the "Representative" of the Southern Supreme Grand Council near this Northern Supreme Grand Council, of which last I was made, and have ever since been a member.

I would fain have you to believe, my dear Brethren, that, as a

member of the Masonic Institution, if I have had my ambition, it has been to study its science, and to discharge my duties as a faithful Mason, rather than to obtain its official honors or personal benefits of any kind. Self-aggrandizement has never formed any part of my Masonic creed, and all who know me can bear witness that it never has of my practise. I accordingly shall never shirk any just responsibility imposed upon me by my obligations as a "Sublime Freemason," but continue to prefer, as I have ever done, since it is most congenial to my own taste, those "works" and labors of the Craft not necessarily connected with its administrative duties.

As Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General, it cannot be bootless to inquire what is the charge committed to our keeping—what the trust reposed in us? Is it true that the degrees and orders of our Rite are, as our enemies allege, only superfetations? Are they naught but excrescences on the great pyramid of Freemasonry? Have they no antiquity? Are they of an irreligious character? Allow me to deliver a few of my own views on this subject—views, as you are well assured, I have not arrived at hastily.

As Brother Gourgas has well observed, our degrees and orders constitute of themselves a perfect system and Rite, which we denominate the "Sublime system," and the "Ancient and Accepted Rite." They have been called "Honorary." Such they are, in the true sense of the term, but not in the sense generally used, which is construed as synonymous with "side," or "detached degrees." We, however, possess, in addition to our regular series of degrees, "detached degrees," of more or less value, subsidiary to our regular degrees. But none of our degrees are, *per se,* subordinate or subsidiary to any other system or Rite, much less to any system or Rite which had no existence when our Rite was reorganized at the beginning of the last century. All attempts to make them so, we, as faithful conservators and guardians of our Rites, are bound to resist. Ours are not, as many have represented them, "loose," "floating," or "side degrees," nor yet are they "waifs of Masonic stragglers."[1] If the star of "Sublime Freemasonry" is never per-

[1] We are indebted to our Worthy Brother Philip C. Tucker, of Vermont, for this appropriate designation of Masonic pretenders of a certain description. We refer to those who occasionally spring up in this country and elsewhere, and engage in "peddling" Masonic Degrees ("Marchands de Maconnere"), and who assume prerogatives which they do not possess; and over degrees which most probably they never received in a

mitted to culminate in the zenith it deserves a better fate than to become a *satellite* to any other orbs, albeit these may shine with more distinguished luster. If it ever becomes depressed to the *nadir* of the Masonic horizon, it will not be because of its want of value or merit.

Our "Sublime Brother" Dalcho remarks in one of his orations[1] that our degrees imparted to him knowledge, which he had vainly sought for in the lower degrees—that they elucidated the origin and principles of the Masonic Institution and its connection with science and religion more intimately than the symbolic degrees. I have myself noticed that in the latter general ideas only are communicated and these obscurely, while in the "Sublime Degrees" these ideas become clear as particular truths; though still, like all truths regarding the mind and heart, which are invisible, they can be expressed only by figurative terms and external symbols.

By imagery, and through a veil[2] of metaphor, the light of truth and the most sublime allusions are disclosed. We may be well versed in the ceremonials of our order and yet not understand their true import; we may correctly read "the letter" of our traditions and legends, and yet remain blind to their "spirit," and ignorant of the principles and inferences they involve. By study alone can we solve the enigma, "*de quo fabula narratur*?" Many of the characteristic allegories, legends, symbols, and ceremonies of "Sublime Freemasonry" are counted as insignificant and valueless, because they are not palpable to the senses, and fully comprehended at the first blush. Some of our most sacred mysteries are lightly esteemed, because they furnish no disclosures that strike dumb with amazement our "hidden treasures," and spiritual "riches of secret places" are unappreciated; and no "Royal Secret" which humbly professes to have a relation only to the *life* of the heart seems to be cared for; nor yet any "precious stone" in our mystic edifice, if the "phi

lawful manner. These men, perchance too, may have surreptitiously obtained some partial information from garbled MSS.; or if they have obtained any degrees lawfully, are guilty of a violation of a fundamental Masonic law in regard to "allegiance" by using and transmitting to others Masonic knowledge under assumed authority, in a manner different from that in which they received it.

[1] See his oration delivered before the Sublime Grand Lodge, at Charleston, S. C, March 21, 1803.

[2] This idea is beautifully symbolized in one of the "high degrees" by a figure of truth covered with a semi-transparent veil.

losopher's stone" be wanting! For men of this stamp, our degrees, or indeed any Masonic degrees, will ever fail to present attractions.

"Upon the arts of building and architecture the Order of Free and Accepted Masonry rises like a fair stupendous pyramid from a broad, square basis, tending regularly up to a summit of *attainments,* ever concealed by intervening clouds from the promiscuous *multitude* of *common observers* below."[1] The first fourteen degrees of our Rite are in a part an amplification of "Ancient Craft" Masonry; while the "superior degrees" are founded on those Christian and "religious and military Orders" which are declared by the oldest book of York Constitutions to be cognate to the *Craft* degrees of Freemasonry.

The proofs are undeniable that the learning contained in the "Sublime Degrees" was taught long previous to the last century; our M. P. Brother Dalcho thinks shortly after the first crusade. In Prussia, France, and Scotland the principal degrees of our Rite appeared in an organized form in 1713. The unfortunate Lord Der Wentwater and his associate English Brethren were working in lodges of Harodim, in 1725, at Paris, when the Grand Lodge of England transmitted to France the Ancient York Constitutions. Many Scotch Brethren (adherents of Charles Edward Stuart) being in France about this time, also cultivated some of the high degrees of our Rite. Some of the important mysteries celebrated in the superior degrees were instituted by the successors of Jacques de Molay, and others derive their origin from the renowned Robert Bruce. The former gave the military, the latter the Christian, character to the degrees and orders of our Rite; and from what has been alluded to relative to the connection of our Scotch Brethren with our degrees and orders, I think we may readily account for the terms *Ecossais,* or *Scotch* as applied to them.

No person can pretend that any one department or system of Freemasonry or any particular Masonic Rite, however unexceptionable, has from time immemorial existed in the same form in which it appears at the present day. But we contend that the (historical epoch) traditions and grades of knowledge embodied in the degrees and orders of the Rite we profess, have descended to us from remote antiquity. This fact can be proved to the reasonable satisfac-

[1] Quoted from an old edition of the York Constitution.

tion of the most skeptical, by the writings of learned Brethren who have spent years in investigating the subject. To the same effect, too, we have the incidental testimony of writers who never belonged to the Fraternity, as well as the unwilling admission of those opposed to us. Even a brief recapitulation of such proofs is not demanded by present occasion. My referring to this topic at this time is merely to remind my Brethren that our "Ancient and Accepted Rite" is incorrectly designated as a "*modern* Rite."[1] When we use the term "modern" as applicable to any of our orders or degrees, it is to be taken in a comparative sense, and not in its vulgar acceptation. It refers to our "religious and military orders" instituted since the commencement of the Christian era, and after that of "the holy wars!" Of a verity, our Rite is not born of yesterday.

Many of our degrees imply prerequisites in candidates peculiarly stringent, and unknown in other departments of Freemasonry; and not a few partake of the character of official degrees. Even the lowest degrees of our Rite, the eleven "Ineffable," are designed for the "Select few" only. This is especially the case with our principal superior degrees, Prince of Jerusalem, Sov.·. Prince of Rose Cross, elected Knight K. H. Grand Inquisitor Commander, and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, which are virtually orders of Harodim. Some of our superior degrees confer the titles of "Commander," "Patriarch," "Grand Master," "Prince," and "Sovereign." But it behoves me to observe that the Masonic titles in our "Inner Easts," like the jewels on our *breasts,* are not cherished and worn by us for show or aggrandizement; they are suggestive of holy truths and self-perfecting duties, which every conscientious "Sublime Freemason" will strive to learn and perform.

Some persons who have written and discoursed about our degrees, have obtained what little knowledge they possess of them from spurious and corrupted sources. I do not speak unadvisedly on this subject; for I have critically examined rituals identical with those in use among the clandestine and "*soi-disant*" Supreme

[1] It is doubtless the case that some persons confound our Rite with "the French or Modern Rite," which is confessedly modern and was invented within the last half century. It embraces the three symbolic degrees and forms the basis, and is part, of the *spurious* "Scotch Rite," which aims at supplanting us. It is the same cultivated in some French lodges in this country, and by the Louisiana and other spurious Supreme Councils.

Councils, and usurping propagandists of "Sublime Freemasonry." Now and then an orthodox hieroglyphic symbol or allegory is surreptitiously obtained, but its true solution is not attained to, by the vulgar interpretations of superficialness, or it is purposely perverted by the infidel, or bigot, or sectarian, to suit his narrow purposes or by intriguers, who

"Like scurvy politicians, *seem* to see
The things they do not."

Such rituals, too, often penned by blundering copyists, may not inaptly be likened to human skeletons, stripped of all the arteries, nerves, and muscles of the living man, deprived of soul, life-blood, and spirit.

There are some writers, who, while they may not deny antiquity to the doctrines and traditions on which some of the "high degrees" are founded, yet with a Barruel and Robison purposely confound our "Ineffable" and "philosophical degrees" with those of the political society of the Illuminati and certain infidel systems of philosophy. A learned philosopher[1] has well observed that "philosophy is not possible, unless it be founded on, and guarded by, Christianity. Christianity is the basis, and philosophy the superstructure of the edifice." It is with philosophy such as this that true Freemasonry has to do. It is worthy of note in this connection that speculative science as well as practical wisdom once ranked among the virtues. The knowledge of the Eternal Being, as understood by philosophy, reason, and religious revelation, is the basis and apex, as well of the Masonic as the scientific pyramid.

"No art or learning serveth useful ends,
But as the heart it guides, and life amends."

However great the acquisitions of the most successful cultivator of "the Royal art" and science, all will be vain without a practical application of the knowledge acquired. The understanding should be strengthened that the conduct may be directed and truth discovered, that it may be used "for the better endowment and help of man's life." One of the cardinal ends designed to be answered by Freemasonry, in any of its departments, is to make men better as

[1] Geoberti.

well as wiser. The eulogy pronounced by Bro. T. S. Webb[1] on "the eleven ineffable degrees," is applicable to the whole system of "Sublime Freemasonry," that it is "intended for the glory of the Deity, and the good of mankind."

Those who bring the charge of irreligion against our Rite would do well to bear in mind that learned authors[2] unfriendly to our Institution have expressed their conviction that the pure doctrines of the Zabians, which are incorrectly stigmatized as astrological and idolatrous,[3] and the doctrines of St. John the Baptist, were essentially identical; while Brethren learned in the secrets of "Ineffable Masonry," delivered only "behind the veil," and versed in the doctrines of "Sublime Freemasonry," have become penetrated with the conviction that these secrets and doctrines are in essence the same with those which were taught by the Pythagorean and Essenean rituals.

After the French revolution of 1793, Christianity in France was ridiculed into obsoleteness. Among the mass of the people who became atheists were the mass of the Masons. Numerous copies of that holy book, which we esteem as the first great light in Masonry, were committed to the flames. Under this state of things, "Sublime Freemasonry" fell into desuetude; and it was not until after the establishment of the Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C, on the 31st day of May, 1801, that the "Sublime System" was revived in France by the establishment of a Supreme Council at Paris, to wit, in 1804, by Count De Grasse, Grand Inspector-General, under authority from the Charleston Supreme Council. The Paris Supreme Council has been in continuous operation ever

[1] Bro. Webb did not pretend to be a professor of those degrees, or of any other in "Sublime Freemasonry." See his preface to his illustrations of those degrees.

[2] *E.g.,* Cardinal Wiseman—Syriac version of the Vatican code used by Adler in his "Druses Montis Libani."

[3] I here quote the words of Dr. Dewey in corroboration of the idea I have advanced in the text, because he expresses this idea clearly and briefly. It is, however, far from being a singular one, or original with him. It has been the persuasion of every philosopher and divine of celebrity who has bestowed more than a superficial examination upon the subject, both before and since Lord Bacon's day; who proves its truth in detail. "The idea that images set up as gods were worshipped, is erroneous. They were esteemed as symbols of a higher power and as 'symbols' only. A species of images (as for example the four-faced Cherubim) was recognized even in the early worship of the Hebrews when under the immediate government of God himself. I would not be, understood to say: that the pure doctrines alluded to were not perverted, or that there were no persons obnoxious to the charge made by St. Paul in Rom. i. 23.

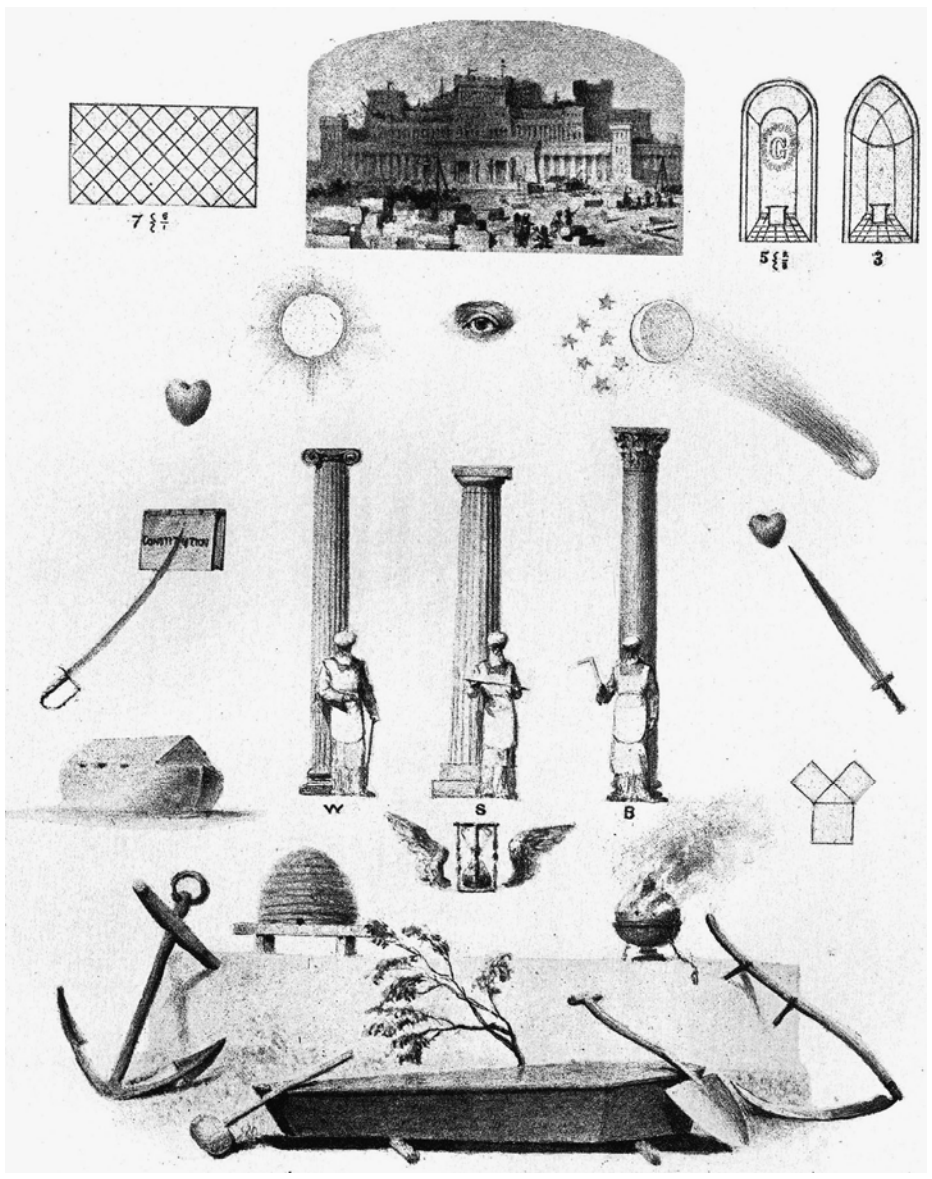
since. And here truth compels me to advert to the fact that the "Grand Orient" of France, which had a legal existence only as a "Symbolic" Grand Lodge of Master Masons, now commenced her assumption of jurisdiction over all the degrees of the "Ancient and Accepted Rite." Disputes hereupon ensued between the French Supreme Council and Grand Orient, which have never been fully settled up to the present day.

Every lover of Masonic order and constitutional authority cannot but regret this unhappy occurrence; and none the less the conduct of the Parisian Brethren on sundry occasions during the last half century, in extending their jurisdiction in both the Symbolic and Sublime degrees over territory on this continent, already lawfully occupied. Their example in this last respect has been repeatedly followed and is at this present moment producing consequences deleterious to the Craft at large. The present occasion is not the most appropriate one for descending to particularities on this head.

It is unnecessary for me to make more than a passing allusion to the troubles that have been experienced from analogous causes by our sister council at Charleston and our own Supreme Council, from 1806 to the present time. In assaulting our Supreme Councils our enemies tried to shift the issue from principals to individuals, and resorted to wilful perversions of facts; and failing to find legitimate and real subjects to attack, they for the nonce fabricated them. As "the droppings of their lips" were anything but "sweet-smelling myrrh," or the "perfume of hearty counsel," as true gentlemen and Masons we could not meet them on their own ground, or do aught else than simply pronounce their allegations false and unfounded.

A word or two with regard to the charge of interference on the part of the two only lawful Supreme Councils in this country, with the prerogatives of other departments of Freemasonry. No Supreme Councils of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General were established anywhere in the world till after 1786.[1] Previously, Inspectors-

[1] "On May I, 1786, the Grand Constitution of the Thirty-third Degree, called the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspector-General, was finally ratified by his Majesty, the King of Prussia, who, as Grand Commander of the Order of Prince of the Royal Secret, possessed the Sovereign Masonic power over the Craft. In the New Constitution this high power was conferred on a Supreme Council of nine Brethren in each nation, who possess all the Masonic prerogatives in their own district that his Majesty individually possessed, and are Sovereigns of Masonry." Extracts from the circular letter of the Charleston Supreme Council, issued December 4, 1802.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General under the enlightened Frederick of Prussia were charged with the powers and duties now vested in such Supreme Councils and the Grand Bodies under them. By them the degrees and orders of our Rite were conserved and propagated in the constitutional manner. It was not the Grand Orient of France, as is by many erroneously supposed, nor any other Grand Body on the Continent of Europe, except the Grand Consistory, over which presided Frederick's "Substitute General" before named, that had any authority to act in the premises. For the authors of the numerous new rites and innovations committed on the old system of Freemasonry, which were erst so rife on the European Continent, we must look elsewhere than to the lawful Deputies Inspectors-General under the old system.

The original minutes and documents left by Ill. Brother Francken, who established the Albany Lodge of Perfection in 1767, evince the most scrupulous avoidance of interference with the Master's Lodge in that city or the Symbolic Degree. As there were no R. A. Chapters or Encampments of Knights Templars established in this country till thirty years afterward, to speak of interference with them would be an anachronismic absurdity, akin to those recently spawned by ignorance or design to mislead uninformed Brethren, or for other unworthy purposes.

The first Supreme Council ever established under the new Constitution of 1786 was that at Charleston,[1] whose jurisdiction extended constitutionally over the whole of the United States, until they constituted, by their Special Deputy, E. De La Motta, Ill. Treas. Gen. H. E., this Northern Supreme Council in 1813.[2] Then

[1] On May 31, 1801, the Supreme Council of the 33d Degree for the United States of America was opened with the high honors of Masonry by Bros. John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho, Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General; and in the course of the year the whole number of Grand Inspectors-General was completed agreeably to the Grand Constitutions. The other members of this Grand Council admitted in 1801 were Emanuel De La Motta, Dr. J. Auld, Dr. James Moultrie, Abraham Alexander, M. C. Livy, Thomas B. Bowen, and J. De Lieban.

[2] The Supreme Grand Council for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States was founded on August 5, 1813, by the M. Ill. Brothers E. De La Motta, "Special Deputy-Representative" from the said Supreme Grand Council at Charleston, Daniel D. Tompkins, S. Simson, John J. J. Gourgas, Richard Riker, J. G. Tardy, and M. L. M. Peixotto. In the words of a manifesto issued by the last-named council, dated August 2, 1845, the establishment of our Northern Supreme Council is shown "by authenticated documents in the possession of this (the Charleston) Council, in accordance with the Secret Constitutions, by Emanuel De La Motta as the Representative and under the

the Northern and Southern Jurisdictions were defined and regulated. A candid review of all the acts of the constitutional regulators and governors of our Rite in these United States cannot fail to establish the falsity of this charge of interference on their part. If I am not much mistaken, they have been "more sinned against than sinning." If we have not claimed the benefit of the legal maxims, *Quod prius est, vertus est, et quod prius est tempore, potius est jure,* it has not been because we were not entitled to this benefit.

On December 4, 1802, our Southern Supreme Council published a report from which I make the following extracts. They speak for themselves:

"Although many of the Sublime degrees are in fact a continuation of the Blue degrees, yet there is no interference[1] between the two bodies. Throughout the continent of Europe and the West Indies, where they are very generally known, they are acknowledged and encouraged. The Sublime Masons never initiate any into the Blue degrees, without a legal warrant obtained for that purpose from a Symbolic Grand Lodge; but they communicate the secrets of the chair to such applicants as have not already received them, previous to their initiation into the Sublime Lodge; yet they are at the same time informed that it does not give them rank as

sanction and authority of the Council at Charleston. The Masonic Jurisdiction of the Northern Council is distributed over the Northern, North-western, and North-eastern parts of the United States. And this, with the Council at Charleston, are the only recognized Councils which exist or can exist, according to the Secret Constitutions, in the United States. Their labors have never been suspended, though withdrawn for a time from the public eye—their authority has never been, and cannot be, abrogated. They hold in their archives certified copies of the Secret Constitutions, derived from the Grand Consistory held at Paris in 1761. Their succession of officers and members has been regularly and duly continued, and the Great Light of 'Sublime Masonry,' which has been confided to their keeping, like the sacred fire of the Vestals, has been preserved unextinguished on their altars."

[1] "In deference to the Constitution of the York Rite practiced in this country, it waves its rights and privileges, so far as they relate to the first three degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry, which long before the establishment of any Supreme Council in this hemisphere, were under the control of Symbolic Grand Lodges." See circular letters of both Northern and Southern Supreme Councils, 1845. "The object of the Supreme Council is not to interfere with the rights of any other bodies, but simply to preserve from decay or innovation those Sublime truths and ineffable mysteries which, while they throw a brighter light upon the pure system of Ancient Craft Masonry, can be attained only by those who have sought for light in the deepest recesses of the Masonic Temple. They ask, therefore, as the legal guardians of these invaluable treasures, the sympathy and fraternal kindness of their Brethren, to whom they take this occasion of offering the right hand of brotherly love and affection."—*Charleston Circular,* 1845.

Past Masters in the Grand Lodge."[1] "On January 21, 1802, a warrant of constitution passed the seal of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem for the establishment of a Master Mark Mason's Lodge in the City of Charleston, S. C." "Besides those degrees, which are in regular succession, most of the Inspectors are in possession of a number of detached degrees given in different parts of the world; and which they generally communicate free of expense, to those Brethren who are high enough to understand them. Such as select Masons of 27, etc., making in the aggregate fifty-three degrees." As to the Mark and Past Master's Degrees, all authority over them was surrendered to the R. A. Chapters, at that time springing into existence. Independent lodges of Mark Master Masons having no governing head were afterward established in this country, and continued in operation for a series of years; until the Gen. Grand Chapter assumed jurisdiction over both the Mark and Past Master's Degrees as "honorary grades," and incorporated them into their system.

No! Brethren, the intermeddling complained of, lies at the door of the spurious bodies established by the impostor Joseph Cerneau, *et id omne genus, progeniesque,* whose illegitimate works are ever and anon exhumed and revamped for sinister purposes. It. ought, methinks, to be a sufficient refutation of the charge of our intermeddling with other departments of Masonry, that the leading Brethren of both our Northern and Southern Supreme Councils, ever since their establishment, have been active leaders in Symbolic Grand Lodges, Grand Chapters of R. A. Masons, and Grand Encampments of Knights Templar, the only other departments of Freemasonry in our land which we recognize and acknowledge.

"No Masonic power professing our Rite, or any of its dependent associations, can, under any pretence whatever, amalgamate or associate by representation or otherwise, with any other power, or with any association depending on any other Rite, nor consent to become a section or dependence thereof, without renouncing the object of its institution, and losing *de facto* its sovereign attributes." This fundamental law applicable to any department of Freemasonry is a truism, and surely needs no argument to support it.

[1] This practice was never adopted by the regular "Sublime Freemasons" in this Northern Jurisdiction.

I am well persuaded that our Supreme Grand Council will ever continue, as it has heretofore done, to illustrate the truth of one of its own sentiments, that "Sublime Freemasonry is unobtrusive, a divine manna for the clear-sighted to gather—everyone according to his own taste and ability." We claim not to keep the vineyards of others, and we challenge to the proof that we have ever trenched upon them. And while we guard, as we are bound to do, our own possessions, we hope to be permitted to sit peaceful and undisturbed "*under our own vine and fig-tree*"*!*

The institution of the official dignity of Sovereign Grand Inspector-General, in 1786, and the adoption of the constitutional provisions, by which, on the decease of the great Frederick, his authority and duties over our order in both hemispheres were transferred to a limited number of Brethren in each nation, operated practically as a distribution among many Brethren of the high Masonic powers and prerogatives, originally possessed by one Grand Master. Notwithstanding the numerous efforts made to enlighten Brethren as to the true nature of the 33d Degree "governing itself and all others" of our said Rite, and conferring rights and powers, and imposing duties "agreeably to the Grand Constitutions" of our order, of an executive character,[1] it is still generally

[1] I will fortify my statement with that of our M. Puis. Bro. Dalcho, whose authority in a matter of this kind cannot be gainsaid. I quote from page 116, appendix to his oration delivered before the Sublime Grand Lodge of Charleston, S. C, March 21, 1803. "By the Constitution of the Order, which was ratified on October 25, 1762, the King of Prussia was proclaimed as the chief of the Eminent Degrees, with the rank of Sovereign Grand Inspector-General and Grand Commander. The higher Councils and Chapters could not be opened without his presence or that of his substitute, whom he must appoint. All the transactions of the Consistory of the thirty-second degree required his sanction, or that of his substitute, to establish their legality; and many other prerogatives were attached to his Masonic rank. No provision, however, had been made in the Constitutions for the appointment of his successor; and, as it was an office of the highest importance, the utmost caution was necessary to prevent an improper person from obtaining it. The King, being conscious of this, established the thirty-third degree. Nine Brethren in each nation, from the Supreme Council of Grand Inspectors-General, after his decease possessed all his Masonic prerogatives and power over the Craft. They are the Executive Body of the Masonic Fraternity, and their approval is now necessary to the acts of the Consistory, before they can become laws; and from their decision there can be no appeal."

In 1825 I received from Moses Holbrook, M.D., at that time Sov. Grand Commander of the Charleston Supreme Council, a letter in answer to some inquiries relative to the subject in question, from which letter I make the following extracts: "All the transactions of S.P.R.S. required the sanction of Frederick William II. (who had for many years been the head and patron of the Order), or that of his substitute, to establish their

but most erroneously considered as an "honorary" distinction merely, and as an ordinary degree in Freemasonry; and one to which all Brethren having the usual qualifications required for initiation into most of the lower degrees have a right to aspire.

The tenure of office in a Supreme Grand Council being for life, a seat in such a body can be vacated only by death, resignation, or removal from its jurisdiction. This is a fundamental law, and may not be changed, though its inevitable tendency is to exclude from our little circle some good, true, and worthy Brethren, who would, no doubt, adorn our assemblies, and prove faithful conservators, regulators, and governors of our Rite.

By being tenacious of official station, I may be the means of excluding Brethren whose councils are needed; and I may also stand in the way of the just preferment of my compeers. Moved by reasons like these I have named, and desirous of setting an example, which if discreetly followed may, without violation of our organic laws, serve in a degree to modify what is, albeit without good reason, deemed too exclusive a feature in our "sublime system," I nave concluded to resign the official station I now hold in this council. There are other considerations also which induce me to adopt this course.

By a constitutional regulation of our order, the office of chief custodian of our archives devolves upon the Sov. Grand Commander, who should, for this and analogous reasons well understood by us, be a resident of one of the Easts in our jurisdiction. Living as

legality. Many other prerogatives were attached to his Masonic rank; and not least in the consideration of the day, it was thought that in the United States, just emerged from the thraldom of the mother country, after a long and arduous struggle for their liberty, it would be highly improper to have the Masonic head and jurisdiction over the Ineffable and Sublime degrees in another country, and to pay allegiance of any kind to a foreign potentate. These difficulties, added to the importance attached to the highest office in Freemasonry, and the very great caution necessary to prevent an unsuitable person from obtaining an office so respectable, influential, and important, weighed with the King and the high Consistory over which he presided. Upon reading the respectful petitions and statements made to them during the years 1784 and 1785, the subject was referred to a highly learned and able committee, who reported this degree (thirty-third) to constitute *nine* S.P.R.S. in each nation, a *Supreme Council* of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General; and they being duly organized, accredited, and approved, should at his decease possess all his Masonic prerogatives over the concerns of the Craft within the country or territory over which their jurisdiction extended; and their appointment was *ad vitam.* They became the Executive Body of the Masonic Fraternity within their territory. This arrangement annulled all former powers granted to individuals (Dep. Ins.-Gen.) in different parts of the world."

I do in the interior of my native State, it is not meet for me to become such custodian. Our archives, valuable and voluminous, should have a fixed and permanent depository, under the charge of their constitutional guardian.

My association for a quarter of a century with this Supreme Grand Council, and my active participation in its works and administrative duties, I have spoken of in my antecedent remarks. I avert to the fact again, and in this connection, to remind you, that it places me before you in such a position as to render, in a measure applicable to my own case, the reason for abdication advanced by my venerable predecessor, deducible from his long term of service.

My much esteemed compeer, your "Most Illustrious Inspector Lieutenant Grand Commander," Edward A. Raymond, in the event of my abdication of the presidency of this council, is pointed out by the constitutions as my successor. It gratifies me to reflect that such is the case. If there were no constitutional provision restricting my duty in the emergency named, and the selection of my successor were left to my own free choice, I could not make a selection more congenial to my feelings, or more in accordance with my convictions of duty. I have known him for three times three years twice told as a "Brother of the mystic tie," and a possessor of "the high degrees." His Masonic age and experience, derived from long and repeated services as a ruler in other departments of Masonry,[1] and the satisfaction he has given to his companions in the discharge of his administerial duties, afford an earnest that he will not be found wanting as a chief administrator in our "Ancient and Accepted Rite." I am assured that he has the requirements demanded by our Book of Constitutions, that he "can be entirely depended on, that his discretion is proof against all trials, his capacity acknowledged, and his probity untouched."

In 1859 the ambition of one man caused some trouble in this Supreme Council. Grand Commander Raymond contended that "the powers of Frederick were vested in him as Grand Commander and not in the Council as a body." He had conferred the 33d Degree upon Paul Dean, and the Supreme Council had

[1] Bro. Raymond is the present Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and has been at the head of the Grand Chapter Encampment of Massachusetts (1851).

tacitly recognized him as a member. In 1860 an extra session was held, and the controversy with the Grand Commander reached the climax.

The Grand Commander refused to put certain motions. A motion was made to close the council, to be opened at four o'clock; this he refused to put, and declared the council closed until ten o'clock on the following morning.

At that hour the council was opened and the minutes read, whereupon the Grand Commander declared the council closed *sine die.*

Some of the members (five) conferred together, and being advised by Gourgas, reopened the council and proceeded with the business.

Upon the report of a committee on rules, etc., previously appointed, the council adopted the Constitutions of 1860.

The record of this session was signed by Van Rensselaer, who was elected Lieutenant Grand Commander, Starkweather, Moore, Christie, Case, and Young. A preamble and resolution were adopted, deposing the Grand Commander in effect. Gourgas, Turner, Bull, and Hubbard formally approved the proceedings; Carson also did so with some qualifications.

The Grand Commander, Raymond, disregarded the action of these members after he had left the council. Both parties published the proceedings of 1860, those for the regular session being alike, Raymond's being a record of his action in conferring the 33d Degree upon Lawson, Starkweather, and Field, who, it is alleged, by him were elected in 1857. It is said, however, that the records of 1857 show only the election of Starkweather.

Both of these factions continued to operate; we shall not, however, dwell upon the minutiae, but state that the Van Rensselaer body grew in numbers and importance. There was a large accession in 1862 of very distinguished and prominent Masons; among these were Josiah H. Drummond, of Maine, and Benjamin Dean, of Massachusetts, both of whom subsequently became Grand Commanders; Hubbard, who had been elected Grand Commander, having positively declined to serve, Van Rensselaer was chosen. Raymond and Robinson having been summoned to attend, and failing to appear, were tried and expelled.

Notwithstanding the controversies between these two bodies, the Van Rensselaer body continued to prosper until 1867. With

UNIVERSI TERRARUM ORBIS ARCHITECTONIS PER GLORIAM INGENITUS.

HEALTH STABILITY AND POWER

Deus Meumque Jus. Ordo ab Chao.

From the Orient of the Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, whose Sacred Asylum is beneath the O.·. O.·., at the V.·. P.·. of the L.·., near the B.·. B.·., corresponding with 40° 43'. 10" N. Lat., and 2° 0' 51" E. Lon.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Be it Known, *That on the 17th day of the Hebrew month Shebat, Anno Mundi. 5623, answering to the 7th day of February, 1863, (E.·. V.·.) by solemn articles, the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the* ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE *for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, sitting at Boston, was duly consolidated with the Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the A. and A.·. Rite for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, sitting at New York, upon terms honorable and just alike to all parties interested therein.*

Be it further Known, *That the following Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, in pursuance of such consolidation, comprise the Officers of the Supreme Grand Council for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies. They will be recognized and respected accordingly.*

Ill.·. EDMUND B. HAYS—*M.·. P.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander,*
" EDWARD A. RAYMOND—*Ass't. Sov.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" SIMON W. ROBINSON—*1st Lieut.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" HOPKINS THOMPSON—*2d Lieut.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" BENJAMIN C. LEVERIDGE—*Gr.·. Orator.*
" GEORGE M. RANDALL—*Gr.·. Minister of State.*
" LUCIUS R. PAIGE—*Gr.·. Chancellor.*
" DANIEL SICKELS—*Gr.·. Sec.·. General H.·. E.·.*
" ROBERT B. ROBERTS—*Gr.·. Treas.·. Gen.·. H.·. E.·.*

Ill.·. HENRY C. BANKS—*Gr.·. Marshal General.*
" AARON P. HUGHES—*Gr.·. Sword Bearer.*
" H. J. SEYMOUR—*1st Gr.·. Mas.·. of Cer.·.*
" CHARLES T. McLENACHAN—*2d Gr.·. Mas.·. of Cer.·.*
" PETER LAWSON—*Gr.·. Ex.·. Introductor.*
" JOHN INNES—*Gr.·. Standard Bearer.*
" WM. FIELD—*1st Gr.·. Capt.·. of the Guard.*
" WILLIAM H. JARVIS—*2d Gr.·. Capt.·. of the Guard.*

All which is promulgated, and ordered to be transmitted to whom it may concern.

Done at the Grand East, *New York City, this 8th day of the Hebrew month Adar, A.·. M.·. 5623, answering to March 1st, 1863 (E.·. V.·.)*

In Testimony of all which *I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Seal of the Supreme Grand Council to be affixed.*

SUPREME COUNCIL 33d DEG. DEUS MEUMQUE JUS.

Ill.·. A. Hays 33d
M.·. P.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander.

Attest,

Daniel Sickels 33d
Gr.·. Sec.·. Gen.·. H.·. E.·.

DANIEL SICKELS 33 SECRETARY

UNIVERSI TERRARUM ORBIS ARCHITECTONIS
PER GLORIAM INGENTIS.

Deus Meumque Jus. Ordo ab Chao.

From the Orient of the Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, whose Sacred Asylum is beneath the C.·. C.·., at the V.·. P.·. of the Z.·., near the B.·. B.·., corresponding with 40° 42' 40" N. Lat., and 2° 0' 57" E. Lon.

To ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

Be it Known, That on the 17th day of the Hebrew month Shebat, Anno Mundi 5623, answering to the 7th day of February, 1863 (E. V.), by solemn articles, the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, sitting at Boston, was duly consolidated with the Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d and last Degree of the A. and A. Rite for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, sitting at New York, upon terms honorable and just alike to all parties interested therein.

Be it further Known, That the following Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, in pursuance of such consolidation, comprise the Officers of the Supreme Grand Council for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies. They will be recognized and respected accordingly.

Ill.·. EDMUND B. HAYS—*M.·. P.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander.*
" EDWARD A. RAYMOND—*Asst.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" SIMON W. ROBINSON—1*st Lieut.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" HOPKINS THOMPSON—2*d Lieut.·. Gr.·. Com.·.*
" BENJAMIN C. LEVERIDGE—*Gr.·. Orator.*
" GEORGE M. RANDALL— *Gr.·. Minister of State.*
" LUCUS R. PAIGE—Gr.·. *Chancellor.*
" DANIEL SICKELS—*Gr.·. Sec.·. General H.·. B.·.*
" ROBERT E. ROBERTS— *Gr.·. Treas.·. Gen.·. H.·. E.·.*
" HENRY C. BANKS—*Gr.·. Marshal General.*
" AARON P. HUGHES—*Gr.·. Sword Bearer.*
" H. J. SEYMOUR— 1*st Gr.·. Mas.·. of Cer.·.*
" CHARLES T. McCLENACHAN—2*d Gr.·. Mas.·. of Cer.·.*
" PETER LAWSON—*Gr.·. Ex.·. Introductor.*
" JOHN INNES—Gr.·. *Standard Bearer.*
" WM. FIELD—1*st Gr.·. Capt.·. of the Guard.*
" WILLIAM H. JARVIS—2*d Gr.·. Capt.·. of the Guard.*

All which is promulgated, and ordered to be transmitted to whom it may concern.

Done at the Grand East, New York City, this 8th day of the Hebrew month Adar, A.·. M.·. 5623, answering to March 1st, 1863 (E.·. V.·.)

In Testimony of all which I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Seal of the Supreme Grand Council to be affixed.

[SEAL.] EDMUND B. HAYS 33.·.
M.·. P.·. Sov.·. G.·. Commander.

Attest,
DANIEL SICKELS 33rd.·.
Gr.·. Sec.·. Gen.·. H.·. E.·. [SEAL.]

the exception of four bodies in the city of New York, which had been organized prior to the schism, all others continued in their allegiance to this body. In 1867 there were twenty-eight active members on the roll.

In 1862 three Supreme Councils claimed jurisdiction over the Northern section of the United States. In April, 1862, by the records of Raymond Council, the Cerneau body, presided over by Hays, had made overtures to the Raymond faction for a union of the two, and committees were appointed to meet for the purpose of organizing for such union. January 23, 1863, it was reported to the Raymond body that there was a reasonable prospect of effecting the union, and the committee was granted full power to act. January 19, 1863, in the Hays body similar action ensued.

Under date of February 7, 1863, Articles of Union were agreed upon by which the two councils were consolidated. The number of members was increased to seventeen, and each member, and body, was required to take the oath of allegiance to the new body when they had the same status as they respectively had under the original bodies.

Raymond, Randall, Paige, Hughes, Robinson, Lawson, Field, and McClenachan of the Raymond body; and Hays, Thompson, Sickles, Roberts, Leveridge, Seymour, Banks, Jarvis, and Innis of the Hays body, constituted the membership of the united body. On the preceding page is shown the copy of the "Article of Consolidation."

April 15, 1863, Hays, having been agreed upon as Grand Commander, installed the Officers. All the members of both the former bodies were required to take the oath of fealty to the newly united body, hence the claim, set up a few years subsequently, that the Raymond body was merged in the Hays Council is entirely without foundation; moreover, when a few of the old Hays Council withdrew from the united body, the large majority, and the most eminent Brethren, remained true in their allegiance to that body.

A change was made in the constitution by which the active membership was increased to twenty-four, besides the nine officers.

The members of this united body became very active; a very large number received the 33d Degree; many new bodies were instituted, particularly in States where the Scottish Rite had not heretofore been worked, all in the Northern Jurisdiction.

Until 1864 the tenure of office had always been *ad vitam,* but at the meeting this year, amendments were passed for the triennial election of the officers and for a reduction to nine.

September 11, 1865, a session was held. Communication had been resumed with the officials of the Southern Supreme Council, but the Hays Council having declared itself as having jurisdiction over the United States, this body was not in a condition to ask the recognition of the Southern Supreme Council, as it had denounced as spurious all the various bodies which had originated in New York.

At this meeting charges were presented against Harry J. Seymour, who was Asst. Grand Master of Ceremonies. A committee of his friends of the old Hays body was appointed to try these charges. At a subsequent date the committee reported. Seymour had been duly notified to appear, but he refused to do so, and he was expelled, as will be seen by the following:

SUPREME COUNCIL, 33°
NORTHERN MASONIC JURISDICTION U. S. A.
Gr.·. Orient, Boston, Massachusetts,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GEN.·. H.·. E.·.

New York, 27 A.·. M.·., 5631.

At a session of the Supreme Council 33°. for the Northern Jurisdiction U. S., held on the 10th day of the Hebrew month Elul, Anno Heb. 5625, answering to the nth day of September, 1865, V. E., the following action was had:

Ill.·. Bro.·. C. T. McClenachan, Rose +.·. 33°. preferred a charge with three specifications of the violation of sundry obligations by Henry or Harry J. Seymour Rose +.·. 33°., said obligations being those of the 14°.—16°.—17°.—18°.—32°. and 33°. degrees of the A.·. A.·. Scottish Rite, as set forth in the Ritual of the degrees.

The charge and specifications were read in the presence of the Gr.·. Commander, and the Inspectors General present.

Ill.·. Bro.·. Henry C. Banks, Rose +.·. 33°., moved that the charge and specifications be referred to a Commission, which was carried, and the Gr.·. Commander announced

Ill.·. Bros.·. Henry C. Banks, 33°.,
John Innes, 33°.,
Hopkins Thompson, 33°.

said commission for the trial.

At an adjourned session of the Sup.·. Council for the Northern Jurisdiction of the U. S., held December 14, 1865, the Commission rendered the following report:

Ill.·. Bro.·. Banks, chairman of the commission appointed to investigate certain charges and specifications presented to this Supreme Council against Harry J. Seymour, a past officer of this Supreme Council, reported that they had carefully examined the said charges and specifications, and the proofs thereof; that the aforesaid Harry J. Seymour had been duly notified to attend the meetings of the commission; had been served with a copy of the charges and specifications; that in all cases he had refused or neglected to pay any attention to such notices; and that your commission have arrived at the conclusion that the charges and specifications have been fully sustained, and offer the following resolution:

Resolved, "That the said Harry J. Seymour be, and he is hereby, expelled from all the rights and privileges of Masonry in every branch of the A.·. A.·. Scottish Rite."

Signed, HENRY C. BANKS, 33°, JOHN INNES, 33°, HOPKINS THOMPSON, 33°, } *Committee.*

On motion the report was received, and the resolution unanimously adopted, the members voting "viva voce" by roll-call, beginning with the Junior Member.

A true copy from the records,

Attest: DANIEL SICKELS, 33°

[GREAT SEAL] *Gr.·. Sec.·. Gen.·. H. E.*

A committee was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of resuming the old name, *viz.:* the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America "in lieu of the one at present adopted." Also it was resolved "that the Grand Commander appoint one or more delegates to repair to Charleston, South Carolina, at the meeting of the Southern Supreme Council." The report of the committee was unanimously adopted in favor of resuming the old name of the "Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States." Thus it appears that this Supreme Council, composed of the most distinguished Masons among the old members of the two councils, fully recognized the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction.

Brothers Paige and McClenachan had visited the council at Charleston and an oral report was made to the Supreme Council, December 14, 1865, but it does not appear on record. Hays resigned his office of Grand Commander, and Robinson was elected, It is generally inferred that the Southern Supreme Council did not agree that they would enter into recognition with a council whose chief officer was not considered a regular member of the Scottish Rite, and had denied the regularity of the union, and Raymond being dead, Robinson was his successor. As above shown, the election of Robinson followed, so that both by election and succession his title would be perfect. The record says: "A majority of all the officers and active members of the Supreme Council were present." Lucius R Paige was appointed to visit the Southern Supreme Council at their meeting held April 16, 1866.

At the meeting of the council held in New York June 5, 1866, in the address of Robinson, Grand Commander, he stated that the Raymond Council was forced into the union with the Hays Council for self-preservation, and referred to the Brethren the question of securing friendly relations with the Southern Supreme Council.

At the Southern Supreme Council meeting held April 6, 1866, the Grand Commander entered at some length upon the occurrences in the Northern Jurisdiction, which was placed in the hands of a committee, whose report was in consonance with the views of the Grand Commander.

The report of the committee was to the following effect, namely, that Robinson had been duly appointed Lieutenant Grand Commander by Raymond before the deposition of the latter; and hence if Raymond had been legally deposed, Robinson, on his deposition, would naturally succeed him as Grand Commander, and if Raymond had not been legally deposed, still Robinson, now that Raymond was dead, would be his legitimate successor. The report added that the only legitimate members of the council at the time, after the death of Hubbard, were Moore, Case, Young, and Starkweather, that both of the factions had acted in a manner that was illegal and neither of them could be recognized. This decision did not find general acceptance and was challenged on the allegation that the assumption that the Northern Supreme Council could have only nine members was erroneous in point of law. Whether this assumption

by the committee was or was not erroneous is a matter of no mo« ment at this time, as it is generally admitted that the Northern Supreme Council had the right to increase at pleasure the number of its active members.

The Northern Supreme Council, upon a summons from the Grand Commander, Robinson, met in Boston December 11, 1866. Moore, Case, Starkweather, and Young, although included in the summons, did not appear, and Robinson declared their seats vacant; thereupon, being himself as the only member, he then proceeded to fill the vacancies according to the provisions of the Constitution of 1786. There were then present twelve of the active and ten of the honorary members of the united council. The Grand Commander said that he was acting "with the unanimous consent of every member of that council."

The legal effect of these proceedings was a reorganization of the United Council, just as if the officers and members had elected themselves again. In form, no doubt, there was a dissolution of the United Council, and the organization of a new council, but the substance was as stated above. All members had the same status, no new oath was required, everyone was recognized as Grand Inspector-General, all the acts of the United Council were confirmed, and its actions of every kind recognized as still in full force. In every way the proceedings were nothing more or less than a formal reorganization of an existing body in deference to the requirements of the Southern Supreme Council. But although the action of the committee was intended to meet the wishes of the Southern Supreme Council, it did not satisfy the latter body, which desired to effect a perfect union, and had hoped to see the five members whom it had decided to be active members uniting in the action to be taken. The position of the New York Council was therefore still in doubt. In December, 1866, it published a full report of its proceedings; and it had already adopted a resolution, with a view to securing a union with the Boston Council, which was a copy of the one previously adopted with the same view to union, by the Boston body.

The committees appointed were as follows: *Boston Council,* Evans, of New York, Woodbury, of Massachusetts, Drummond, of Maine, Ely, of Ohio, Foss, of Illinois, Harmon G. Reynolds, of Illinois, an Honorary Member, and later Gardner, of Massachusetts. *New York Council,* Lewis Paige, McClenachan, and

Sickles, of New York, Paige, of Massachusetts, Palmer, of Wisconsin, and Barrett, of New Hampshire.

These two committees met in May, 1867, a short time before the annual session of the Boston Council. There was considerable discussion as to the details of the union, although the general terms were soon settled. Local interests as well as personal considerations created such difficulties that at one moment it seemed as if the negotiations would have to be broken off; indeed so hopeless was the outlook that several members left their seats, prepared to quit the room. Then, to quote Drummond's account, "a brother invited all to 'break bread together,' and insisted that all should accept the invitation." Before they returned to the committee-room everything had been satisfactorily arranged. The report was signed by all the members of the two committees, and adopted by the unanimous vote of each body, and the approval of the honorary members. The two councils met as equals, and all their previous actions were held to be valid, "except expulsions on account of former differences," which were rescinded. Each council consisted of twenty-eight active members, the New York Council consenting to the admission of Charles Levi Woodbury, of Massachusetts, "in recognition of his services in bringing about the union."

The two bodies by a concurrent vote met as one council. The two great commanders, Killian H. van Rensselaer, of the New York, and John L. Lewis, of the Boston Council, then conducted the Grand Commander elect of the united body to the altar, and administered to him the oath of fealty in the presence of the members of the Supreme Council. In his turn the Grand Commander administered the oath to all the members present. Other officers were then elected and installed, and a constitution was adopted, and the Northern Supreme Council was fully organized.

Until 1872 harmony prevailed in the Northern Jurisdiction. In that year H. J. Seymour, who had been expelled in 186—, put forward a claim that Hays, when Grand Commander of the "rump Council" of the Cerneanites, had given him a patent empowering him to create 33d Degree Masons and to institute a Supreme Council. He had previously, however, authorized an application to Grand Commander Drummond to be reinstated in all his rights as a member of the Supreme Council, on condition of his surrendering all his papers to the Supreme Council. It was after the rejection of this

application that Seymour began his active work, and the success of his efforts, limited as it was, encouraged others who had been members of the old Hays Council, before the union with the Northern Council, to start an annexation, styled "Cernean Supreme Council revived." These men, Hopkins Thompson, Robert Folger and others, had been members of the United Council reorganized in 1867 and had remained therein till 1881, and now set the claim that in December, 1866, the Union Council was, and that all the members were, released from their allegiance to it. They did not deny that they had taken the oath of fealty to the reorganized United Council, and had been loyal members for fourteen years, but they pleaded that their conduct arose from their ignorance of the proceedings of the council in 1866, and therefore they claimed to be a revival of the old Hays Council. As such they claimed also jurisdiction over the Southern territory, a claim which Thompson and Folger and others had unanimously surrendered in 1867. They deny also the loyalty of the Southern Supreme Council, which is everywhere accepted as the "Mother Council of the World," and the source from which came the 33d and last degree.

No regular Supreme Council has ever been acknowledged as either the Cernean Supreme Council revived or the Seymour association.

Supreme Council A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America.

The following Exhibit shows the number of Active and Honorary 33ds and K. C: C: H: 's; the number of 14th and 32d Degree Members; the number of Lodges, Chapters, Councils, Consistories, and Grand Consistories.

ORIENT.	Active 33°.	Honorary 33°.	K. C: C: H.	32°.	14°.	Lodges.	Chapters.	Councils.	Particular Consistories.	Grand Consistories.
Alabama	1	1	5	...	87	2	1	..	..	..
Arizona	..	3	1	...	21	1	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	..	3	17	235	239	1	1	1	1	..
California	2	32	47	439	737	9	4	4	4	..
Colorado	1	6	7	359	375	1	1	1	1	..
District of Columbia	..	24	22	243	433	2	1	1	1	..
Florida	..	4	3	...	66	2	..	..	..	..
Georgia	1	1	9	48	99	2	2	1	1	..
Hawaiian Islands	..	2	4	..	48	1	1	1	..	..
Idaho	..	..	4	24	39	1	1	1	1	..
Indian Territory	..	3	2	..	28	1	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	12	70	614	675	4	4	4	4	..
Japan	..	1	7	16	...	..	..	..	..	1
Kansas	..	29	34	953	1,124	6	6	5	4	..
Kentucky	1	27	27	452	....	..	..	..	..	1
Louisiana	1	14	17	112	....	..	..	..	..	1
Maryland	..	7	8	...	104	2	1	1	..	..
Minnesota	1	26	35	762	993	4	4	4	3	..
Mississippi	..	1	4	27	45	2	1	1	1	..
Missouri	1	11	22	584	713	4	2	2	2	..
Montana	1	12	9	145	210	3	3	2	2	..
Nebraska	..	29	39	248	391	5	3	1	1	..
Nevada	1	5	15	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	..	..	7	...	44	1	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	1	..	6	...	19	1	..	..	..	..
North Dakota	1	13	20	404	394	6	1	1	1	..
Oklahoma	..	..	2	89	101	1	1	1	1	..
Oregon	1	10	14	203	287	1	1	1	1	..
South Carolina	..	6	11	...	47	1	1	..	..	..
South Dakota	..	8	25	293	397	6	3	3	3	..
Tennessee	1	4	21	120	124	2	1	1	1	..
Texas	1	15	25	...	393	4	3	1	..	..
U. S. Army	..	10	4	...	34	1	..	..	..	..
Utah	..	1	1	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	1	9	9	45	91	1	1	1	1	..
Washington	1	13	31	261	374	6	6	4	2	..
West Virginia	..	8	10	154	185	2	1	1	1	..
Wyoming	1	3	5	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	21	353	599	6,830	8,917	86	55	44	37	3

Statement of Subordinate Masonic Bodies, their number and membership, and the proportion of Perfect Elus (14d). Knights Rose Croix (18d), Knights Kadosh (30d), Masters of the Royal Secret (32d), Royal Arch Masons, and Knights Templars to Master Masons, in the several States and Territories embraced in the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of the 33d A:A:S:R: of Free-Masonry, for the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction of the U. S. A.

ORIENT.	Blue Lodges.		Lodges of Perfection.		Chapters Rose Croix.		Councils Kadosh.		Particular Consistories.		Grand Consistories.	
	No.	Mem.	No.	Mem.	No.	Mem.	No.	Mem.	No.	Mem.	No.	Mem.
Alabama ...	376	11,345	2	87	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona.....	14	701	1	21	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..
Arkansas...	448	12,522	1	239	1	235	1	235	1	235	..	..
California...	265	19,542	9	737	4	544	4	468	4	439	..	..
Colorado ...	91	7,605	1	375	1	366	1	361	1	359	..	..
Dist. of Col.	25	5,298	2	433	1	306	1	222	1	243	..	..
Florida.....	144	4,187	2	66	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	..
Georgia	423	18,611	2	99	2	69	1	49	1	48	..	..
Hawaiian Is.	..	.....	1	48	1	31	1	21	..	..	..	..
Idaho	29	1,240	1	39	1	24	1	25	1	24	..	..
Indian Ter..	88	3,450	1	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	482	21,907	4	675	4	642	4	626	4	614	..	..
Japan	...	.....	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...	1	16
Kansas.....	359	20,103	6	1,124	6	1,014	5	958	4	953	..	..
Kentucky...	464	18,402	..	....	..	....	..	...	..	...	1	452
Louisiana...	133	5,439	..	....	..	....	..	...	..	...	1	112
Maryland...	103	7,827	2	404	1	61	1	52	..	...	..	...
Minnesota..	208	15,691	4	993	4	891	4	815	3	762	..	...
Mississippi..	279	9,341	2	45	1	22	1	22	1	27	..	...
Missouri....	564	31,360	4	713	2	632	2	591	2	584	..	...
Montana....	47	2,850	3	210	3	187	2	146	2	145	..	...
Nebraska...	229	11,775	5	391	3	320	1	244	1	248	..	...
Nevada.....	20	837	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
New Mexico.	19	854	1	44	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
N. Carolina.	307	10,954	1	19	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
N. Dakota..	50	2,871	6	394	1	404	1	405	1	404	..	...
Oklahoma ..	34	1,456	1	101	1	96	1	91	1	89	..	...
Oregon.....	110	5,143	1	287	1	237	1	222	1	203	..	...
S. Carolina..	185	5,840	1	47	1	36	..	...	..	...	..	...
S. Dakota ..	93	4,460	6	397	3	327	3	304	3	293	..	...
Tennessee ..	428	17,248	2	124	1	80	1	76	1	120	..	...
Texas	626	27,718	4	393	3	258	1	118	..	...	..	...
U. S. Army.	...	.....	1	34	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Utah	9	807	..	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Virginia	269	12,904	1	91	1	65	1	50	1	45	..	...
Washington.	99	4,663	6	374	6	312	4	279	2	261	..	...
W. Virginia.	111	6,251	2	185	1	148	1	156	1	154	..	...
Wyoming...	16	985	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Totals ..	7,147	338,187	86	8,917	54	7,307	44	6,536	37	6,250	3	580

ORIENT.	Proportion of 14° to M.M.	Royal Arch Chapters.		Proportion of R. A. to M. M.	Commanderies K. T.	
		No.	Mem.		No.	Mem.
Alabama	1 to 143	33	880	1 to 13	6	288
Arizona	1 to 33	5	263	1 to 3	3	122
Arkansas	1 to 52	55	895	1 to 14	13	502
California	1 to 26	66	5,405	1 to 4	36	3,101
Colorado	1 to 20	33	2,525	1 to 3	25	1,667
District of Columbia	1 to 12	10	2,192	1 to 2	5	1,481
Florida	1 to 83	16	598	1 to 7	5	200
Georgia	1 to 188	108	3,149	1 to 6	10	719
Hawaiian Islands	....	..	....	.....	..	...
Idaho	1 to 32	7	297	1 to 4	..	...
Indian Territory	1 to 123	24	781	1 to 4	5	182
Iowa	1 to 41	121	7,482	1 to 4	57	4,470
Japan	....	..	.	.....	..	....
Kansas	1 to 18	82	5,140	1 to —	47	3,234
Kentucky	....	61	2,923	1 to 6	25	2,151
Louisiana	....	20	1,067	1 to 5	5	373
Maryland	1 to 75	19	1,880	1 to 4	12	1,234
Minnesota	1 to 16	61	4,916	1 to 3	25	2,534
Mississippi	1 to 207	39	1,388	1 to 6	14	441
Missouri	1 to 44	96	6,924	1 to 4	56	4,375
Montana	1 to 13	15	811	1 to 3	9	374
Nebraska	1 to 30	52	2,919	1 to 40	23	1,655
Nevada	....	8	298	1 to 3	..	...
New Mexico	1 to 20	8	380	1 to 2	..	...
North Carolina	1 to 576	18	703	1 to 16	17	347
North Dakota	1 to 7	13	874	1 to 3	8	449
Oklahoma	1 to 14	..	...	.....	4	170
Oregon	1 to 18	27	1,101	1 to 5	6	399
South Carolina	1 to 124	17	599	1 to 10	..	...
South Dakota	1 to 11	27	1,456	1 to 3	11	751
Tennessee	1 to 139	68	2,714	1 to 6	16	1,075
Texas	1 to 71	138	6,205	1 to 4	30	2,098
U. S. Army	....	..	....	.....	..	....
Utah	....	..	....	.....	..	....
Virginia	1 to 142	39	2,710	1 to 5	20	1,486
Washington	1 to 12	18	1,154	1 to 4	10	633
West Virginia	1 to 34	20	1,381	1 to 4	12	1,037
Wyoming	....	7	350	1 to 3	7	342
Totals		1,334	72,639		516	37,890

NOTE.—The membership of the Scottish Rite Bodies is based upon reports of June 30, 1899; that of the York Rite Bodies upon the latest reports in our possession when the statement was compiled.

NOTE.—In giving the proportions, where the fraction was one-half or less it has been subtracted; where more than one-half, added.

APPENDIX.

Average membership of Blue Lodges	$47^1/_2$
" " " Royal Arch Chapters	$54^1/_2$
" " Commanderies	73
" " " Lodges of Perfection	$103^1/_2$
" " Chapters of Rose Croix	$105^3/_5$
" " " Councils of Kadosh	148
" " " Particular Consistories	169

Proportion of Royal Arch Masons to Master Masons	1 to $4^2/_3$
" " Knights Templars " " "	1 to 9
" " 14d " " "	1 to 38
" " 18d " " "	1 to $46^1/_4$
" " 30d " " "	1 to $51^5/_6$
" " 32d " " "	1 to 54

No report in Secretary-General's office of 14d Masons in Japan, Kentucky, and Louisiana, which are under Grand Consistories.

No Lodges of Perfection in Nevada, Utah, or Wyoming from which returns are made, and no record of 14d.

Number of Blue Lodges, 7,147; membership, 338,187.

Number of Lodges of Perfection, 86; membership, 8,917.

GRAND CONSISTORIES.

Name of Body.	No.	Orient.	Name of Body.	No.	Orient.
Emp. of Japan	...	Yokohama, Japan.	Louisiana	...	New Orleans, La.
Kentucky	...	Louisville, Ky.			

PARTICULAR CONSISTORIES.

Name of Body.	No.	Orient.	Name of Body.	No.	Orient.
Arkansas	1	Little Rock, Ark.	Duluth	3	Duluth, Minn,
San Francisco	1	San Francisco, Cal.	Mississippi	1	Meridian, Miss.
Oakland	2	Oakland, Cal.	Missouri	1	St. Louis, Mo.
Los Angeles	3	Los Angeles, Cal.	West Missouri	2	Kansas City, Mo.
Pasadena	4	Pasadena, Cal.	East Montana	1	Livingston, Mont.
Colorado	1	Denver, Col.	Butte	2	Butte, Mont.
Albert Pike	1	Washington, D. C.	Nebraska	1	Omaha, Neb.
Benzibee	1	Savannah, Ga.	Dakota	1	Fargo, N. Dak.
Idaho	1	Lewiston, Idaho.	Oklahoma	1	Guthrie, Okla.
De Molay	1	Lyons, Ia.	Oregon	1	Portland, Ore.
Iowa	2	Cedar Rapids, Ia.	Oriental	1	Yankton, S. Dak.
Des Moines	3	Des Moines, Ia.	Black Hills	3	Deadwood, S. Dak.
Zarephath	4	Davenport, Ia.	South Dakota	4	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Topeka	1	Topeka, Kan.	Tennessee	1	Memphis, Tenn.
Wichita	2	Wichita, Kan.	Dalcho	1	Richmond, Va.
Salina	3	Salina, Kan.	Lawson	1	Seattle, Wash.
Fort Scott	4	Fort Scott, Kan.	Oriental	2	Spokane, Wash.
Minnesota	1	St. Paul, Minn.	West Virginia	1	Wheeling, W. Va.
Minneapolis	2	Minneapolis, Minn.			

COUNCILS OF KNIGHTS KADOSH.

Name of Body.	No.	Orient.	Name of Body.	No.	Orient.
God. de St. Omar	1	Little Rock, Ark.	Zenith	3	Duluth, Minn.
God. de St. Omar	1	San Francisco, Cal,	Winona	4	Winona, Minn.
De Molay	2	Oakland, Cal.	Mississippi	1	Meridian, Miss.
Hugh de Payens.,	3	Los Angeles, Cal.	Missouri	1	St. Louis, Mo.
Temple	4	Pasadena, Cal.	De Molai	2	Kansas City, Mo.
Denver	1	Denver, Col.	Livingston	1	Livingston, Mont.
Robert de Bruce.	1	Washington, D. C.	Butte	2	Butte, Mont.
Gethsemane	1	Savannah, Ga.	St. Andrews	1	Omaha, Neb.
Alex. Liholiho	1	Honolulu, H. Isl.	Fargo	1	Fargo, N. Dak.
Lewiston	1	Lewiston, Idaho.	De Sonnac	1	Guthrie, Okla.
Hugh de Payens..	1	Lyons, Iowa.	Multonomah	1	Portland, Ore.
St. Andrews	2	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.	Robert de Bruce.	1	Yankton, S. Dak.
Cyrus	3	Des Moines, Iowa.	Deadwood	3	Deadwood, S. Dak.
Cœur de Leon	4	Davenport, Iowa.	Albert Pike	4	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Wm. De La More	1	Lawrence, Kan.	Cyprus	1	Memphis, Tenn.
God. de St. Omar.	2	Topeka, Kan.	Pike-Tucker	1	Galveston, Tex.
Robert de Bruce.	4	Fort Scott, Kan.	St. Omar	1	Richmond, Va.
Wichita	5	Wichita, Kan.	Washington	1	Seattle, Wash.
Salina	6	Salina, Kan.	De Molai	2	Olympia, Wash.
Mayland	1	Baltimore, Md.	Occidental	3	Spokane, Wash.
De Molai	1	St. Paul, Minn.	Tacoma	4	Tacoma, Wash.
A. Elisha Ames..	2	Minneapolis, Minn.	Albert Pike	1	Wheeling, W. Va.

CHAPTERS OF KNIGHTS ROSE CROIX.

Name of Body.	No.	Orient.	Name of Body.	No.	Orient.
Birmingham	1	Birmingham, Ala.	St. Louis	1	St. Louis, Mo.
Excelsior	1	Little Rock, Ark.	Areiopagus	2	Kansas City, Mo.
Yerba Buena	1	San Francisco, Cal.	Helena	1	Helena, Mont.
Gethsemane	2	Oakland, Cal.	Livingston	2	Livingston, Mont.
Robert Bruce	3	Los Angeles, Cal.	Butte	3	Butte, Mont.
Temple	4	Pasadena, Cal.	Semper Fidelis	1	Omaha, Neb.
Mackey	1	Denver, Col.	Emmanuel	2	Lincoln, Neb.
Evangelist	1	Washington, D. C.	Constans	3	Hastings, Neb.
Temple	1	Savannah, Ga.	Pelican	1	Fargo, N. Dak.
White Eagle	2	Atlanta, Ga.	Guthrie	1	Guthrie, Okla.
Nuuanu	1	Honolulu, H. Isl.	Ainsworth	1	Portland, Ore.
Lewiston	1	Lewiston, Idaho.	Buist	1	Charleston, S. C.
Delphic	1	Lyons, Iowa.	Mackey	1	Yankton, S. Dak.
Bruce	2	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.	Robert Bruce	3	Deadwood, S. Dak.
Emmanuel	3	Des Moines, Iowa.	Aberdeen	4	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
St. John's	4	Davenport, Iowa.	Calvary	1	Memphis, Tenn.
Unity	1	Topeka, Kan.	Philip C. Tucker.	1	Austin, Texas.
Equality	2	Lawrence, Kan.	L. M. Oppenh'r..	2	Galveston, Tex.
Mackey	4	Fort Scott, Kan.	Houston	3	Houston, Tex.
Wichita	5	Wichita, Kan.	Pelican	2	Richmond, Va.
Salina	6	Salina, Kan.	Washington	1	Seattle, Wash.
Victory	..	Kansas City, Kan.	Robert Bruce	2	Olympia, Wash.
Meredith	1	Baltimore, Md.	St. Andrews	3	Pt.Townsend,Wash.
St. Paul	1	St. Paul, Minn.	Columbia	5	Walla Walla, Wash.
St. Vin. de Paul.	2	Minneapolis, Minn.	Tacoma	9	Tacoma, Wash.
A. T. C. Pierson.	4	Duluth, Minn.	Cascade	7	Spokane, Wash.
Winona	5	Winona, Minn.	Charity	1	Wheeling, W. Va.
Mississippi	1	Meridian, Miss.			

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

Name of Body.	No.	Orient.	Name of Body.	No.	Orient.
Alabama	1	Montgomery, Ala.	Winslow-Turner.	3	Plattsburg, Mo.
Birmingham	2	Birmingham, Ala.	Columbia	4	Columbia, Mo.
Santa Rita	1	Tucson, Ariz.	Alpha	1	Helena, Mont.
Acacia	1	Little Rock, Ark.	Khurum	4	Livingston, Mont.
Yerba Buena	1	San Francisco, Cal.	King Solomon	5	Butte, Mont.
Oakland	2	Oakland, Cal.	Mount Moriah	1	Omaha, Neb.
King Solomon	3	Los Angeles, Cal.	Fiducia	3	Hastings, Neb.
Isaac Davis	4	Sacramento, Cal.	Delta	4	Lincoln, Neb.
Pacific	5	Marysville, Cal.	Emeth	5	Fremont, Neb.
Delta	6	Redlands, Cal.	Damascus	7	Kearney, Neb.
Temple	7	Pasadena, Cal.	Santa Fé	1	Santa Fé, N. Mex.
Constans	8	San Diego, Cal.	Alpha	1	Asheville, N. C.
Visalia	9	Visalia, Cal.	Enoch	1	Fargo, N. Dak.
Delta	1	Denver, Col.	Lisbon	4	Lisbon, N. Dak.
Mithras	1	Washington, D. C.	Carmel	6	Grand Forks, N. D.
Orient	2	Georgetown, D. C.	Ellendale	..	Ellendale, N. Dak.
Ponce de Leon	3	Ocala, Fla.	Hillsboro	..	Hillsboro, N. Dak.
Orient	4	Jacksonville, Fla.	Devil's Lake	..	Devil's Lake, N. D.
Acme	5	Plant City, Fla.	Guthrie	1	Guthrie, Okla.
Alpha	1	Savannah, Ga.	Oregon	1	Portland, Ore.
Hermes	4	Atlanta, Ga.	Delta	1	Charleston, S. C.
Kammehameha	1	Honolulu, H. Isl.	Aleph	2	Columbia, S. C.
Lewiston	1	Lewiston, Idaho.	Alpha	1	Yankton, S. Dak.
Alpha	2	Chickashaw, Ind. T.	Webster	4	Webster, S. Dak.
Iowa	1	Lyons, Iowa.	Golden Belt	5	Deadwood, S. Dak.
Kilwinning	2	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.	J. C. Batchelor	6	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Tabernacle	3	Des Moines, Iowa.	Delta	..	Hot Springs, S. D.
Adoniram	4	Davenport, Iowa.	Albert Pike	..	Eureka, S. Dak.
Mackey	2	Salina, Kan.	John Chester	1	Jackson, Tenn.
Oriental	3	Topeka, Kan.	Mizpah	5	Memphis, Tenn.
Zerbal	5	Lawrence, Kan.	San Felipe	1	Galveston, Tex.
Joabert	6	Fort Scott, Kan.	Fidelity	4	Austin, Tex.
Elmo	9	Wichita, Kan.	San Jacinto	6	Houston, Tex.
Lafayette	..	Kansas City, Kan.	Dallas	7	Dallas, Tex.
Albert Pike	1	Baltimore, Md.	Libertas	5	Richmond, Va.
Delta	2	Gaithersburg, Md.	Washington	1	Seattle, Wash.
Carmel	1	St. Paul, Minn.	Olympia	2	Olympia, Wash.
Excelsior	2	Minneapolis, Minn.	Lafayette	3	Port Townsend, W.
North Star	6	Duluth, Minn.	Columbia	5	Walla Walla, Wash.
Winona	7	Winona, Minn.	Albert G. Mackey	8	Spokane, Wash.
Meridian	1	Meridian, Miss.	Tacoma	9	Tacoma, Wash.
Columbus	2	Columbus, Miss.	McDaniel	1	Wheeling, W. Va.
St. Louis	1	St. Louis, Mo.	Purnell	2	Parkersburg, W. Va.
Adoniram	2	Kansas City, Mo.	Army	1	Ft. Leavenworth, K.

Supreme Council A.·. A.·. S.·. R.·. of the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America.

The following Exhibit shows the number of Active and Honorary 33ds; the Consistories, and the number of Chapters, Councils, and Lodges of Perfection, of the several States of the Northern Jurisdiction.

Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the Thirty-third and Last Degree.

Officers	33	Emeriti Members	2
Active members	48	Past Active Member	1

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Maine	26	Pennsylvania	57
New Hampshire	18	Ohio	87
Vermont	21	Michigan	48
Massachusetts	60	Indiana	51
Rhode Island	17	Illinois	57
Connecticut	26	Wisconsin	27
New York	152	Non-resident Honorary Members	7
New Jersey	19		
Total			673

Table of Subordinate Bodies in Northern Jurisdiction, by States.

MAINE.

CONSISTORY.

MAINE CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Portland. Date of Charter, May 22, A.D., 1862.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

DUNLAP CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Portland. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

BANGOR CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Bangor. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

H. H. DICKEY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Auburn. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

EMETH CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Augusta. Date of Charter, September 17, 1896.

GENERAL KNOX CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, U. D., Rockland. Date of Dispensation, May 8, 1899.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

PORTLAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Portland. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

AUBURN COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Auburn. Date of Charter, September 19, 1889.

PALESTINE COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Bangor. Date of Charter, September 19, 1889.

DEERING COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Machias. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

AUGUSTA COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Augusta. Date of Charter, September 19, 1895.

ROCKLAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Rockland. Date of Charter, September 21, 1898.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

YATES LODGE OF PERFECTION, Portland. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

LEWISTON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Lewiston. Date of Charter, August 16, 1876.

EASTERN STAR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Bangor. Date of Charter, September 25, 1884.

DELTA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Machias. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

KENNEBEC VALLEY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Augusta. Date of Charter, September 19, 1895.

ROCKLAND LODGE OF PERFECTION, Rockland. Date of Charter, September 21, 1898.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CONSISTORY.

EDWARD A. RAYMOND CONSISTORY, Nashua. Date of Charter, June 4, 1864.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

ST. GEORGE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Nashua. Date of Charter, June 4, 1864.

NEW HAMPSHIRE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Portsmouth. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

ACACIA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Concord. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

LITTLETON CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Littleton. Date of Charter, September 19, 1895.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

GRAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Portsmouth. Date of Charter, June 25, 1845.

ORIENTAL COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Nashua. Date of Charter, June 4, 1864.

ARIEL COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Concord. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Littleton. Date of Charter, September 19, 1895.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

INEFFABLE GRAND LODGE OF PERFECTION, Portsmouth. Date of original Charter, January 31, 1842, which was destroyed by fire November 30, 1865, and a new Charter was issued on the 19th day of May, 1866.

AARON P. HUGHES LODGE OF PERFECTION, Nashua. Date of Charter, June 4, 1864.

ALPHA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Concord. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

NORTH STAR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Lancaster. Date of Charter, September 19, 1895.

VERMONT.

CONSISTORY.

VERMONT CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Burlington. Date of Charter, August 19, 1874.

CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX.

DELTA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Burlington. Date of Charter, November 13, 1873.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

JOSEPH W. ROBY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Burlington. Date of Charter, November 13, 1873.

MOUNT CALVARY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Montpelier. Date of Charter, September 22, 1880.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

HASWELL LODGE OF PERFECTION, Burlington. Date of Charter, June 17, 1870.

WINDSOR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Windsor. Date of Charter, August 18, 1875.

GAMALIEL WASHBURN LODGE OF PERFECTION, Montpelier. Date of Charter. August 18, 1875.

BENNINGTON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Bennington. Date of Charter, September 20, 1882.

MIZPAH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Saint Johnsbury. Date of Charter, September 20, 1882.

NEWPORT LODGE OF PERFECTION, Newport. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

DELTA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Rutland. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

MASSACHUSETTS.

CONSISTORY.

MASSACHUSETTS CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Boston. Date of Charter, May 15 1861.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

MOUNT CALVARY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Lowell. Date of Charter, May 16, 1860.

MOUNT OLIVET CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Boston. Date of Charter, September 11, 1863.

LAWRENCE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Worcester, Date of Charter, June 17, 1870.

SPRINGFIELD CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Springfield. Date of Charter, September 20, 1894.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

LOWELL COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Lowell. Date of Charter, May 28, 1858.

GILES FONDA YATES COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Boston. Date of Charter, February 17, 1864.

MASSASOIT COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Springfield. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

GODDARD COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Worcester. Date of Charter, June 17, 1870.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

BOSTON-LAFAYETTE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Boston. Date of Charter, January 21, 1842.

LOWELL LODGE OF PERFECTION, Lowell. Date of Charter, May 28, 1858.

WORCESTER LODGE OF PERFECTION, Worcester. Date of Charter, September 30, 1863.

SUTTON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Salem. Date of Charter, April 8, 1864.

EVENING STAR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Springfield. Date of Charter, May 18, 1866.

MERRIMACK VALLEY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Haverhill. Date of Charter, September 22, 1892.

ONOTA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Pittsfield. Date of Charter, September 20, 1894.

RHODE ISLAND.

CONSISTORY.

RHODE ISLAND CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Providence. Date of Charter, April 10, 1856. Destroyed by fire; new Charter issued September 17, 1896.

CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX.

RHODE ISLAND CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Providence. Date of Charter, December 14, 1849.

COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM,

RHODE ISLAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Providence. Date of Charter, December 14, 1849.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

SOLOMON'S GRAND LODGE OF PERFECTION, Providence, Date of Charter, 1849. Destroyed by fire; new Charter issued September 17, 1896.

VAN RENSSELAER LODGE OF PERFECTION. Newport. Date of Charter, December 14, 1849.

CONNECTICUT.

CONSISTORIES.

LAFAYETTE CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Bridgeport. Date of Charter, June 1, 1858.

CONNECTICUT SOVEREIGN CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Norwich. Date of Charter, May 28, 1864.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

PEQUONNOCK CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Bridgeport. Date of Charter, June 1, 1858.

NORWICH CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Norwich. Date of Charter, May 28,1864.

NEW HAVEN CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, New Haven. Date of Charter, August 19, 1875.

CYRUS GOODELL CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Hartford. Date of Charter, August 16, 1876.

CORINTHIAN CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Waterbury. Date of Charter, September 23, 1897.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Bridgeport. Date of Charter, June 1, 1858.

VAN RENSSELAER COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Norwich. Date of Charter, May 28, 1864.

ELM CITY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, New Haven. Date of Charter, August 18, 1875.

HARTFORD COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Hartford. Date of Charter, August 16, 1876.

IONIC COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Waterbury. Date of Charter, September 23, 1897.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

DE WITT CLINTON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Bridgeport. Date of Charter, May 11, 1858.

KING SOLOMON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Norwich. Date of Charter, May 28, 1864.

CHARTER OAK LODGE OF PERFECTION, Hartford. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

E. G. STORER LODGE OF PERFECTION, New Haven. Date of Charter, August 19, 1874.

DORIC LODGE OF PERFECTION, Waterbury. Date of Charter, September 23, 1897.

NEW YORK.

CONSISTORIES.

THE CONSISTORY OF NEW YORK S:P:R:S: 32D, New York. Date of Charter, August 6, 1806.

ALBANY SOVEREIGN CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Albany. Date of Charter, November 16, 1824.

CENTRAL CITY CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Syracuse. Date of Charter, November 27, 1862.

OTSENINGO CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Binghamton. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

ROCHESTER CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Rochester. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

CORNING CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Corning. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

AURORA GRATA CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Brooklyn. Date of Charter, September 19, 1889.

BUFFALO CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Buffalo. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

THE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX OF NEW YORK CITY, New York. Date of Charter, August 6, 1806.

ALBANY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Albany. Date of Charter, November 16, 1824.

CENTRAL CITY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Syracuse. Date of Charter, November 27, 1862.

AURORA GRATA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Brooklyn. Date of Charter, June 6, 1866.

OTSENINGO CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Binghamton. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

ROCHESTER CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Rochester. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

CORNING CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Corning. Date of Charter May 16, 1867.

DELTA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Troy. Date of Charter, August 19, 1874.

YAH-NUN-DAH-SIS CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Utica. Date of Charter, September 20, 1882.

BUFFALO CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Buffalo. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

OGDENSBURG CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Ogdensburg. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

GRAND COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Albany. Date of Charter, December 20, 1767.

THE COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM OF NEW YORK, New York. Date of Charter, November 3, 1808.

CENTRAL CITY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Syracuse, Date of Charter, November 27, 1862.

AURORA GRATA COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Brooklyn. Date of Charter, June 6, 1866.

OTSENINGO COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Binghamton. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

ROCHESTER COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Rochester. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

CORNING COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Corning. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

PALMONI COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Buffalo. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

DELTA COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Troy. Date of Charter, August 19, 1874.

YAH-NUN-DAH-SIS COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Utica. Date of Charter, September 20, 1882.

OLEAN COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Olean. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

OGDENSBURG COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Ogdensburg. Date of Charter, September 21, 1893.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

INEFFABLE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Albany. Date of Charter, December 20, 1767.

THE LODGE OF PERFECTION OF NEW YORK CITY, New York. Date of Charter April 7, 1849. Date of Precedence, November 6, 1808.

CENTRAL CITY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Syracuse. Date of Charter, November 27, 1862.

AURORA GRATA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Brooklyn. Date of Charter, November 6, 1808. Reissued May 12, 1866.

OTSENINGO LODGE OF PERFECTION, Binghamton. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

ROCHESTER LODGE OF PERFECTION, Rochester. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

CORNING LODGE OF PERFECTION, Corning. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

PALMONI LODGE OF PERFECTION, Buffalo. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

DELTA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Troy. Date of Charter, November 16, 1871.

YAH-NUN-DAH-SIS LODGE OF PERFECTION, Utica. Date of Charter, November 13, 1873.

GERMANIA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Rochester. Date of Charter, August 19, 1874.

LOCK CITY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Lockport. Date of Charter, August 16, 1876.

WATERTOWN LODGE OF PERFECTION, Watertown. Date of Charter, September 5, 1884.

ST. LAWRENCE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Canton. Date of Charter, September 19, 1889.

NORTHERN STAR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Plattsburgh. Date of Charter, September 19, 1889.

OLEAN LODGE OF PERFECTION, Olean. Date of Charter, September 17, 1891.

SHEBARIM LODGE OF PERFECTION, Walton. Bate of Charter, September 21, 1893.

NEW JERSEY.

CONSISTORIES.

NEW JERSEY SOVEREIGN CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Jersey City. Date of Charter, May 16, 1867.

EXCELSIOR CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Camden. Date of Charter, September 27, 1883.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

TRENTON CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Trenton. Date of Charter, June 26, 1868.

JERSEY CITY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Jersey City. Date of Charter, November 16, 1871.

EXCELSIOR CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Camden. Date of Charter, November 16, 1871.

ADONIRAM CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Paterson. Date of Charter, November 13, l873.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

MERCER COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Trenton. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

EXCELSIOR COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Camden. Date of Charter, June 17, 1870.

JERSEY CITY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Jersey City. Date of Charter, November 16, 1871.

ADONIRAM COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Paterson. Date of Charter, November 13, 1873.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

MERCER LODGE OF PERFECTION, Trenton. Date of Charter, May 23, 1863.

JERSEY CITY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Jersey City. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

EXCELSIOR LODGE OF PERFECTION, Camden. Date of Charter, June 17, 1870.

ADONIRAM LODGE OF PERFECTION, Paterson. Date of Charter, November 13, 1873.

PENNSYLVANIA.

CONSISTORIES.

PENNSYLVANIA CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Pittsburgh. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

PHILADELPHIA CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Philadelphia, Date of Charter, July 11, 1857.

HARRISBURG CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Harrisburg. Date of Charter, November 15, 1865.

CALDWELL CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Bloomsburg. Date of Charter, May 19, 1867.

KEYSTONE CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Scranton. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

COUDERSPORT CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, U. D., Coudersport. Date of Dispensation, February 6, 1899.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

PITTSBURG CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Pittsburg. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

KILWINNING CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Philadelphia. Date of Charter, July 11, 1857.

EVERGREEN CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Bloomsburg. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

HARRISBURG Chapter OF ROSE CROIX, Harrisburg. Date of Charter, November 15, 1865.

KEYSTONE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Scranton. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

CALVARY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Towanda. Date of Charter, September 20, 1894.

COUDERSPORT CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX. Date of Charter, September 21, 1898.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Pittsburg. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

DE JOINVILLE COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Philadelphia. Date of Charter, July 11, 1857.

HARRISBURG COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Harrisburg. Date of Charter, March 15, 1864.

ZERUBBABEL COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Bloomsburg. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

KEYSTONE COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Scranton. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

HAYDEN COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Towanda. Date of Charter, September 20, 1894.

COUDERSPORT COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Coudersport. Date of Charter, September 21, 1898.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

GOURGAS LODGE OF PERFECTION, Pittsburg. Date of Charter, May 14, 1852.

PHILADELPHIA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Philadelphia. Date of Charter, July 11, 1857.

HARRISBURG LODGE OF PERFECTION, Harrisburg. Date of Charter, March 15, 1864.

ENOCH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Bloomsburg. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

LANCASTER LODGE OF PERFECTION, Lancaster. Date of Charter, August 18, 1875.

KEYSTONE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Scranton. Date of Charter, September 19, 1888.

PRESQUE ISLE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Erie. Date of Charter, September 19, 1888.

TOWANDA LODGE OF PERFECTION, Towanda. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

COUDERSPORT LODGE OF PERFECTION, Coudersport. Date of Charter, September 23, 1897.

OHIO.

CONSISTORIES.

OHIO CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Cincinnati. Date of Charter, May 4, 1854.

LAKE ERIE CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Cleveland. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Cincinnati. Date of Charter, December 27, 1853.

ARIEL CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Cleveland. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

COLUMBUS CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Columbus. Date of Charter, September 18, 1879.

DAYTON CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Dayton. Date of Charter, September 20, 1880.

CAMBRIDGE CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Cambridge. Date of Charter, September 20, 1880.

FORT INDUSTRY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Toledo. Date of Charter, September 20, 1881.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

DALCHO COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Cincinnati. Date of Charter, April 27, 1853.

CAMBRIDGE COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Cambridge. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

BAHURIM COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Cleveland. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

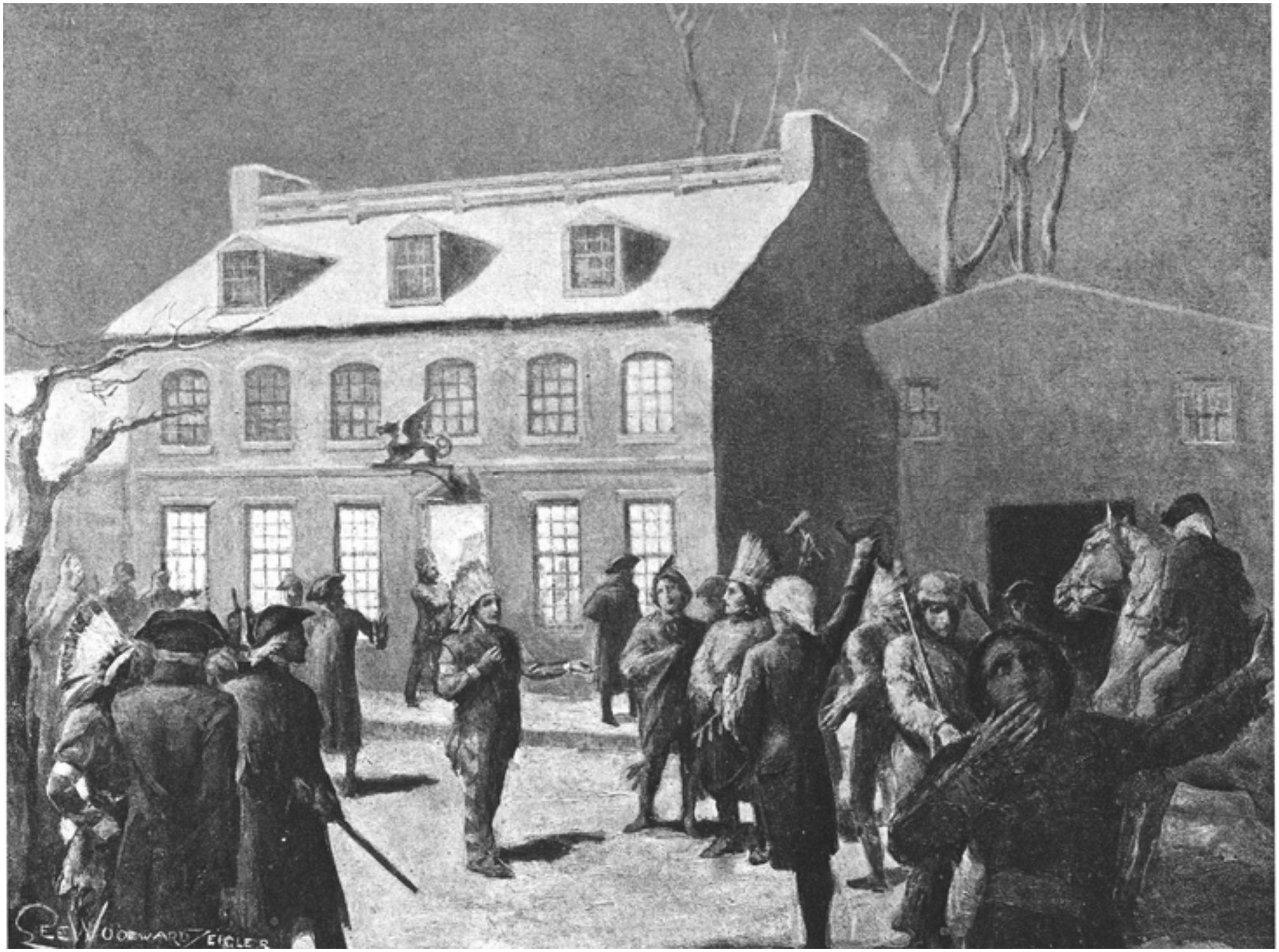
FRANKLIN COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Columbus. Date of Charter, September 18, 1879.

MIAMI COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Dayton. Date of Charter, September 20, 1880.

NORTHERN LIGHT COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Toledo. Date of Charter, September 20, 1881.

GREEN DRAGON TAVERN

Boston, Massachusetts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LODGES OF PERFECTION.

GIBULUM LODGE OF PERFECTION, Cincinnati. Date of Charter, April 27, 1853.

CAMBRIDGE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Cambridge. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

ELIADAH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Cleveland. Date of Charter, May 19, 1866.

ENOCH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Columbus. Date of Charter, September 19, 1877.

GABRIEL LODGE OF PERFECTION, Dayton. Date of Charter, September 20, 1880.

MI-A-MI LODGE OF PERFECTION, Toledo. Date of Charter, September 20, 1880.

EMETH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Canton. Date of Charter, September 17, 1896.

MICHIGAN.

CONSISTORIES.

MICHIGAN SOVEREIGN CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Detroit. Date of Charter, May 20, 1862.

DE WITT CLINTON CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Grand Rapids. Date of Charter. September 19, 1878.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

MOUNT OLIVET CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Detroit. Date of Charter, May 20, 1862.

ROBINSON CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Grand Rapids. Date of Charter, September 19, 1878.

SAGINAW VALLEY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Bay City. Date of Charter, September 16, 1885.

PENINSULAR CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Marquette. Date of Charter, May 18, 1891.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

CARSON COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Detroit. Date of Charter, May 26, 1861.

CYRUS COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Grand Rapids. Date of Charter, April 4, 1868.

BAY CITY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Bay City. Date of Charter, September 16, 1885.

LAKE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Marquette. Date of Charter, September 15, 1886.

MORIAH LODGE OF PERFECTION, Grand Rapids. Date of Charter, April 4, 1868.

DETROIT-CARSON LODGE OF PERFECTION, Detroit. Date of Charter, May 26, 1861. Date of new Charter, September 17, 1896.

MCCORMICK LODGE OF PERFECTION, Bay City. Date of Charter, September 25, 1884.

MARQUETTE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Marquette. Date of Charter, September 15, 1886.

INDIANA.

CONSISTORY.

INDIANA CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Indianapolis. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX.

INDIANAPOLIS CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Indianapolis. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

SARAIAH COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Indianapolis. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

DARIUS COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Fort Wayne. Date of Charter, September 18, 1890.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

ADONIRAM LODGE OF PERFECTION, Indianapolis. Date of Charter, May 19, 1865.

FORT WAYNE LODGE OF PERFECTION, Fort Wayne. Date of Charter, September 19, 1888.

ILLINOIS,

CONSISTORIES.

ORIENTAL CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Chicago. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

QUINCY CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Quincy. Date of Charter, March 16, 1866.

FREEPORT CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Freeport. Date of Charter, February 7, 1867.

PEORIA CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Peoria. Date of Charter, February 25, 1867.

CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

GOURGAS CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Chicago. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

QUINCY CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Quincy. Date of Charter, March 16, 1866.

FREEPORT CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Freeport. Date of Charter, February 7, 1867.

PEORIA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Peoria. Date of Charter, February 25, 1867.

COUNCILS OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM.

CHICAGO COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Chicago. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

QUINCY COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Quincy. Date of Charter, March 16, 1866.

FREEPORT COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Freeport. Date of Charter, February 7, 1867.

PEORIA COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Peoria. Date of Charter, February 25, 1867.

LODGES OF PERFECTION.

VAN RENSSELAER LODGE OF PERFECTION, Chicago. Date of Charter, May 14, 1857.

QUINCY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Quincy. Date of Charter, March 16, 1866.

FREEPORT LODGE OF PERFECTION, Freeport. Date of Charter, February 7, 1867.

CENTRAL CITY LODGE OF PERFECTION, Peoria. Date of Charter, February 25, 1867.

WISCONSIN.

WISCONSIN CONSISTORY S:P:R:S: 32D, Milwaukee. Date of Charter, August 7 1863.

WISCONSIN CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, Milwaukee. Date of Charter, August 7, 1863.

WISCONSIN COUNCIL OF PRINCES OF JERUSALEM, Milwaukee. Date of Charter, AUGUST 7, 1863.

WISCONSIN LODGE OF PERFECTION, Milwaukee. Date of Charter, August 7, 1863.

CHAPTER IV

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

COTLAND is a country which possesses a romantic history, and is rich in legendary lore, and both romance and legend are found in the story of the ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND, the most popular of the added degrees worked by the Craft. It was difficult to obtain any reliable information as to its true history till D. Murray Lyon, Grand Secretary of Scotland, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh,* gave, in 1873, a sketch of the order. It embraces two degrees, one the "Heredom of Kilwinning," which, according to one fable, was founded in the time of David I. of Scotland; the other, "The Rosy Cross," which, according to another fable, was instituted by King Robert Bruce as a reward for the aid given to him by some Templars who fought on his side at Bannockburn. As the Order of the Templars had been suppressed by Papal Bulls in 1312, some late members may have been present in Bruce's army in 1314, but we must always remember that, to quote Lyon's remark, "the fabulous stories about the early origin and royal patronage of the Royal Order must be taken for what they are worth, which, to those who value accuracy, means *nothing*." The fable that the Hautes Grades had their source in the "Mother Lodge, Kilwinning, is totally erroneous and based on ignorance or fraud, for that ancient lodge, as is shown by its records, never warranted or worked any degrees beyond the well-known "three degrees." It is true that the "Mother Kilwinning" did, in 1779, grant to some Masons in Dublin authority to form a regular lodge or society, and that the lodge so formed assumed the title of "High Knights Templars of Ireland, Kilwinning Lodge;" but all the evidence collected by Lyon and the Masonic historian, W. J. Hughan, proves that the Mother Kilwinning never claimed any authority beyond the three degrees, and is neither more nor less than a regular Masonic lodge, and that the ceremony was

unknown prior to the last century. In fact, when the Dublin Brethren, after conferring, in 1782, Royal Arch, Knight Templar, and Rose Croix degrees, petitioned the Mother Lodge for documents to establish beyond doubt the "authority and regularity of their warrant as High Knights Templars," the request was never granted, because impossible. Moreover, the Grand Lodge of Scotland, instituted in 1736, never officially countenanced any degrees beyond that of Master Mason, and has repeatedly objected to lending any support to ceremonies worked by authority of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland. The Grand Lodge, although toleration has succeeded to opposition, still recognizes only three degrees, the only change being the adoption of the Mark as a portion of the Fellow-Craft degree. As regards the claim that the "Mother Kilwinning" possessed other degrees of Masonry, careful examination shows that it is utterly baseless, and devoid of any corroborative evidence.

There is no authority for the statement of Dr. Arnot that the Royal Order is so called because it is "the highest and most sublime degree in Masonry." He likewise stated that the "Rose Croix was got up by the adherents of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and only received the name of Rose Croix (a translation of the R. S. Y. C. S. of the Royal Order) in 1746 or 1747. It was intended to be a Roman Catholic version, or rather perversion, of the Royal Order, this last being deemed for the French too bigoted; in other words, it was too purely religious and Protestant, although it is Christianity which it really promulgates." The Royal Order in France is said to have been established by the Pretender Charles Edward Stuart, and to be sanctioned by the Grand Orient under the title of Rose Croix de Heredom de Kilwinning, and Dr. Arnot states that the Lodge of Constance at Arras preserves the original Charter signed by the Prince in 1747. Bro. Hughan, in his valuable history, informs us that he possesses a catalogue of books advertised for sale in Paris in 1860, in which the following extract occurs:

"9. Charles Edward Stuart, roy d'Angleterre, de France, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande . . . voulant temoigner aux maçons artésiens combien nous sommes reconnaissant envers eux des preuves de bienfaisance qu'ils nous ont prodigués, etc., créons et érigeons par la présente bulle en la dite ville d'Arras un souv. chap. primatial de R. C. X., sous le titre distinctif d' Ecosse Jacobite, qui serra régi par

les chevaliers Lagneau, de Robespierre, avocats. An de l'incarnation 5745."

A note is appended that "Le document authentique, sur VELIN, est revetu du grand sceau, de sept timbres et d'un grand nombre de signatures. C'est l'expedition originale pour le chapitre metropolitan de Paris."

The date, 5745, on this authentic document must be wrong, as that year, the era of the Incarnation, is still some four thousand years away, and if it is an error for Anno Mundi, it may be remarked that Charles Edward Stuart did not succeed to the empty titles enumerated above till the death of his father in 1766. All trace, however, of these documents escaped the research of such a diligent inquirer as Bro. Hughan, who comes to the conclusion that it is an error to connect the Royal Order with the Rose Croix, as the ceremonies differ essentially, the former possessing a very peculiar and quaintly rhythmic ritual.

With regard to the name Heredom of Kilwinning, many derivations of the word have been given. Some give it a Greek origin and interpret it as Holy House, others go to the Hebrew, and, as it is plural in form, translate it by "Rulers," others derive it from "Heroden, a mountain in Scotland," without assigning any reason; Bro. Hughan takes the safe course of concluding that as the rituals of both degrees do not reveal the secret, the subject can not be definitely decided one way or another. The word occurs under the form Harodim as well as Heredom, the latter seeming to be a Saxon term of the same form as Kingdom, which might be represented in modern German by Herrthum or Heerthum.

The earliest records, strangely enough, relate to England, not to Scotland, as may be seen from the following list of regular chapters, according to seniority:

Decree of Seniority.	List, etc.	Date.
1.	Grand Lodge at the Thistle and Crown, Chandos Street..	Time Immemorial
2.	Grand Chapter at the Thistle and Crown, Chandos Street.	"
3.	Coach and Horses, Welbeck Street.....	"
4.	White Boar's Head, Exeter Road	"
5.	Golden Horse Shoe, in Cannon Street, Southwark	December 11, 1743.
6.	The Griffin, in Deptford, in Kent.....	December 20, 1744.
7.	Grand Chapter at The Hague, empowered to act as Grand Lodge	July 22, 1750.

Decree of Seniority.	List, etc.	Date.
8.	....	October 12, 1752.
9.	(1) Grand Chapter at Rouen in Normandy, empowered to act as a Grand Lodge	May 1, 1782.
10.	(2) Choix à Paris	October 4, 1786.
11.	(3) Strasburg	January 4, 1787.
12.	(4) L'Union Lavall.....	January 4, 1787.
13.	(5)	October 4, 1787.
14.	(6) Grand Lodge, Chambery	April 4, 1788.
15.	(7) Grand Chapter at Chambery in Saxony, empowered to act as a Grand Lodge in the Dominion of King of Sardinia	April 4, 1788.
16.	(8) At Martinique (?)	July 4, — —
17.	(9) At St. Domingo	July 4, — —
18.	(10) At Brest	July 4, — —

Here we find in London a Grand Lodge and a Grand Chapter, evidently the governing body of the order; two other subordinate bodies also described as "immemorial." and two, Nos. 5 and 6, of an earlier date than the Scottish Grand Lodge of Edinburgh which was originally No. 7 on the above list, the Grand Chapter at The Hague. The record-book gotten up for "The Brethren of H. R. D. M., belonging to the Hague," is stated to belong to the Grand Chapter termed the "Grand Lodge of the Royal Order at Edinburgh constituted July 22, 1750." Other records show that the Royal Order of Scotland (in England) existed much earlier than any of the other degrees in the United Kingdom except the "first three." The Royal Arch is alluded to in print in 1744, but is not again mentioned till 1752, and the minutes do not begin till ten years later. In both, the evidence of the existence and activity of the Royal Order during the early part of the last century gives it a position superior to all additional degrees, and thus it can claim a very respectable antiquity. The notion that it was fabricated by the Chevalier Ramsey has been perfectly refuted by Bro. Gould in his history, and may be dismissed from consideration. Bro. Lyon seems to incline to the opinion that it is not of Scotch origin, alleging the fact that certain privileges were allowed to No. 7 in the list of chapters "on an acknowledgment once a year to the Grand Lodge from whom it derived its title at a quarterly Grand Lodge meeting which is always held at London on the fifth Sunday in the months having so many," and arguing therefrom that a body of Scotch origin would not so far desert its relig-

ious principles as to hold constitutional meetings on the Sunday. There is evidence, however, that in England "Masters' " lodges did meet on Sunday. To sum up the whole matter in the words of Brother Hughan, "we cannot get farther back than the *Grand* Lodge and *Grand* Chapter in London with three subordinates of '*time immemorial*' antiquity (so called), and the first dated constitution of December 11, 1743."

With regard to the first offshoot of the London Grand Lodge (No. 7 in the list of chapters given above), doubts arose respecting the meaning of the contraction "Prov." in the signature of the Charter constituting the new lodge. Scotland had for a long series of years been in very close relation with the United Provinces of the Netherlands. In 1444 a contract was made between the royal burghers of Scotland and the latter power by which Scotch traders were freed from several duties and governed by the law of Scotland. Among the Scots residing in Holland at the beginning of the 18th century was William Mitchell, a teacher of languages. It is stated that he had been admitted to the Royal Order in France in 1749, and in London in 1750. In this latter year Mitchell and a Brother, Jonas Kluck, of the Netherlands, presented a petition to the Pro. G. M. in South Britain, asking the London Grand Lodge for authority to enable them and other residents at The Hague to found a Prov. Grand Lodge there. The petition was duly granted, and Brother William Mitchell was appointed Prov. G. M., and the Prov. Grand Lodge was duly constituted at London, July 22, 1750. The official register is as follows:

"I did this day attend at the house of Brother Louis, S. N. C. R. T. Y., the sign of the Golden horse Shoe, in Cannon Street, in Southwark, and did then and there constitute the following brethren residing at The Hague into a regular Chapter in full form, and did constitute and appoint our Right Worshipful and highly honored Brother William Mitchell, known and distinguished among the Brethren of the Order by the sublime title and characteristic F. D. L. T. Y., and Knight of the R. Y. C S., etc., T. R. S. T. A., by delivering the patent, etc., in due form, as usual, for the constitution of Chapters in foreign parts, and did, by virtue of my authority, exchange his characteristic, etc., for that of R. L. F."

The place mentioned, the Golden Horse Shoe, was the house where the No. 5 chapters and lodges were accustomed to assemble.

The seal on the diploma appointing Brother Mitchell Prov. G. M. has been destroyed, but that on the Charter of the Prov. Grand Lodge and Chapter exists. The design represents a bridge of five arches, and above it is displayed the letter Z, and recalls to mind the bridge with the letters L. O. P., well known to members of the 16th Degree of the "Ancient and Accepted Rite." The difficulty, as we have said, is connected with the signature. The presiding officer signed by his characteristic, and as may be seen in the fac-simile in Lyon's history the words "Prov^{l}. Gra^{d}. Mas^{r}." stand above, and the words "In. So. B." below, the seal. Does the contraction Prov^{l}. mean "Provincial" or "Provisional?" If the former meaning is assigned to it, it is difficult to see how it could be applied to the President of the original Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, and therefore it is safer to assume that it means "Provisional" and that the President for the time being was Grand Master *pro tempore.* The Royal Order, it may here be added, has always been and still is Christian in character, and the following prayer resembles, in its opening lines, the Old Charges of the Freemasons of the 16th century, before they were changed and adopted as the Universal Freemasonry.

"The might of the Blessed Father of Heaven, the wisdom of His Glorious Son, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, being the glorious and undivided Trinity, three persons in one God, be with us at this our beginning, and so guide and govern our actions in this life, that at the final conflagration, when the world, and all things therein, shall be destroyed, we may be received with joy and gladness into eternal happiness, in that Glorious, Everlasting, Heavenly Kingdom, which shall never have an end."

The regular minutes of the Royal Order at Edinburgh date from October 31, 1766. Down to 1763 the register contains only fifteen names, including Brother Mitchell, but between that date and the commencement of the regular minutes fifty were admitted. and it is recorded in the minutes of July 28, 1769, that "after much trouble and a great deal of expense they had been able to revive and establish the Ancient Order of Scots Masonry in the metropolis of their native country, which would be attested by several members of the Honorable Council." In the same year by permission of the Provost and Baillies of the city, a room was fitted up at the expense of the Grand Lodge, in a "centrical" situation. From the commencement of those regular minutes the sequence of the high

officials can be traced. Down to July 4, 1776, Brother William Mitchell was the Grand Master or Governor of the "Royal Order." He was succeeded by Brother Jas. "*Secresy*" Kerr. He resigned in 1776, and was succeeded by Brother William "*Honor*" Baillie, Advocate (afterward Lord Polkemmet). When he resigned in 1778, Brother William Charles "*Eloquence*" Little, Advocate, succeeded him. The chair of Deputy Grand Master was filled in 1786 by Brother William "*Worship*" Mason, who was admitted to the degree at Edinburgh A.D. 1754. When he resigned in 1789 there was elected Dr. Thomas "*Activity*" Hay, who died in 1816. In 1805 he was Grand Master, but there does not appear to have been any minutes recorded from that date to 1813.

During the period from 1770 to 1780 the office of Deputy Grand Master was filled by General Oughton, Brother Little, the Earl of Leven, and Lord Westhall. Of the four of these high officials, three were Grand Masters of Scotland, showing that at this period the Craft showed great favor to the Royal Order. But as may be seen from the fact that no minutes were made between 1805 and 1813, the order was becoming dormant, and it continued so in Scotland till the revival in 1839.

Abroad, the Royal Order spread and flourished. In Brother Hughan's catalogue of books mentioned in the preceding page, there is the entry: "No. 945, of the year 1808, is entitled

"Tableau général des officiers et membres, composant le R. chapitre du grand et sublime ordre de H-d-m de Kilwinning, sous le titre distinctif du *Choix,* constitute par la grande loge de l'ordre séante à Edinbourg, le 4 Octobre, 1786. Sous les auspices de Mgr. le Prince de Cambacérès, grand maître d'honneur en France."

Nos. 946 and 953 contain "tableaux" of the officers of the foregoing, of November 30, 1808, and A.D. 1810, the latter having another list "du même ordre séant à Rouen," 1810, in the same volume.

Prince Cambacérès, Arch Chancellor of the French Empire, was succeeded in his office of Provincial Grand Master by the head of the Ducal house of Choiseul.

The above-mentioned Charter, for the Chapter de Choix, from the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh in 1786, was addressed to Nicholas Chadouille, Avocat en Parlament, and other Brethren. A few months previously a Charter dated Edinburgh, May 1, 1786, had

established a Provincial Grand Lodge of Heredom of Kilwinning, constituting John Matthews, a merchant of Rouen, Provincial Chief, with powers to disseminate the order. Both these documents are signed by William Charles Little, Deputy Grand Master, William Mason, and William Gibb. To commemorate the event the Chapter du Choix struck a medal which is engraved in the Tresor Numismatique Napoléon. It represents between a draw-bridge open, sinister and a ladder dexter, a tower enbattled supporting a pillar on which is an open book. On the front of the tower are two square stones, one exhibiting the square and compasses, the other the letter R. The medal is inscribed with the following legend:

Obverse, L'ORDRE DE H-D-M. INTRODUIT EN FR. PAR J. MATHEUS, G. M. P., 1786.

"*Reverse,* in eleven lines, (1) T-R-S-T-A. N. CHADOUILLE, 1786. (2) T-R-S-T-A. L. T. DORBAN, 1789. (3) T-R-S-T-A. A. C. DURIN, 1806. (4) T-R-S-T-A. C. A. THORY, 1807. DEPUTE T-R-S-T-A. J. P. ROUYER.

In exergue, in three lines, the last curving, CHAP .·. DE H-D-M. DU CHOIX A PARIS, 1809, JALEY FECIT L .·. A-P-HT-N."

Jaley being the artist's name. The Medal is of copper.

A short time after the establishment of the order in France, a Provincial Grand Master was appointed for Spain, Mr. James Gordon, a merchant of Xeres de la Frontera, whose commission was signed by Deputy Grand Master Dr. Thomas Hay, and Messrs. Charles Moor and John Brown. The Provincial Grand Lodge in France had jurisdiction over twenty-six Chapters of Heredom, including some in Belgium and Italy, but as fourteen of these chapters were not ratified by the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh from January 10, 1809, to October 4, 1811, they may have been irregular.

Coming down to our own times, we find that the following Provincial Grand Lodges and Chapters have been authorized during the last half century. Those in italics are dormant.

The Netherlands, at Amsterdam	July 4, 1843.
Eastern Provinces, at Calcutta, India	July 4, 1845.
North of France	1847.
Sweden and Norway	Jan. 5, 1852.
Sardinia	?
New Brunswick, at St. John	?
Province of Quebec	?

Glasgow and Neighboring Counties or Isles	Jan. 4, 1859.
London (and "Royal Bruce" Chapter)	1872.
Western India, at Bombay	?
China, at Shanghai	?
United States, at Washington, D. C	Oct. 4, 1877.
Lancashire and Cheshire, at Manchester	?
Aberdeen	?
County of Yorkshire, at York	1886.
South-east Africa, at Durban	?

ROYAL ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES.

As early as 1752 a chapter was formed in Virginia, but seems soon to have ceased all activity. We must come down to the year 1877 for the foundation of the Provincial Grand Lodge in the United States. The Warrant signed at Edinburgh October 4, 1877, is as follows:

CHARTER FOR ROYAL ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

{ SEAL R. S. Y. C. S. }

We, Sir John Whyte, W. D. M., President of the Judges and Council of the Great S. N. D. R. M.: Warder of the T. W. R. of R. F. R. S. M. N. T.: Deputy Grand Master and Governor of the High and Honourable Orders of H. R. M. of K. L. W. N. G and the R. S. Y. C. S.: Sir Alexander, S. T. N. T. H., Senior Grand Warden, Sir William, B. T. Y., Junior Grand Warden, and the Remanent Knights Companions of the Royal Order of R S. Y. C. S. in Grand Lodge assembled—

TO

Sir Albert V. G. R (Pike), Knight of the Order of the R. S. Y. G S., send greeting in God Everlasting.

By virtue of the authority vested in US from time immemorial WE do hereby grant unto you and the rest of the Right Worthy and Worshipful Brethren of the Royal Order of H. R. M. and of the R. S. Y. C. S. in the United States of America, full power, warrant and authority to hold a Chapter of the order of H. R M. in WASHING-

TON, or elsewhere within the United States of America, so long as you and they shall behave becometh as Worthy Brethren of the said Order, or until the powers hereby conferred shall be withdrawn, which the Grand Lodge of our Order reserves full power and authority to do when they consider proper, with full power to you to remove the same from place to place, but always within the United States of America, as occasion shall offer for the good and glory of the Order, you and they conforming to the laws and regulations of the Grand Lodge transmitted to you now or afterwards, and we do hereby appoint you T. R. S. T. A. of the said Chapter and grant you full power, warrant and authority to appoint proper officers to assist you therein, viz.: a Deputy T. R. S. T. A., a Senior Guardian, a Junior Guardian, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Marischal, a Deputy Marischal, and a Guarder, who shall act as Examiner and Introducer.

AND FURTHER, know you that for the good and promotion of the Order of H. R. M. in general we do hereby empower you to form a PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE of the said Order, and to nominate, constitute and appoint you, the said Sir Albert V. G. R., to preside and rule over and govern the same and the Brethren thereunto belonging, so long as you shall act conformably to the Laws and Rules of our Grand Lodge, and so long as this Charter and the powers therein conferred shall continue unrecalled, and we do hereby authorize, empower and charge you to take upon yourself, the title of PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER of the Order of H. R. M. for the United States of America, being the Province hereby placed under your superintendence; and we do hereby grant you full power, warrant and authority to appoint proper officers to assist you in the high office hereby on you conferred, to consist of the following number and denominations: one Deputy Provincial Grand Master, a Senior Provincial Grand Warden, a Junior Provincial Grand Warden, a Provincial Grand Sword-bearer, a Provincial Grand Secretary, a Provincial Grand Treasurer, two Provincial Grand Marischals, a Senior Provincial Grand Steward, and three other Provincial Grand Stewards, and a Provincial Grand Guarder.

AND FURTHER BE IT KNOWN to all and every one of the Brethren that we hereby invest you with full power, warrant and authority to appoint such persons to be your officers as you shall think are most proper and fit for each respective post either in your Chapter or Provincial Grand Lodge, without consulting or asking the consent

or approbation of any Brother of the Order whatsoever, unless of your own free will you shall think proper to pay such compliment, which we deem expedient and therefore recommend.

AND FURTHER, we hereby invest you with full power, warrant and authority to depose or displace from his or their offices any officer or officers, who have been guilty of improper conduct or dignity to your Worship, or to fine, mulct or amerce them, or any of them, for the same, without being obliged to bring them to a formal trial, or asking the consent or approbation of the Brethren for so doing, unless you shall of your own free will think proper so to do. But be it also known that if it shall appear to your Provincial Grand Lodge to be for the good of the Order in your Province that you should relinquish, or restrict your privilege of appointing or displacing your office-bearers, either in your Chapter or Provincial Grand Lodge, or in both, and if you see proper to consent to the same, it shall be in your power so to do, notwithstanding any existing general law of our Grand Lodge appearing to the contrary, and to cause a resolution or law to that effect specifying how and where the elections are to be in future conducted, to be endorsed upon or annexed to this Charter, and which when signed by you and registered in the Minute Book of your Provincial Grand Lodge, and a copy thereof, certified by your Provincial Grand Secretary, transmitted to and approved by our Grand Lodge, shall thereafter be as good and valid a law, so far as regards your Chapter and Provincial Grand Lodge, as if it had been made by our Grand Lodge of the R. S. Y. C. S.; and being entered in our Record Book shall be irrevocable by you and your successors in office unless by application to and with the approval of our Grand Lodge; it being, however, declared that nothing shall affect your right as Provincial Grand Master or the rights of your successors in office to appoint your or their Deputy.

AND WE FURTHER strictly require of the Brethren in general, your Provincial Grand Officers as well as others, to respect, acknowledge and obey you, the said Sir Albert V. G. R., and pay you due respect as HEAD RULER and GOVERNOR over them and their Chapter or Chapters in your said Province: And we do hereby appoint you to hold quarterly meetings of your Provincial Grand Lodge for regulating the affairs of the Order of H. R. M. in your Province.

AND FURTHER, we hereby empower you and your Chapter to advance to the Royal Order of H. R. M. (on paying a fee not less

than two guineas, of which ten shillings and sixpence shall be transmitted to our Grand Lodge), such Master Masons as are companions of the Royal Arch Chapter and as are well-known to you and your Brethren to be worthy of that High Honor, but with this proviso, that you shall not have it in your power within your Provincial Grand Lodge or elsewhere to promote any Brethren of H. R. M. to the Sublime Order of the R. S. Y. C. S., without special authority obtained from our Grand Lodge for that purpose, nor even then, unless on payment of a fee of at least one guinea (of which ten shillings and sixpence shall be transmitted to our Grand Lodge).

AND FURTHER, be it known to you that we prohibit and discharge you and your Provincial Grand Lodge or Chapter from granting any PATENTS or LETTERS OF CONSTITUTION to Chapters, or Diplomas to the Brethren or Knights, under any pretence whatever, all such things being issued by us alone, and diplomas being so issued free of charge, on payment of the fees above mentioned, payable to us on advancement to the Order of H. R. M. and promotion to the Sublime Order of R. S. Y. C. S.

AND FURTHER, be it known to the Brethren in general that it is not, nor can it be, in their power to depose or displace you or your successors in office from the high office hereby on you conferred, except for high or enormous crimes tending to the scandal and detriment of the Order, and not then without bringing you to a regular trial, and an account of the proceedings therein, with the crime and sentence of the Council, being first sent to and approved by our Grand Lodge at Edinburgh.

AND FURTHER, we empower you to relinquish, give up, or resign your said office with the powers and privileges attached thereto as aforesaid, in case you shall think proper or be desirous so to do, to any worthy qualified Knight of the Order of the R. S. Y. C. S., and to no person whatsoever, under that degree, but your successor or successors, in office, before he or they shall exercise any of the powers connected with said office must be approved by our Grand Lodge.

AND FURTHER, be it known to you, that if you or your successors in office are guilty of acting contrary to our will and pleasure or any of the Laws, Rules and Regulations now appointed by us, or which may hereafter be appointed for your observance by authority of our Grand Lodge, from which you hold this Constitution or

Charter, These Presents and all power thereunder shall forthwith cease and determine without any formal revocation on our part, and you and they shall be rendered incapable of holding any Grand Office or authority in the Royal Order, and also be liable to be extruded for contempt and disobedience.

That all companions of the Royal Order admitted in your Provincial Grand Lodge or Chapter may be duly enrolled in our Record Book, we do particularly direct your attention to the Twenty-sixth Article of our Constitution and Laws as revised and approved on Sixth January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

And for every Authority, Power and Privilege herein above mentioned, this shall be your sufficient Warrant, Patent and Charter.

In testimony whereof, this, our Charter, written by Alexander Blues Wyllie, clerk to our Grand Secretary, is subscribed by JOHN WHYTE-MELVILLE, of Bennochie and Strathkinnes, our Deputy Grand Master and Governor; ALEXANDER HAY, our Senior Grand Warden; WILLIAM MANN, our Junior Grand Warden; GEORGE MURRAY, our Grand Treasurer, and JOHN BROWN DOUGLAS, our Grand Secretary; all Knights of the R. S. Y. C. S., duly sealed and thereupon approved and issued by our Grand Lodge of the Royal Order, at Edinburgh, this fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Restoration of the Order 564.

J. WHYTE-MELVILLE, W. D. M.
ALEX. HAY, S. T. N. T. H.
W. MANN, B. T. Y.
GEORGE MURRAY, G. T.
J. B. DOUGLAS, G. S.

The "charter members" were thirteen in number, including several well-known and eminent Brethren (whose labors for the Craft and deep interest in its welfare are as familiar to English Masonic students as to those in America), all of whom became members of the Grand Lodge at Edinburgh.

FOUNDERS' NAMES, A.D. 1877.

Brother Albert Pike, Washington, D. C.
" John Robin McDaniel, Lynchburg, Va.
" Henry L. Palmer, Milwaukee, Wis.

Brother Jas. C. Bachelor, New Orleans, La.
" Vincent L. Hurlbut, Chicago, Ill.
" Josiah H. Drummond, Portland, Maine.
" William M. Ireland, Washington, D. C.
" Robert McC. Graham, New York, N. Y.
" Albert G. Mackey, Washington, D. C.
" Enoch Terry Carson, Cincinnati, Ohio.
" Charles Roome, New York, N. Y.
" Charles Eugene Meyer, Philadelphia, Pa.
" Samuel C. Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

The number of members in the order was divided equally between the Southern and Northern Masonic Jurisdictions of the United States; the total number was fixed at one hundred and fifty, with a margin of twenty-five.[1] Election is by ballot, which must be unanimous. At present, September, 1900, there are two hundred and fifty-seven members. There are no by-laws for the regulation of proceedings in the United States except the rules of the order, and the series of standing resolutions.

The Provincial Grand Lodge meets alternately at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and in New York, holding their annual meetings "on the Monday nearest the day fixed for the meetings of the Supreme Council." The only special regalia worn on these occasions are the "star and garter," the aprons and cordons not being obligatory. The archives of the Provincial Grand Lodge preserve sketches and portraits of each member. Since 1883 the ladies of the Knights Companions have been admitted to their annual gatherings and banquets.

The proceedings on these occasions include an "allocution" delivered by the Provincial Grand Master. The addresses of the first Provincial Grand Master, the late General Albert Pike, have been printed in published proceedings, and from them the following extracts are taken:

Antiquity of the Royal Order. — "I value the Ancient Order, for it is eminently Masonic. It has close kinship with the three degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry. Its quaint old Ritual has throughout the old-fashioned simplicity of the Masonry of the sev-

[1] Several years ago the Constitution was changed and the number is no longer limited.

enteenth century, when it and those degrees were all the Freemasonry that existed in the world. We read it and breathe the air of the old days. After having been long conversant with the elaborate ones of the present day, it is like going from the pomp and show of cities into the forest and prairie, to live among the frank hunters and sturdy husbandmen who have been the builders of the States, to enjoy the long days of October in the woods, and sleep at night under the protecting stars." (October 16, 1882.)

Primary Aim of the Rite.— "We represent, not altogether unworthily, I hope, the intellect and the scholarship of the Freemasonry of the United States: Our Father who is in Heaven has given us the opportunity to serve Masonry worthily, and make it the debtor of the Royal Order, by leading the Masons of the 'Blue' Lodges to the living springs of truth, making known to them the true meaning and profound significance of their most ancient symbols, and teaching them to set a higher value upon their Freemasonry, and to elevate it, in the estimation of the world." (September 24, 1883.)

"To see united into a Provincial Grand Lodge of our old and venerable Order a certain limited number of good men and Masons, residing in all our States and Territories, between whom the new ties of a more perfect Brotherhood might be created, and year by year grow stronger and more enduring." (October 20, 1884.)

Historical Basis of the Order.— "It was established, our Ritual declares, 'to correct the errors and reform the abuses which had crept in among the three degrees of St. John's Masonry.' It is 'for the preservation in its purity of St. John's Masonry.' One who comes to seek admission here declares that he is 'a Mason from a Lodge dedicated to St. John;' and he comes to seek a word which was lost, and which by our assistance he hopes to find.

"The Royal Order has also the early symbolism of the 'Blue' degrees, and not that borrowed from the Alchemical and Hermetic books. The column of the Tower of Refreshment has a square base of pedestal, intended to be a cube or perfect ashlar. The shaft of the column has nine windows looking East, one for each flight of seven (7) steps. On the column is a triangular entablature; on this a book and under the letters upon its face a square, a level, and a plumb rule; over these a pair of compasses extended to a right angle. The stairway has three landing-places and the lowest flight

of stairs is of seven steps, the second of five, and the 'apex' of three."

"It was an innovation to make the possession of the Degree of the Royal Arch a necessary qualification for admission into the Order; for it was at first open to Master Masons." (October 15, 1888.)

The present Provincial Grand Master is Brother Josiah H. Drummond, of Maine; nominated to succeed General Albert Pike. The Deputy Provincial Grand Master is Thomas H. Caswell of California.

The remaining officers duly appointed forming the tableau to date are:

Prov. Senior Grand Warden—George M. Moulton, of Illinois.

Prov. Junior Grand Warden—Charles H. Fisk, of Kentucky.

Prov. Grand Secretary—W. Oscar Roome, of District of Columbia.

Prov. Grand Treasurer—Thomas J. Shyrock, of Maryland.

Prov. Grand Sword Bearer—F. M. Highley, of Pennsylvania.

Prov. Grand Banner Bearer—Nicholas Coulson, of Michigan.

Prov. Grand Chaplain—Rev. M. Carmichael, of Virginia.

Prov. First Grand Marischal—G. E. Corson, of District of Columbia.

Prov. Second Grand Marischal—J. H. Olcott, of District of Columbia.

Prov. Grand Guarder—James Hays Trimble, of District of Columbia.

Prov. Grand Stewards—Allison Nailor, Jr., of District of Columbia; William Bromwell Melish, of Ohio; Harrison Dingman; H. H. Williams, of Hawaii.

The constitutions and laws of the Royal Order, as drawn up in London at the foundation of the order in 1742, remained unchanged till January 5, 1767. By one of these laws, Rule 19, fees are to be paid to the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh by members in England, and the Constitution declares that the King of Scotland is Perpetual Grand Master, and therefor not an elective officer.

By the statutes, the Grand Lodge of R. S. Y. C. S. and Grand Chapter of H. R. M. can only be held in Scotland, and the former reserves to itself the right to promote to the honor of Knighthood

of the R. S. Y. C. S., but usually delegates the power to that effect to the Provincial Grand Masters, by personal patents. '

The Grand Lodge officers are similar to those already noted for the Provincial Grand Lodge, only the Brother who rules that body, until a king of Scotland (called of Great Britain and Ireland) is able to become Grand Master, is termed "Deputy Grand Master and Governor," a Deputy Governor being also appointed, all having corresponding rank in the Grand Chapter of H. D. M. The D. G. M. (and Governor) and Deputy Governor of the Grand Lodge are *ex-officiis* Warder and Deputy Grand Warder of the T. W. R. of R F. R. S. M. N. T., and the Provincial Grand Master enjoys a similar status in his Province; as also T. R. S. T. A. of his own chapter.

The 4th of July is election-day for the Grand Officers and also for subordinate chapters out of Scotland, or first following lawful day, if the 4th shall be a Saturday or Sunday. The other stated meetings of Grand Lodge and Provincial Grand Lodges are October 4th, January 4th, and April 4th, with the same exceptions.

Members acting as Grand Officers *pro tem.* have power to sign diplomas, charters, patents, etc. A copy of a certificate issued to William James Hughan, the historian, under the seal of the Royal Order at Edinburgh, dated March 6, 1867, is annexed:

COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER CERTIFICATE, A.O. 553.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

L. S.

GREEN

WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN.

We, Sir John Whyte, W. D. M., President of the Judges and Council of the Great S. N. D. R. M., and Warder of the T. W. R. of R F. R. S. M. N. T., Deputy Grand Master and Governor of the High and Honourable Order of H. R M. of K. L. W. N. G and the R. S. Y. C. S.; Sir Alexander, S. T. N. T. H., Senior Grand Warden, and Sir William, B. T. Y., Junior Grand Warden, and the remanent Knights Companions of the ROYAL ORDER of the R. S. Y. C. S. in Grand Lodge assembled.

We do hereby certify and declare that our Trusty and well Beloved Brother William James Hughan,

Master Mason of the Lodge Number 594, holding of the Grand Lodge of England, and Companion Royal Arch Chapter, Number 50 in Scotland, whose signature is on the margin, having been advanced to the Order of H. R. M. of K. L. W. N. G. at Glasgow, in the Chapter of the Provincial Grand Master for the County of Lanark, and others, on the twenty-eighth day of February, one thousand and eight hundred and sixty-seven, by the characteristic of *Geometry,* and promoted on the said twenty-fifth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, to the Honourable Order of the R. S. Y. G S. in the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Lanark, and others, has been recorded in the Books of our Grand Lodge here, and therefore we recommend him as a lawful member of the ROYAL ORDER, Brother of H. R. M. and Knight of the R S. Y. C. S., to all Knights and Brethren of the Order wherever found and established.

L. S.

SCARLET

Given under our hands and seals of the *Royal Order* at *Edinburgh,* this sixth day of March, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Restoration of the Order 553.

Gustavus K. Flindt, P. T. W. D. M.

T. D. Porteous, Prov. Grand Sy. David Sutherland, P. T., S. T. N. F. H.

J. B. Douglas, Grand Sec'y, G. L. Brodie, P. T., B. T. Y.

The minimum fee for the H. D. M. and Knighthood is three guineas; subject in all cases to the approval of the presiding officer as respects promotion to the "R. S. Y. C. S." Conviction of crime by any court of justice involves *permanent extrusion.*

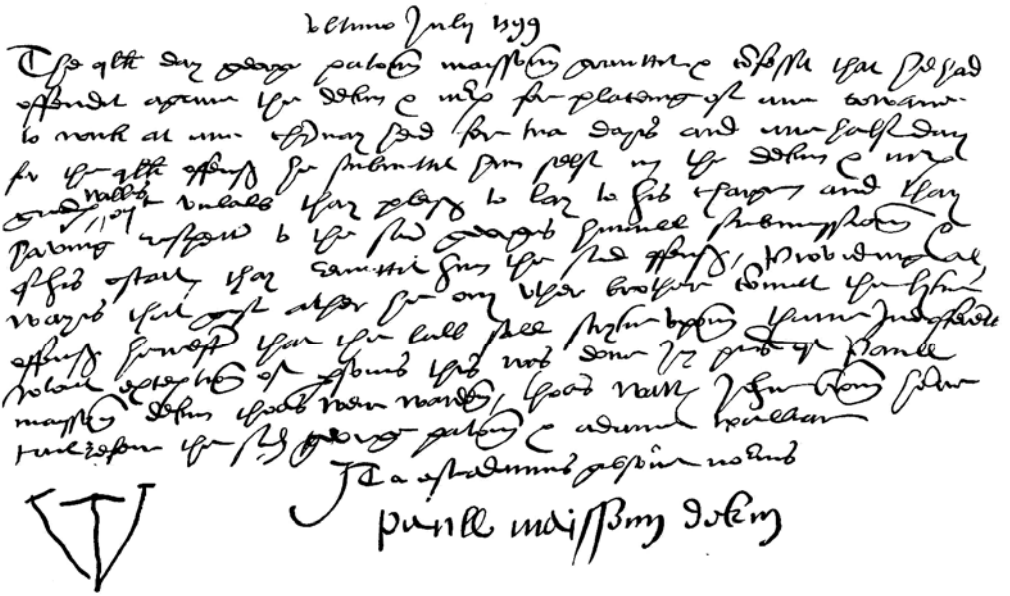
On the 4th of April, 1855, the Supreme Council 33d Degree of Scotland, and on the nth of May following, the Grand Lodge of the Royal Order agreed to a reciprocal treaty, by which only members of the Royal Order can be admitted to the 18th Degree, and all Knights of the Royal Order, provided they are Royal Arch Masons, have special privileges as to fees in joining the A.·.A.·.S.·. Rite.

M. W. Brother John Whyte-Melville was the Deputy Grand Master and Governor for many years, and on his decease was succeeded by the Right Honorable, the Earl of Rosslyn, in 1885, who died September 6, 1890, and was succeeded by——————. The Grand Secretary is the Scottish Masonic historian, Brother D. Murray Lyon.

The "Year of the Restoration of the Order" dates from 1314, so that A.D. 1900 or A.L. 4900 would be "*Anno Ordinis*" 576 to St. John the Baptist Day; but after that festival it would be 577. A similar mode had long been followed by the Knights Templars (which, doubtless, refers to De Molay's martyrdom), in relation to the same year, only termed "*Anno* Caedis," thus suggesting an intimate connection between the two bodies.

THE OLDEST MASONIC MINUTE IN EXISTENCE.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE OLDEST MINUTE OF THE LODGE OF EDINBURGH (MARY'S CHAPEL).



TRANSCRIPTION.

VLTIMO JULY 1599.

The qlk day George Patoun maissoun grenttit & confessit that he had offendit agane the dekin & mrs for placeing of ane cowane to wirk at ane chymnay heid for tua dayis and ane half day, for the qlk offenss he submittit him self in the dekin & mrs guds willis for qt vnlaw they pless to lay to his charge, and thay having respect to the said Georges humill submissioun & of his estait, they remittit him the said offenss, Providing alwayis that gif ather he [or] ony vther brother comitt the lyke offenss heirefter that the law sall stryke vpoun thame indiscreta wtout exceptioun of personis. This wes done in prcs of Paull Maissoun dekin, Thoas Weir warden, Thoas Watt, Johne Broun, Henrie Tailzefeir, the said George Patoun, & Adam Walkar.

Ita est Adamus Gibsone norius.

Paull Maissoun, dekin.

PART SIX

FREEMASONRY IN OTHER COUNTRIES

FREEMASONRY IN OTHER COUNTRIES

CHAPTER I

FREEMASONRY IN CANADA

BY WILL H. WHYTE, P. G. M.:: K. T. OF CANADA

HE history of Freemasonry in British North America, or that part of the continent now better known as the "Dominion of Canada," is a most interesting one.

Upon the advent of Confederation, July 1, 1867, local control in each Province for the government of the Masonic Fraternity of the Dominion took a strong hold as a predominant idea, and prevailed. Each Province has now a Grand Lodge, and in order of their organization are as follows: Canada, having jurisdiction only in Ontario, 1855; Nova Scotia, 1866; New Brunswick, 1867; Quebec, 1869; British Columbia, 1871; Manitoba, 1875; Prince Edward Island, 1875; Alberta, 1905; Saskatchewan, 1906. The first marks of the Ancient Craftsman have been found in Nova Scotia. A mineralogical survey in 1827 found on the shore of Goat Island in the Annapolis Basin, partly covered with sand, a slab of rock $2^1/_2$ X 2 feet, bearing on it those well-known Masonic emblems, "the Square and Compasses," and the date 1606. Who were the Craftsmen, and how the stone came there, must be left to conjecture.

Nova Scotia.

The records of the Craft in Boston, Mass., state that Bro. Henry Price was appointed Provincial Grand Master of New England by Viscount Montague, Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), and that his authority was subsequently extended to all North America.

On the 13th of November, 1737, Erasmus James Phillips, an officer of the Fortieth Regiment, then stationed at Annapolis Royal, visited Boston and was made a Mason in the "First Lodge in Boston." This Bro. Phillips was a nephew of Col. Richard Phillips, the first governor of Nova Scotia and the secretary of the governor's council, and evidently obtained an appointment as Deputy from Bro. Price, the Provincial Grand Master at Boston.

The first lodge established in Nova Scotia was at Annapolis, and under authority from Boston by the St. Johns Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Under date 1740 the minutes read:

"The R^{t}. Worsh^{l} Grand Master granted a Deputation at the Petition of sundry Brethren for holding a lodge at Annapolis in Nova Scotia, and appointed the Right Worshipful Erasmus James Phillips, D.G.M., there, who afterward erected a Lodge at Halifax and appointed His Excellency Edward Cornwallis their first Master."

Bro. Phillips, having organized this lodge at Annapolis as stated, later on—on the petition of the Brethren at Halifax in 1750—granted a Warrant for a lodge and appointed Bro. Edward Cornwallis, the founder of Halifax, 1749, and first governor of Nova Scotia (and an uncle of the Lord Cornwallis who figured in Revolutionary times in the United States), as its first Master. This lodge was instituted at Halifax July 19, 1750. Bro. Phillips held the position of Provincial Grand Master until 1758, and in the minutes of the First Lodge at Boston in 1739 is entered as Grand Master of Nova Scotia.

In 1756 lodge meetings were held in Halifax, by the Lodge of "Social and Military Virtues," No. 227, Irish Registry, then attached to the Forty-sixth Regiment of Light Infantry. This lodge is now "Antiquity Lodge," No. 1, Montreal, on the Registry of the Grand Lodge of Quebec.

The Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia is in possession of a large amount of valuable and interesting Masonic documents, among them a Charter to form a Provincial Grand Lodge, dated December 27, 1757, from the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients," signed Blesington, Grand Master, and Laurence Dermott, Grand Secretary.

On the 2d day of June, 1784, a Warrant (apparently a renewal of the 1757) was granted by authority of Grand Master Antrim, Deputy Grand Master Laurence Dermott, and Robert Leslie,

Grand Secretary. Under this Warrant, a Provincial Grand Lodge was formed on September 24, 1784—Bro. John George Pyke, Provincial Grand Master. By this Warrant, the officers "together with their lawful assistants, that is to say the regular Masters, Wardens and Past Masters only," were authorized to "nominate, choose, and install their successors upon or near every St. John the Evangelist day forever."

From 1786-1791, His Excellency, John Parr, Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, was Provincial Grand Master, followed by the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, 1791-1800; Duncan Clark, 1800-1; Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D., 1801-10; and John Geo. Pyke, 1810-20. At this time, after thirty-six years, there were thirty-one lodges on the Provincial Registry. Trouble then arose over a successor to Bro. Pyke and he continued in office another year, followed by John Albro from 1821 to 1829. At this period the number of lodges had been reduced to sixteen. For another forty years this Provincial Grand Lodge continued its work until, after an existence of eighty-five years, its lodges united with the new Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia in 1869.

The subject of an independent Grand Lodge had been agitated for five years, for the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland had lodges chartered under their authority in this Province.

In 1861 a committee was appointed from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Scotland to act in conjunction with a similar committee from the Provincial Grand Lodge of England regarding the practicability of forming a Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. Upon reference to the parent Grand Lodges, England refused permission. Scotland never answered. On the 16th January, 1866, a meeting of delegates from all the Scottish lodges was held, twelve out of thirteen being represented. It was decided to call a convention of all the lodges in the Province at Halifax on the 20th February, and at this meeting the Grand Lodge was duly formed and M. W. Bro. W. H. Davies elected Grand Master. From 1866 to 1869 the Grand Lodge increased to twenty-five lodges. In this latter year, the District Grand Lodge under the English Registry decided to affiliate, as did also the remaining lodge under Scotland. On the 23d June, 1869, the amalgamation took place, the twenty-five English and one Scotch Lodge uniting with the twenty-five Nova Scotia lodges under the designation of "The Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted

Masons of Nova Scotia." The three oldest lodges now working under this jurisdiction are in Halifax and are "St. Andrew's," chartered March 28, 1768, London, Laurence Dermott, Grand Secretary; "St. John's," chartered June 30, 1780, London, and "Virgin" Lodge, February 18, 1782.

1906. Nova Scotia has sixty-six lodges on the roll and a membership of 4,500.

New Brunswick.

The Province of New Brunswick previous to the year 1786 formed a part of Nova Scotia. On March 6, 1784, application was made to John George Pyke, Esq., Provincial Grand Master elect, at Halifax, by Elias Hardy, Master of Lodge 169, for a dispensation to establish a lodge of "Ancient York Masons" at Parr Town. Parr Town, now the City of St. John, was named after His Excellency John Parr, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, and who had been elected Provincial Grand Master of the "Ancient" Masons of Nova Scotia 1786-91.

On August 22, 1792, a Warrant was granted by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Halifax for Solomons Lodge, No. 22 (now No. 6 on the Registry of New Brunswick), to be located at "St. Anns," now Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick. On June 7, 1826, J. Albro, Provincial Grand Master at Halifax, appointed Benjamin L. Peters Deputy Grand Master for the city of St. John and the town of St. Andrews in New Brunswick. On March 10, 1829, a Warrant, No. 52, was made out by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Halifax for Albion, No. 841, St. John. This lodge, formerly also under the English Registry as No. 400, is now No. 1 on the Registry of New Brunswick.

The Act confederating the Provinces into the "Dominion of Canada" came into force July 1, 1867. This new state of political existence brought prominently to the front the Masonic status in each Province, and the formation of an Independent Grand Lodge for the Province of New Brunswick was agitated. On the 16th of August, 1867, a meeting of the Masters and Past Masters in the city of St. John was held and it was resolved to address a circular to every lodge in the Province. On the 10th day of October, 1867, the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of New Brunswick was formed by representatives of fourteen lodges. There were nineteen lodges represented, but the delegates from

St. Andrews Lodge, 364 R. S. retired from the convention, while those from Howard, 668 and Zetland, 886 E. R, though favoring the movement, stated they had no authority to vote for a new Grand Lodge. The representatives of two others were not present when the vote was taken. V. W. Bro. Robert T. Clinch, District Grand Master, E. R., was elected Grand Master but declined, as he had not resigned his office under the English Registry. Bro. B. Lester Peters was then unanimously elected Grand Master, the installation taking place on the 22d of January, 1868. During the year 1867-68 ten lodges holding under the English Registry became of allegiance to the Grand Lodge of New Brunswick, and in September, 1872, St. Andrews Lodge, at Fredericton, also affiliated, rendering the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge complete. 1906. There are thirty-five lodges on the roll, with a membership of 2,200.

Quebec.

Although it has been affirmed by French and other writers that a lodge of Freemasons existed in the city of Quebec in the year 1755, no records or other evidences are known to be in existence, and Masonry in the Province only dates its existence from the time of "Wolfe," when the "Lily" flag of the Bourbon was replaced by the "Union Jack" over the citadel of Quebec.

Quebec capitulated in September, 1759, and among the regiments taking part in the capture the following seven held travelling warrants for lodges, as follows: No. 245, I. R., warranted 1754, in the Fifteenth Regiment; No. 35, I. R, warranted 1734, in the Twenty-eighth Regiment; a lodge in the Twenty-eighth, "Louisburg," Boston warranted 1758; No. 205, I. R., warranted 1749, in the Thirty-fifth Regiment; No. 42, E. R. "Ancient," warranted 1755, in the Fortieth Regiment; No. 192, I. R., warranted 1748, in the Forty-seventh Regiment, and No. 218, I. R., warranted 1750, in the Forty-eighth Regiment. There were likewise lodges in seven or more regiments taking part in the capitulation of Montreal, September 9, 1760, holding under English, Irish, Scotch, and Colonial charters.

The following extracts from a document in possession of the Grand Librarian of England succinctly tell the story of the formation of the first "Lower Canada" Grand Lodge on December 27, 1759, in the city of Quebec.

"In the winter of 1759 the Masters and Wardens of all the Warranted Lodges held in the Regiments garrisoned there, assembled together and unanimously agreed to choose an acting Grand Master to preside over them. Agreeable thereto they made choice of Bro. Guinnett, Lieutenant in the Forty-seventh Regiment, and drew out, signed and sealed, a Warrant empowering him and his successors elected, to congregate them together as a Grand Lodge for the intent before mentioned, they having the Constitution as their chief guide."

"The 24th June, 1760, Brother Simon Fraser, Colonel of the Highland Regiment, was elected to preside over the Lodges, and Brother T. Dunckerley of His Majesty's Ship the 'Vanguard,' who was possessed with a power from the Grand Lodge of England to inspect into the state of the Craft wheresoever he might go, installed Brother Fraser in his high office."

This Provincial Grand Lodge for the "Province of Quebec," annually elected a Grand Master and officers, and was in existence for thirty-two years, 1759-91. Among the Grand Masters following the Hon. Simon Fraser were, Capt. Milborne West, 1761; Lieutenant Turner, 1763; Hon. John Collins, 1765; Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), 1786, and Sir John Johnson, Bart., who resided at Montreal, 1788.

According to M. W. Bro. John Hamilton Graham, LL.D., who compiled that valuable work *The History of Freemasonry in Quebec,* there has been traced some forty lodges holding under or emanating from this Grand Lodge. The first lodges it chartered were in the city of Quebec: "Merchants," No. 1, "St. Andrews," No. 2, "St. Patrick's," No. 3, and Select, No. 0, 1759-67. The next warranted was No. 4, St. Peter's, Montreal, instituted 1761, and lapsed about 1792. The next Montreal charter was St. Paul's, No. 10, and of date November 8, 1770, which had an existence up to 1796. Among other lodges warranted was one at Vergennes, Vt., U. S. A., named "Dorchester," and of date May 5, 1791, granted by Sir John Johnson, Bart., Prov. G. M., and still in existence as No. 1, Vermont.

In 1752 the schism occurred in the Grand Lodge of England which caused the formation of a rival Grand Lodge under the cognomen of the "Ancients." The rivalry between these two Grand Lodges was at its height in 1791, when "Prince Edward," grand-

father of His Majesty King Edward VII, arrived in Quebec as Colonel of the Seventh Royal Fusiliers, and with the advent of the "Prince" came a new era in Masonry in the Province.

On March 7, 1792, the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" in England issued a patent deputing Prince Edward "Provincial Grand Master" of "Lower Canada," and on June 22, 1792, His Royal Highness was installed with great *éclat,* a religious service and procession to the "Recollect Church" (R. C.) Quebec, forming part of the ceremony. In 1799 H. R. H. was created "Duke of Kent," and remained Grand Master until 1813, when he resigned to accept the Grand Mastership of the "Ancients" in England, being succeeded in Quebec by the Hon. Claude Dénéchau, M. P. P., who filled that important post until 1822. This new Provincial Grand Lodge in a period of over thirty years, 1791-1823, warranted some twenty-six lodges, five of them still in existence, under the present Grand Lodge of Quebec, viz.: "Dorchester" at St. Johns; "Select Surveyors" now "Prevost," at Dunham; "Nelson," now at St. Armand Station; "Golden Rule," at Stanstead; and "Sussex" now "St. Andrews," at Quebec. It also warranted among others "Zion," No. 10, now No. 1 at Detroit, of date September 7, 1794, and St. Paul's, No. 12, May 1, 1797, which was apparently formed from among some of the late members of St. Paul's, No. 10, under the former Provincial Grand Lodge, and again lapsed as a provincial Lodge about 1824.

April 2, 1823, marked another era in the history of the Craft in the Province of Quebec. The lodges in Montreal as well as others in the Province forwarded their provincial or Canadian Charters to the "United Grand Lodge of England," and exchanged them for Warrants under that body. They then petitioned said Grand Lodge to establish a Provincial Grand Lodge for Montreal and the Borough of William Henry, now Sorel; and the Grand Lodge across the ocean saw fit to grant the request, and the Hon. William McGillivray was appointed Provincial Grand Master. The lodges in the cities of Quebec and Three Rivers being also formed into another Provincial Grand Lodge under the Hon. Claude Dénéchau.

On the 5th September, 1826, John Molson, Esq., was installed as Provincial Grand Master at Montreal. In 1836 the Hon. John Molson died, and the Provincial Grand Lodge did not meet again for over ten years.

On May 20, 1846, the Provincial Grand Lodge at Montreal was revived to install the Hon. Peter McGill as Grand Master. In 1849 the Hon. Peter McGill resigned his office and was succeeded by the Hon. William Badgley until his decease in 1888.

In "Quebec," the Hon. Claude Dénéchau, deceased, was succeeded by Thomas Harington, Esq., 1852, and he in turn by James Dean, 1857.

The Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec finally dissolving in 1870, the members joined the then new "Grand Lodge of Quebec." That of "Montreal and William Henry" with three lodges had no active existence after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Canada, and in the later years of the late Judge Badgley, never met.

A third period of thirty years had thus elapsed when in October, 1855, the representatives of forty-one lodges in Canada West (now Ontario) and thirteen in Canada East (now Quebec) met in Hamilton and formed the "Grand Lodge of Canada," holding jurisdiction over the two Provinces.

From 1855 to 1869 the Grand Lodge of Canada was the controlling Masonic power in the Province of Quebec, but with the birth of the Dominion came also the agitation for separate Grand Lodges. Several meetings were held, and finally, on the 20th October, 1869, the Grand Lodge of Quebec was formed by twenty-eight of the Warranted Lodges then in the Province, with M. W. Bro. John Hamilton Graham, LL.D., as Grand Master.

A number of the lodges did not at once join in this movement, but gradually were absorbed. Those remaining under the Grand Lodge of Canada (which Grand Lodge vigorously and strenuously opposed the formation of the new Grand Lodge) continued until September 23, 1874, when "Canada" withdrew, and its lodges affiliated with Quebec.

On the 27th of January, 1881, three lodges holding under warrants from Scotland also affiliated, leaving three claiming allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England.

1906. The Grand Lodge of Quebec has now on the roll fifty-eight lodges and a membership of 5,000.

Canada (*in Ontario*).

The history of the Craft in the Province of Ontario has been exhaustively compiled by Most Won Bro. John Ross Robertson in,

CHARLES T. McCLENACHAN

his admirable work, *The History of Masonry in Canada.* Lodge No. 156 in the Eighth Regiment of Foot appears to have been the first lodge to hold meetings in this Province, at Fort Niagara, about 1755-80. From 1780 to 1792 some ten lodges appear to have worked in what was called "Upper Canada." Some chartered by England, others by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec, among them St. James in the King's Rangers, No. 14, at Cataraqui (Kingston), 1781; St. John's, No. 15, at Michilimakinac (Michigan), then part of Canada; St. John's, No. 19, at Niagara, and Oswegatchie Lodge, 1786, at Elizabethtown (Brockville).

On March 7, 1792, Bro. William Jarvis was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada by the "Ancient" or "Athol" Grand Lodge of England. Bro. Jarvis resided at Newark (Niagara), the then capital of the Province. During his Grand Mastership, 1792 to 1804, twenty warrants for lodges were issued for various parts of the Province.

In 1797 Bro. Jarvis removed from Newark to York (now Toronto), when the capital was transferred to the latter place.

The Brethren at Niagara continued to be active and enthusiastic, and urged Bro. Jarvis to assemble Grand Lodge there, but he refused. This refusal caused much dissatisfaction, and the Brethren of Niagara District met in 1803 and elected Bro. Geo. Forsyth as Provincial Grand Master, and trouble and friction ensued.

In 1817, at Kingston, a Grand Convention was called by the Lodges in the Midland District under R. W. Bro. Ziba M. Phillips. All the lodges attended excepting those in the Niagara District. This convention was held annually during the years 1817, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1822.

After repeated entreaty to England during these years, R. W. Bro. Simon McGillivray came to Canada in September, 1822, with authority from the Duke of Sussex to reorganize the Craft in Upper Canada. The Second Provincial Grand Lodge was thus formed at York in 1822, with R. W. Bro. Simon McGillivray as Provincial Grand Master, and met regularly up to 1830; but the Morgan excitement in the United States also told somewhat on the Fraternity in Canada, and while a number of the lodges remained active, the Provincial Grand Lodge became dormant and remained so until 1845.

In 1845 Masonic enthusiasm once more gained the ascendency,

an urgent appeal was sent out, and a Third Provincial Grand Lodge organized in Hamilton with Bro. Sir Allan MacNab Provincial Grand Master of "Canada West," appointed by the Earl of Zetland. This body was an energetic one, and continued work until 1858.

In 1853 a number of the lodges holding Irish Warrants organized a Grand Lodge, but it was not very successful. They then endeavored to secure the coöperation of the Provincial Grand Lodge in forming a Grand Lodge for Canada, but the Provincial Grand Body declined. But Home Rule and a self-governing body for Canada was the idea uppermost and would not down, and finally on October 10, 1855, a convention of all the lodges in the two Provinces was called at Hamilton and the Grand Lodge of Canada was formed. Forty-one lodges were represented, twenty-eight in Canada West (Ontario) and thirteen in Canada East (Quebec), and M. W. Bro. William Mercer Wilson was elected Grand Master.

In September, 1857, the Provincial Grand Lodge under England met and resolved itself into an independent Grand Lodge under the name of "Ancient Grand Lodge of Canada," but the next year in July, 1858, they united with the Grand Lodge of Canada. In October, 1869, the majority of the lodges in the Province of Quebec held a convention and decided to form a Grand Lodge for that Province. The Grand Lodge of Canada strenuously opposed this new body, and an edict of suspension covering all the lodges and Brethren taking part was issued. The Grand Lodge of Quebec, however, becoming duly recognized by all the leading Grand Lodges of the world, the Grand Lodge of Canada, in 1874, likewise decided to do the same and withdrew from the Province; all the lodges of her obedience joining the Quebec Grand Body. In 1875 a schism occurred and a number of Brethren organized a "Grand Lodge of Ontario." This breach was finally healed and the Brethren and lodges became of allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1896.

In 1886 the words "in the Province of Ontario" were added to the title of the "Grand Lodge of Canada," owing to the representations of other Grand Lodges that the title did not represent the jurisdiction of that Grand Body.

1906. The Grand Lodge of Canada has now 395 lodges and a membership of 37,628.

British Columbia.

The first lodge established in this Province was Victoria, No. 783, by the Grand Lodge of England, March 19, 1859, and the first chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland was Vancouver Lodge in 1862.

In 1871 the Grand Lodge of England had three lodges in the Province, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland six lodges. A convention was held on the 21st day of October, 1871, and the Grand Lodge of British Columbia duly organized. Eight out of the nine lodges in the Province were represented. The Provincial Grand Master of Scotland and the District Grand Master of England both took an active interest in the formation of the new Grand Body, and M. W. Bro. Israel Wood Powell, M.D., was unanimously elected Grand Master.

In 1872 the only lodge not represented at the formation of the Grand Lodge, viz., "Union Lodge" of New Westminster, late 899 E. R., affiliated with twenty-three members.

In 1875 two of the lodges in Nanaimo, "Caledonia" and "Nanaimo," amalgamated under the name of "Ashlar."

In 1878 Victoria, No. 1, and British Columbia, No. 5, of Victoria, united as Victoria Columbia Lodge, and Vancouver and Quadra Lodges, also at Victoria, united as Vancouver Quadra Lodge.

1906. Grand Lodge has now thirty-nine lodges and a membership of 2,859.

Manitoba.

In 1864 a dispensation was issued over the signature of M. W. Bro. A. T. Pierson, then Grand Master of Masons in Minnesota, and "Northern Light" Lodge was organized at Fort Garry (Winnipeg), with Bro. Dr. John Schultz, Worshipful Master, A. G. B. Bannatyne, S. W., and Wm. Inkster, J. W.

In 1867 Bro. Bannatyne was elected W. M. and the lodge went out of existence, shortly before the Red River insurrection. At this time, the country was claimed by the "Hon. Hudson Bay Co."; but when the transfer was made to Canada in 1870 and the Red River Settlement, as it was then known, became the Province of Manitoba, the Grand Lodge of Canada assumed jurisdiction and shortly afterward issued Charters to "Prince Rupert's" Lodge, Winnipeg, December, 1870, and Lisgar Lodge, Selkirk.

On May 12, 1875, the three lodges then existing, viz., "Prince

Rupert," "Lisgar" and "Ancient Landmark," held a convention and formed the "Grand Lodge of Manitoba," electing M. W. Bro. the Rev. Dr. W. C. Clarke as Grand Master. Unfortunately he removed from the Province before his year of office expired.

In 1878 the question of Ritual created considerable trouble, and a number of the Brethren endeavored to form another Grand Lodge, but happily peace was restored the following year.

On the 28th July, 1881, a Warrant was ordered issued to "Al Moghreb Al Asku," No. 18, to be opened at Gibraltar, but protests from the Grand Lodges of Scotland and England following, it was shortly afterward transferred to Tangiers in Morocco.

This Grand Lodge held jurisdiction over the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory as well as Manitoba until 1905, when the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed, followed by the organization of Grand Lodges for these two new divisions, upon which the Grand Lodge of Manitoba withdrew.

1906. Grand Lodge of Manitoba has now eighty chartered lodges and six U. D., with a membership of 4,410.

Prince Edward Island.

Previous to November, 1798, Prince Edward Island was called St. Johns Island, the name being changed by Imperial Act on that date.

On the 9th October, 1797, St. John's Lodge, now No. 1 on the Registry of that Province, was established by Warrant at Charlottetown by the Grand Lodge of England. The then Lieutenant-Governor, General Edward Fanning, was one of the Charter members. In 1857 Victoria Lodge at Charlottetown was chartered by Scotland. In 1875 there were seven lodges in this Province working under English Warrants, viz., St. John's, King Hiram, St. George, Alexandra, Mount Lebanon, and True Brothers, and one under the Scottish Register, "Victoria."

On the 23d day of June, 1875, these eight lodges met and formed the Grand Lodge of Prince Edward Island. The Hon. John Yeo was elected Grand Master and was installed, together with his officers, the following day by M. Wor. Bro. John V. Ellis, Grand Master of New Brunswick.

1906. There are fourteen lodges, with a membership of 635 on the roll.

Alberta.

Previous to October, 1905, the lodges in the "Northwest Territories" of Canada were under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba.

The political changes which culminated in the division of these Territories into the Provinces of "Alberta" and "Saskatchewan" on the 1st of September, 1905, brought forward the question of Provincial Autonomy for the Craft; accordingly "Medicine Hat " Lodge, No. 31, took the initiative and requested the Senior Lodge in the Province, "Bow River Lodge," No. 28, to call a convention at Calgary. This convention was held on the 25th day of May,1905, and arrangements were made for a formal meeting on the 12th day of October, 1905. Seventeen lodges out of eighteen in the jurisdiction were represented by seventy-nine delegates, and the "Grand Lodge of Alberta" was duly formed, with M. W. Bro. Dr. George MacDonald elected as Grand Master. The Most Wor. the Grand Master of Manitoba, M. W. Bro. W. G. Scott, was present at this convention and installed the officers.

1906 Twenty lodges, with a membership of 1,206.

Saskatchewan.

The Brethren of the Province of Saskatchewan assembled at Regina on the 10th day of August, 1906, and formally resolved themselves into the "Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan." Twenty-five lodges out of twenty-eight located in the Province were represented. M. W. Bro. H. H. Campkin was elected Grand Master and was installed by M. W. Bro. McKenzie, Grand Master of Manitoba.

Newfoundland.

The Ancient Colony of Newfoundland still remains without the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces.

Masonry in this island dates back to 1746, the first Warrant being granted by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston. Bro. J. Lane's list gives six lodges warranted in the eighteenth century. The Grand Lodge of the Ancients (England) is credited with four—one in 1774 and three in 1788—and the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) with two—one each in 1784 and 1785. Nine others were chartered by the present Grand Lodge of England up to 1881, a number still remaining active.

CHAPTER II

MEXICO

E learn from several writers that about the year 1810 Civil and Military officers of the Monarchy introduced the "Scottish Rite" into Mexico—then the principal colony of Spain. The Grand Lodge of Louisiana after this erected lodges in 1816 and 1817, respectively, at Vera Cruz and Campeachy. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania also established a lodge in 1824 at Alvarado; subsequently confusion ensued, Masonry and politics being so closely interwoven that any attempt at separate treatment is quite hopeless.

The *Escoceses* and the *Yorkinos* divided the country into two factions, moderate measures being in favor with the former under a constitutional monarchy, and republican institutions being advocated by the latter with the expulsion of the "old" or native Spaniards.

Among the Escoceses, or "Scots Masons," were persons having titles of nobility; all the Catholic clergy; many military officers; and all classes of native Spaniards.

The republicans appreciating the progress of their opponents, resolved "to fight the devil with his own fire," and thereupon a revival faction was organized with the title of Yorkinos, whose members were thought to be of the York Rite. Mackey is authority for the statement that the Grand Lodge of New York established three lodges in the city of Mexico in 1825.

These lodges were formed into a Grand Lodge of the York Rite by Mr. Joel R. Poinsett (American Minister), a former G. M. of South Carolina. There is no record that since the year 1815 any foreign lodges have been warranted by the Grand Lodge of New York. But however established, the so-called York Rite, or, in other words, pure English Masonry, flourished, and toward the end of 1826 there were twenty-five lodges, with a membership of about

seven hundred. "The Escoceses, or 'Scots Masons,' finding their lodges deserted, regarded the Yorkinos as renegades and traitors, and with a view to counterbalance the fast increasing power of the latter, they formed the Novenarios, a kind of militia, which derived its name from a regulation requiring each member to enlist nine additional adherents. These ingratiated themselves with the clergy, who, after having been the most embittered enemies of the Craft in past years, now joined the Escoceses almost in a body.

"The Yorkinos, becoming aware of these proceedings, tried to outdo their rivals by recruiting their own lodges upon the plan of receiving all applicants without distinction, provided they belong to the federal, *i.e.*, the patriotic party. Thus, the system of Masonry very soon degenerated into a mere party question, and at last all the adherents of one side styled themselves Escoceses, and of the other side, Yorkinos. In 1828 the two parties resorted to open warfare, with a view to deciding the question at issue by the sword, and the civil war then commenced lasted for more than a generation.

"Somewhere about this time, while Dr. Vincente Guerrero—G. M. under the York Rite—was President of the Republic, a law was enacted by which all Masonic lodges were closed. The Yorkinos obeyed their Grand Master, and discontinued their meetings. The Escoceses went on working, but some of their most influential lodges were suppressed, and the members vanished. Subsequently, all native Spaniards were expelled from Mexican territory.

"This internecine strife seriously affected the Fraternity in gen« eral, and gave birth, during the darkest hours of the struggle for supremacy, to an organization called the National Mexican Rite, formed by Masons, and composed of distinguished men, but containing innovations and principles so antagonistic to Masonic usage and doctrine, that it was never accorded recognition, even in Mexico, by any Masonic body of acknowledged legality.

"This new school of Masonry was established by nine Brethren of both rites, and who had belonged to the highest grade of either system, in 1830. To guard against the intrusion of unworthy members and the revival of political antagonism, they resolved to create a rite which should be national, in the sense of not depending upon any foreign Grand Lodge for its Constitution, and to obviate by safeguards and precautions of an elaborate character, the dangers to be apprehended from the reception of either Escoceses or Yorkinos.

"The National Mexican Rite consisted of nine degrees, which, omitting the first three, were 4°, Approved Master (equal to the 15°, 'Scots'); 5°, Knight of the Secret (equal to the 18°, 'Scots'); 6°, Knight of the Mexican Eagle; 7° Perfect Architect or Templar; 8°, Grand Judge, and 9°, Grand Inspector General. All of these degrees had their equivalents in the grades of the A. and A. S. R. 33. With the 'St. John's' (or purely Craft) degrees certain special signs were associated, which, however, were not required from foreigners unless they had acted as auxiliaries in any of the party contests.

"A Grand Orient, composed of members of the 9°, was supreme in matters of dogma or ritual. There was also an administrative body or National Grand Lodge, whose members were elective and met in the metropolis. The Provincial Grand Lodges had their seats in the State capitals, and were formed by the 'three lights' of at least five St. John's lodges.

"But although still preserving a nominal existence, the several Grand Bodies, owing to political convulsions, were virtually dormant for many years after 1833. A lodge—St. Jean d'Ulloa—was constituted at Vera Cruz, by the Supreme Council of France, in 1843; and another—Les Ecossais des Deux Mondes—at the City of Mexico, by the Grand Orient of the same country, in 1845.

"The National Mexican Rite appears to have somewhat recovered from its torpor in 1863. At that date we find in the Metropolis a National Grand Lodge with six working lodges, though of these one—belonging to the A. and A. S. R.—was constituted by the Grand Lodge of New Granada, and consisted chiefly of foreigners; in Toluca a Prov. Grand Lodge with five lodges; in Vera Cruz and Guadalajara two lodges each; and in five other cities single lodges.[1]

"In the year 1858 or 1859," according to the official report, "Bro. Lafon de Ladebat went to Mexico, with authority from Bro. Albert Pike (of Washington, D. C.) to organize and establish Masonry on a sound basis in that country.[2] However, Bro. Ladebat did not organize a Grand Lodge of Symbolic Masonry first, as instructed, but constituted the Supreme Council with jurisdiction over the three degrees of E. A., F. C, and M. M."[3]

The Grand Lodge of Yorkinos ceased to exist, and the "Scots

[1] Gould, vol. vi. [2] Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, 1884.

[3] This was entirely in opposition to Brother Pike's wishes.

Rite," divested of all political coloring, erected—December 27, 1865—a Supreme Council 33°, this being done after the overthrow of the Maximilian Empire. This Supreme Council and the Supreme Council of 1858-59 were joined in 1868 and both were fused with the National Grand Lodge, the President of the Republic, Benito Juarez, being one of the highest officials. However, this union was more of a friendly pact than of a thorough nature, as each rite was independent of the other with regard to its own ritual and internal government. The National Rite numbered thirty-two, and the A. and A. S. R. twenty-four, lodges in 1870.

"It would seem as if the authority of Juarez alone held these rites together, since at his death in 1872—although he was succeeded as President by his chief follower, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejeda, also a prominent Freemason—dissensions arose, and they fell asunder, Alfredo Chavero becoming G. M. of the Grand Orient, and Jose Maria Mateos of the National Grand Lodge. In 1876 a Lodge of Germans left the G. O. and joined the National Grand Lodge, but in the following year, with the consent of the latter, affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Hamburg—under which body there is also (1886) another lodge at work in Vera Cruz."[1]

About 1882 the two rites probably seem to have been again united, though information is so meager that this is not definite. However, it is quite possible that the National Mexican Rite continued to exist though its proceedings are not recorded. As far as there is any evidence, it appears that Grand Lodges were organized by the lodges which were under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council.[2] At the capital a Central Grand Lodge was formed, having jurisdiction over the subordinate lodges, and there was very little interference upon the subject of Symbolism except by the Central Grand Lodge, though the Supreme Council did not formally waive its authority thereover.

"In 1883 there were the following State Grand Lodges: Vera Cruz and Jalisco, each with seven lodges; Puebla, Yucatan, and Guanajuato, with six; and Morelos and Tlaxcala, with five; thus making a total of seven Grand and forty-two subordinate lodges, exclusive of the Central Grand Lodge and the metropolitan lodges.

"It will be seen that at this period there existed at Vera Cruz a

[1] Gould, vol. vi. [2] Recommended by General Pike.

State Grand Lodge, but from the fact that it was subordinate to the Central Grand Lodge, it was not deemed by the Grand Lodge of Colon to exercise legitimate authority over Symbolism in that State. Indeed, the whole of Mexico was regarded by the last-named body as 'unoccupied territory,' and it therefore proceeded to charter three lodges, which in January, 1883, formed themselves, at the City of Vera Cruz, into the 'Mexican Independent Symbolic Grand Lodge.' "

"Two of the lodges taking part in this movement had originally held Mexican warrants, but having quarreled with their superiors, solicited and obtained charters from the G. L. of Colon (now Colon and Cuba), shortly after which the third lodge was formed, and then, finally, the Grand Lodge, although the Supreme Council of Mexico had formerly protested against the invasion of its territory. Indeed the step thus taken by their former superiors appears rather to have accelerated the action of the three lodges, as in the record of their proceedings it is stated, 'that they hasten to constitute themselves into an Independent Grand Lodge, pending the protest of the Supreme Council of Mexico, to relieve their friend and mother, the Grand Lodge of Colon, from any further unpleasant complications.'

"The Supreme Council of Mexico, in a Balustre numbered XXX., and dated April 25, 1883, renounced its jurisdiction over the symbolical degrees, and promulgated a variety of relations with regard to Grand and subordinate lodges. This threw the Craft into the utmost confusion, and might have ended in the destruction of the greater number of Mexican lodges, or at least in the establishment of some half dozen Grand Bodies, all claiming supremacy, had it not been for the skill and address of Carlos Pacheco, who succeeded Alfredo Chavero as Sov. G. Com. 33°.

"The former Balustre was revoked, and by a new one (XXXII.), dated May 27, 1883, the Supreme Council renounced, in favor of the State Grand Lodges then existing or which might afterward be formed, the jurisdiction over Symbolism conferred upon it by the Constitutions of the A. and A. S. R. 33°. The transmission of powers was to take effect from June 24th them ensuing. The lodges having no Grand Lodge were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge nearest to them, or the oldest if two were equidistant, until they organized their own in accordance with Masonic

usage and precedent. The lodges of the Federal District, however, were directed to form and inaugurate their Grand Lodge on June 15th then following. Balustre XXXII. was signed (*inter alias*) by Carlos Pacheco, Mariano Escobedo, Alfredo Chavero, and Porfirio Diaz.

"On June 25, 1883, twelve lodges at the capital met and established the Grand Lodge of the Federal District (or city) of Mexico, with Porfirio Diaz as the first G. M. The event was announced to the Masonic world in two circulars, the first of which is in Spanish —an immense document of one hundred and eighty pages! The second is in English, and its only noticeable feature is a declaration that the American system of State Grand Lodges, each with exclusive jurisdiction, has been adopted. Grand Lodges have since been established on the same plan—*i.e.,* in conformity with the edict of the Supreme Council, as promulgated in Balustre XXXII.—in the States of Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Puebla, Campeachy, and Lower California. The complications, however, already existing in the Republic, were still further increased in 1883, by the action of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, in granting a Charter to the Toltec Lodge, in the City of Mexico, which had been provisionally established at the close of the previous year under a dispensation from the Grand Master."[1]

"The recognition of the Grand Lodge of which Porfirio Diaz became the head, by the Grand Lodges of Louisiana and Florida, was duly protested against by Carlos Pacheco, Sov. G. Com. 33°, and Carlos K. Ruiz, the latter of whom claimed to be himself the legitimate G. M. It would appear from 'La Gran Logia,' a bulletin published by some members of the Ruiz Grand Lodge, and denominated their official organ, that on the same day, at the same hour, and in the same hall, when and where the Diaz Grand Lodge was organized and installed, the other body was organized also. There was this difference, however, that whereas the Diaz party transacted their affairs within the body of the lodge, the supporters of Ruiz were reduced to the necessity of attending to theirs in the anteroom—the latter Brethren having withdrawn from the original convention while it was being organized, but not leaving the building, in the vestibule of which they afterward conducted their own proceedings."[2]

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[1] Gould, vol. vi. [2] Ibid.

Extract from Proceedings of Grand Lodge of Iowa.

Report on Foreign Correspondence, Theo. S. Parvin, Chairman, 1896.

"The year 1890 opens before us the new, and present era of Mexican Masonry. The functions of the Supreme Council being limited and confined to the legitimate Scottish Rite degrees 4th and 33d, inclusive, with no organized jurisdictions of Masonry of the symbolic degrees except the Grand Lodges of the State of Vera Cruz and the Federal District (city of Mexico), both of which had been recognized by the Grand Lodge of Iowa as well as many other Grand Lodges, the Lodges, to the number of one hundred and twenty-two of the one hundred and twenty-five, met in convention, and after a session of ten days, on the 20th of July, 1890, unanimously created and organized a new and governing body of Masonry, styled 'The Gran Dieta Symbolica,' or the Grand Diet of Symbolic Masonry for the Republic of Mexico. It elected for its Grand Master, and who has since by annual re-election been continued in office, Bro. Porfirio Diaz, the distinguished and illustrious President of the Republic; and for its Grand Secretary another distinguished citizen and Mason, Ermilo G. Cantón, the Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States of Mexico, who also, by annual re-election, still continues in office.

"The Gran Dieta promulgated a Constitution of forty-seven pages, consisting of eleven titles and one hundred and forty-five articles. The three sections of this Constitution relating to Masonic power and authority, read as follows (we give the translation):

" 'ARTICLE 30. The powers of Symbolic Masonry in this Republic are constituted in the governing Grand Lodge, which goes by the name of the "Grand Symbolic Diet of the United States of Mexico," whose duty it shall be to watch over the welfare, absolute liberty and independence of the three blue degrees, or Symbolic Lodges, under the Grand Lodges of the different States.'

" 'ART. 31. The Sovereign Masonic Power resides essentially and originally in the great body of Masons, who deposit their obedience for its exercise in the Grand Diet.'

" 'ART. 32. The Supreme Authority of Symbolic Masonry

shall have the title, 'Grand Symbolic Diet of the United States of Mexico.' "

"All of the Grand Lodges save three—that of the State of Vera Cruz, the Federal District, and one other—together with the subordinate Lodges that had not participated in its organization, transferred their allegiance to the Gran Dieta. These constituent Lodges now number about two hundred, and the membership exceeds ten thousand; the reporter for the Grand Lodge of Texas makes the former two hundred and fifty, and the latter twenty thousand—too high, I think—among whom I found, during my visit, were enrolled among its members not only the President of the Republic, but the Governors of all the principal States (some sixteen of which I visited), the Mayors of the cities, and the Judges of the Supreme Court. The Gran Dieta is, therefore, a sovereign and independent body, organized after the manner of the Grand Masonic Bodies of the United States. It, and *it alone,* exercises supreme authority and control over 'the three symbolic degrees of masonry' in Mexico.

"The constituent elements in the Gran Dieta of Grand and Subordinate Lodges and in the membership consists of Masons both of the York and Scottish Rite. We have learned from the general history presented, that there was at one time some twenty Lodges, with a membership of near eight hundred, that had obtained their charters from Grand Lodges in the United States, and that the old York element has existed in Mexico ever since, and, like the leaven of old, will yet under fostering care more and more each year permeate the system of Masonry now established upon a new basis. The ritual, however, used in a majority of these Lodges and Grand Lodges is that of the three degrees of the Scottish Rite as practiced in Lodges created by the Supreme Council, the exceptions being the Lodges composed exclusively or principally of American citizens resident in the various cities of the Republic, in which the American ritual is used. There are now some half dozen so-called American Lodges—that is, Lodges composed of American citizens resident in Mexico and other cities of the Republic. These Lodges all hold their charters from the Grand Dieta, which is and must continue to be the only governing body of Symbolic Masonry in Mexico. The last effort of the Grand Lodges in the United States to establish a Lodge in Mexico, was that of the Grand Lodge of Missouri which chartered Toltec Lodge some ten or more years

ago, but which, upon the organization of Gran Dieta, surrendered its charter and took out one from the Gran Dieta, under which it now works.

"There are thousands of American citizens, hundreds of them being Masons, residing in the various cities in Mexico, many of whom are affiliated with the so-called American Lodges, while others yet hold membership in the Mexican Lodges, and this number is increasing each year.

"Upon the organization of the Gran Dieta it made no special effort to secure recognition of American Grand Lodges, and it was some two or three years later that the Grand Lodges of Texas and New York recognized it, as they do still, and then the subject of its recognition was presented to other Grand Lodges, which deferred action for further information, as it had been currently reported, especially through a publication issued by an American resident of the city of Mexico, that the Gran Dieta by its constitution authorized the making of women Masons, and prohibited the use of the Great Light in their lodges. These statements I had heard and read while I was yet writing the Reports on Correspondence for this Grand Lodge, and so declined to present the subject of recognition of the Gran Dieta to the Grand Lodge of Iowa until I could satisfy myself more fully in relation to these rumors developing into published statements. I examined the Constitution of the Gran Dieta, to which I have referred, and could find nowhere within it any provision prohibiting the use of the Great Light in their Lodges, or authorizing the making of women Masons; the Constitution is entirely silent upon both subjects. During my visit to the Republic of Mexico in February and March of 1895, I had an opportunity to satisfy myself upon these subjects. I found that the Gran Dieta did not, by any law, much less constitutional provision, prohibit or exclude the Great Light from its altars—it did and does permit its use; it does, however, require by law the use of the Book of Constitutions upon its altars. I found during my visit to Lodges and Grand Lodges in some, and especially all of the American Lodges, the Great Light open upon the altar; in other Lodges the Book of Constitutions only; and notwithstanding the requirement that the Book of Constitutions should be used, I found in some Lodges that it was laid aside in open view, and the Great Light substituted, and the action was not called in question by any authority. It is not

true, therefore, as has been stated, that the Bible is excluded; its use, while permitted, is not required.

"In reference to this subject, I fail to find any warrant or requirement in the 'Book of Constitutions,' the Constitution or Code of Iowa, or any other Grand Lodge I have examined, requiring the use of the Great Light in our American Lodges. The Constitution of the United States has no reference to God or a Supreme Being, and many of our Presidents, in their annual messages, have omitted all reference to a Supreme Being, so that a class of Christians are year after year clamoring for an amendment to that National Charter, as if we would become more a Christian nation by its insertion. The 'Book of Constitutions' not only does not, any more than the Constitution of the Gran Dieta, require the use of the *Bible* in Lodges, but, on the contrary, we learn from it that *it* 'charges the Masons of every country to be of the religion of that country or nation,' and so, of course, authorizes the use of the book of the religion of the people of such country and nation. It has been well said by high authority that 'he that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone.' Until the Grand Lodge of Iowa and other Grand Lodges, by constitutional or legal enactment, shall first require the use of the Great Light in their Lodges, let them be sparing of their criticisms and censure of another supreme and independent Grand Lodge possessing all the rights and privileges they claim. Without the exercise and practice of this Christian and Masonic charity, Masonry can never become, as the Constitutions affirm it is, 'the center of union and the means of conciliating true friendship among persons that must otherwise have remained at a perpetual distance.' Our people and Masons are fast becoming important factors in the business and social relations (even marrying and being given in marriage) of the cities of the Mexican Republic; they are already in large numbers enrolled as members of their Lodges; and if *given a chance,* will yet bring the Masonry of that country more in harmony with ours.

"Another of the objections urged heretofore against the recognition of the Gran Dieta is, that it made Masons of women. From a thorough examination of the Constitution, I learn that this was not authorized or warranted by any constitutional provision; it was not, indeed, until a year later, in 1891, that the Gran Dieta, by a law provided for the initiation of women, and also for the issuing to

them of charters for Lodges. From what I saw and the best information I could obtain, there were some two or three only of the Grand Lodges that had sanctioned this practice, and about the same number of Lodges that had acted under the permission thus given. I found both in the city of Mexico and the city of San Luis Potosi, which is the capital of the State of the same name, and a city of about the size of our State capital, Des Moines—a woman's Lodge; that is, I saw the charters hanging upon the wall of the ante-room side by side with the charters of some four or five men's Lodges occupying the same hall; the charters were filled out upon the same blanks, in the same manner, signed by the same Grand Officers, and with the great seal of the Gran Dieta—the only difference being the insertion in one, of the names of women rather than of men. Moreover, I find from an examination of the *Masonic Bulletin*, the official organ of the Gran Dieta for 1891-94, edited by the Gran Dieta, and especially in the number for February, 1893, which contains the official list of a hundred and more Lodges all owing obedience to the Gran Dieta, among them one or two Lodges of women, chartered by the Gran Dieta and organized by the Grand Secretary himself, as I was informed by the brethren. In the official *Bulletin* for February, 1892, pages 175-201, there is a list of the officers and members, of some twenty Lodges, all of them constituent members, of the Gran Dieta, and among them I find that of Martha Washington Lodge, No. 156, with a list of the names of its officers and members, and the name of the Master is Maria C. Beall, the Secretary Josefina S. Rivera. These ladies I know very well—have known the former from her childhood—Mrs. Beall is a native of Iowa City, was educated in our State University (where for years, I was a professor), was graduated in 1876, and went to Mexico as a missionary, where she met and married her husband, who was a member at that time and later Master of a Mexican Lodge in the same city, as his name appears in the published record to which we have referred. The father of this lady is and has been for many years a leading physician of Iowa city, and a prominent Mason for half a century. The Secretary is the niece of the Governor of the State, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, and the daughter of Gen. Rivera, one of the leading citizens of the Republic, and the second officer in a Lodge that has in its membership several prominent Americans, among them the Rev. Mr. Winton,

who has long been a resident of the city, and thoroughly informed as to Mexican Masonry. From them I learned, as also from the Masters and other officers of Mexican Lodges I visited in the city of Mexico, that the women were accustomed to visit the men's Lodges at pleasure.

"Wherever I went and visited, either Grand or subordinate Lodges, being received with the greatest courtesy and welcomed by eloquent addresses delivered by the Grand Orator, an officer attached to every Lodge for the purpose of welcoming visitors, I took occasion in my responsive addresses, which I delivered upon every occasion and at considerable length, to cite attention to this practice, which I found had obtained in a few cases, and which was very objectionable to American Masons; and I assured them that while it continued, many of our Grand Lodges would not recognize the Gran Dieta, under whose jurisdiction they worked. I was everywhere informed, in public and in private, that an overwhelming majority of the Lodges and members were opposed to the practice, and were very anxious to be brought into closer and more intimate relations with American Masons and Masonry. This sentiment was communicated to me by President Diaz, who honored me with two very interesting interviews, as also by his Deputy, both in the Supreme Council and Gran Dieta, and other prominent Masons.

"A few months after my return home I learned that the Gran Dieta had repealed the law under which women were authorized to be made Masons, and upon receiving this information, I replied that that would not satisfy American Masons; they must go further, and provide by law for the revocation of charters issued to women, and still more, deny to them the right of visitation to men's Lodges, both of which the Gran Dieta has since done, as I am informed. Further than this I do not see what they could do. They cannot unmake the women who are made Masons any more than we can by expulsion declare that a man is no longer a Mason. We only do as they have done, deny them all the rights and privileges of Masonry.

"The making of women Masons is not a new departure in Masonry; its has only been more recent, upon a larger scale, and brought nearer home. Every well-read Mason knows full well that in the last century a Lodge in Ireland, Num. 44, at Doneraile, initiated a woman, Miss Elizabeth St. Leger, daughter of the Right Honorable St. Leger, Viscount Deneraile, whose son and successor was Master

of the Lodge at the time. She afterwards married Hon. Richard Aldworth, of the County of Cork, and has left a most honorable record as a woman and a woman Mason. Moreover, the Masonic student may learn that during the reign of Napoleon, the First Emperor, a woman was made a Mason, he being Grand Master at the time. She was a colonel, and a very brave and distinguished officer in his army; served with distinction for many years, and her sex was not discovered until she was severely wounded, when, upon her recovery, the Masons, prompted by a spirit of gallantry, conferred upon her the three symbolic degrees. Within the past decade the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Hungary, a Symbolic Grand Lodge, which takes a prominent part the present year with the officials and people of Hungary in the celebration of their Millenium Festival, a thousand years of honorable history, conferred, himself, the degrees of Masonry upon his own wife. While the Masonic press commented upon this last case as Masonic historians have upon the former, I have yet to learn that any Masonic Grand Body ever withdrew, or even withheld, their recognition from those Grand Lodges of Ireland, France, and Hungary. They were all recognized by the Grand Lodge of Iowa as independent Grand Masonic Bodies; and it was only when the Grand Lodge of France eliminated from its ritual the requirement of 'a belief in a Supreme Being,' that the Grand Lodge of Iowa, following the example of the Grand Lodge of England, and later followed by American Grand Lodges other than our own, withdrew its recognition, or rather, refused to hold further Masonic intercourse with that Grand Body.

"Another, and the third, objection has been very recently urged against the recognition of the Gran Dieta as a lawfully constituted Masonic body, and the very sweeping charge has been made, not only against the Gran Dieta, but against very many of the Grand Lodges of the world, especially those of Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, nearly all of which owe their origin to Supreme Councils of Scottish Rite Freemasonry. It has been published that 'there is no lawful Masonry anywhere that is not descended from the Free and Accepted Masonry of the British Isles, the Masonry of the Charges of a Freemason;' and it is declared by the same writer that this is 'an indisputable fact' He further says that the Lodges in Mexico are 'clandestine;' that 'their members are impostors and dissenters from the original plan of Masonry,' and that 'whoever

visits them violates his Masonic vows.' If these statements be true, then all the Grand Lodges to which we have referred are clandestine, and their members are impostors and dissenters, and all who visit them, as I and thousands of other American Masons have done, are guilty, as charged, of violating our vows. The writer affirms that the statements made by him are 'indisputable facts.' They are not only disputed now, but have been through the whole history of Freemasonry in the United States. In the Reports on Correspondence of the past year, Past Grand Masters Drummond, of Maine, and Anthony, of New York, two among the ablest Masonic writers of the day, and certainly the peers in Masonic knowledge of any other two in the country, not only deny the statement, but affirm, to which an overwhelming majority of Grand Lodges and Masonic writers give their adherence quite as 'indisputably,' that 'a Lodge created by a Supreme Council in a country where, by the Masonic law then prevailing, it may be done, is just as lawful a Lodge, and its Masons as regular Masons, as any to be found outside of those which can trace their origin back to the British Grand Lodges. The bodies of the York Rite do not,' they say, 'embrace the whole of pure and accepted Masonry.' To this I give my unwavering adherence.

"One of the so-called landmarks of Masonry, and quite as essential and important in its character, and which has received the assent of quite a large number of Masonic writers, affirms and declares that 'Masonry is cosmopolitan,' and is universal, in which statement they are borne out by the Book of Constitutions itself.

"Let us refer briefly to the history of the English Grand Lodge. The first Grand Lodge of which Masonic history gives any record, is that of England, organized by the 'four old Lodges of London' in 1717. The Constitution (Charges and Regulations) for its government was presented by Dr. Anderson (and since known by his name), and adopted in 1823. This Grand Lodge, we all know, was constituted by only four Lodges, leaving a larger number out in the cold, while the Gran Dieta was constituted by one hundred and twenty-two of the one hundred and twenty-five Lodges in the Republic. While there had never been an earlier Grand Lodge, there had been and were at that time other Lodges constituted in the same way as those four—by voluntary action and without any warrant or authority save the brothers' common consent. Now, the Constitu-

tion of the Grand Lodge of England, then and there adopted for *its* government and it alone—for it was not and is not binding upon any Lodge or Grand Lodge till accepted as such—is either a truth or a lie. It reads, Head. VI, Division 2, that 'We are also Masons of all nations, tongues, kindreds, and languages,' which is corroborated by all history; that there was at that time other and 'lawful Masonry' elsewhere than in England. England, while her political flag floats on every sea, has no 'monopoly' of Masonry, outside of her own dominions. There was and is 'lawful Masonry' in other parts of the globe, and so recognized by the Grand Lodge of England itself, by Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and all English colonies, as by a majority of the Grand Lodges of the United States, including Iowa. It cannot be said, as some have asserted, that the Lodges in other nations sprung from the loins of the English Grand Lodge, because at that date, 1723, the Grand Lodge of England had not warranted a single Lodge beyond England and it was several years before she constituted one beyond the 'British Isles.'

"Not only has the Grand Lodge of Iowa, but a majority of the Grand Lodges of this country as well as those of England and Europe have recognized the Grand Lodges of Cuba, Veracruz, and the Federal District in Mexico, together with those of Chili, Peru, Brazil, Argentine Republic, and others in the Western Hemisphere, and in the Eastern, those of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Roumania, Hungary, and others, all of which, as we have stated, were created by supreme Councils. We have not had time to look into many of the proceedings of Grand Lodges, but those which we have at hand, and into which we have looked, are those of California, Canada, Louisiana, New York, as well as Iowa, all of which have recognized the aforesaid Grand Lodges as lawfully constituted Grand Lodges of Masons. It will never do for us or others to assert that all knowledge, all wisdom, and all Masonic intelligence reside either in Illinois or Iowa, or any other American Grand Lodge, or even in the Grand Lodge of England, which has always acknowledged and recognized a majority, if not all, of the several Grand Lodges we have named. Moreover, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, the Prince of Wales, who has served his Grand Lodge and Freemasonry now for twenty-one years, was made a Mason in a Lodge under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Sweden; and the Grand Lodge of Norway, which is now seeking recognition

at our hands, has been recognized recently by some of the American Grand Lodges, as well as in former years by others.

"These statements and averments prove that Masonry is universal, wide spread and cosmopolitan in its character; it embraces, as the Constitutions say, 'Masons of all nations, tongues, kindreds, and languages,' Mohammedan, Hindoos, and even Pagans have Lodges and Grand Lodges, using the Koran, the Vedas, and other sacred books of their religion, instead of the Bible. I have myself sat in Lodges and Grand Lodges with native aboriginal Americans, full-blooded Indians. One of the Presidents of the United States, a former Grand Master of a Grand Lodge, ordered the degrees of Masonry conferred upon Indian chiefs visiting the Secretary of War at the National capital on business pertaining to their nation, and those men had very little knowledge of the Great Light in Masonry, or of any other sacred book, except the great volume of nature, and as little, also, of the Book of the Constitutions, or the laws of the Grand Lodge under whose jurisdiction they were made.

"Let us inquire what is a 'clandestine Lodge' and see whether Lodges I visited in Mexico were 'clandestine.' What is a 'clandestine Lodge,' and an impostor and dissenter or 'clandestine Mason?' The (Anderson) Constitutions declare, Section 8, that where a number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a Lodge without the Grand Master's warrant, the regular Lodges are not to countenance them nor own them as fair brethren, and duly formed.' In other words, a Lodge formed without a warrant from the Grand Master (we now say Grand Lodge) is 'clandestine,' and so a 'clandestine Mason' is one made in a Lodge without a warrant. The Gran Dieta Symbolica of Mexico, and the Lodges under its obedience, are as regular and legal bodies of Masons as is the Grand Lodge of Illinois, Iowa, England, or any other Grand Lodge in the world. The Gran Dieta is composed of Grand and subordinate Lodges that obtained their charters from both Supreme Councils of the Scottish Rite and Grand Lodges of the York Rite, but that does not militate, there more than here, against its lawful character.

"So, too, a lawfully-constituted (warranted) Lodge cannot make 'clandestine Masons.' There is a great difference between an 'irregularly-made' and a 'clandestinely-made' Mason. The making of a person who is *not* a 'good and true man;' one who is *not* 'free-born; 'one who is *not* of 'mature and discreet (legal) age;' or a

'bondman,' a 'woman,' or an 'immoral or scandalous man,' and *not* of 'good repute,' is declared by Anderson's Constitutions to be irregular and not permissible—but that irregularity does not make them 'clandestine.' There are few, not any among all my brethren of many years' standing in Masonry, who have not visited Lodges which had violated one or more of these six commandments, called by some 'landmarks.' The violation of a 'landmark' by a Lodge or Grand Lodge does not make it or its members clandestine. Were this so, the Grand Lodge of England itself, the oldest of Grand Lodges, would be declared clandestine by all English-speaking Grand Lodges in the world, for there is no fact more notorious than that the Grand Lodge of England, very many years ago, upon the manumission of slaves in its colonies, changed one of the fundamental landmarks, so recognized, from 'free born' into 'free man,' and thereby authorized the making of, and did make, Masons of those who were born in slavery. Moreover, the Grand Lodges of England, of Pennsylvania, and several other Grand Lodges in the United States—even our neighboring Grand Lodge of Missouri—knowingly, and I may say willfully, made Masons of those of non-age. We have residing in the State of Iowa to-day a Mason made a Mason in his eighteenth year in a Lodge in Missouri, and the Lodge so making him was fully cognizant of the fact. These are irregularities, and no irregularity, however great, can vitiate the charter or the legal existence of the body performing the act, however offensive it may be in the eyes of the brethren.

"Any and all Masons may visit any and all Lodges in Mexico without violating, as charged by the ignorant or malicious, any O. B. of which I have any knowledge, or known to the rituals here or elsewhere from the first to the thirty-third and last degree in Masonry.

"The Grand Lodge of England was the first Grand Lodge and it was not created till 1717, nor its Constitution adopted till 1723;[1] yet within twenty years there was a schism and a secession of a number of brethren, who constituted another Grand Lodge, calling themselves the 'Ancients,' and by some strange *hocus pocus* their mother Grand Lodge the 'Moderns'—all this about the middle of the last century. This new schismatic, *clandestine* Grand Lodge, engineered by a more intelligent, active and energetic Grand Secre-

[1] Constitution was adopted 1721, and first edition printed 1723.—EDITOR.

tary, Laurence Dermott, grew rapidly, and soon assumed large and permanent proportions. It, too, published a Book of Constitutions, called by its author, the Grand Secretary, the 'Ahiman Rezon,' and planted its Lodges 'at home' and *abroad,* especially in America, for Bro. Hughan, the great Masonic antiquarian and historian, says that it secured the 'almost unanimous support of the Grand Lodges of America.' That 'a stream cannot rise above its fountain,' 'nor can a pure stream flow from an impure fountain,' are unquestionably axioms in nature and in Masonry. Now, there are a few Grand Lodges in the United States in whose veins the blood of the 'Ancients,' the 'rebel Dermott,' and his *clandestine* Grand Lodge, so declared from 1750 to 1813, when the mother Grand Lodge condoned all offenses and gave her the 'kiss of peace,' better by far than that of the 'betrayal' If there is no Dermott blood in Iowa and Illinois, the veins of the Grand Lodge of Pensylvania are full of it, and they still glory in their 'Ahiman Rezon,' and reject and 'cast over among the rubbish' the Anderson's Constitutions. Nor is the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania alone in this, but she has illustrious associates; and yet who ever heard of an Illinois or Iowa Mason, or one from any other jurisdiction, calling those Grand Lodges clandestine, or refuse, Masonically, to visit their Lodges or hold Masonic intercourse with their members, charging them with being 'impostors and dissenters from the original plan of Masonry?'

"The difference between the Masonry of Mexico and the United States is just here: Their *origin* and pedigree is more pure and lawful than ours, while their *practices* were not only objectionable to us but to others, and to even a majority of their own membership, as they have repealed and abrogated the law under which such objectionable practices had obtained by only two of the twenty or more Grand Lodges, and the same number out of more than two hundred subordinate Lodges.

"It has been publicly proclaimed that the Gran Dieta has not only repealed the law under and by which women were made Masons, but revoked and recalled the charters (only three, and that is three too many) granted to women Lodges, but gone further—further they could not go—and forbidden Lodges to admit women Masons as visitors or to recognize them (though they be as lawful Masons as the men).

"The Gran Dieta being a lawfully constituted Masonic Body,

with some two hundred Lodges and (it is stated) twenty thousand members, with several American Lodges and many of our citizens affiliated therein, and having not only proved that it did not forbid or exclude, but permits, as she has always, the use of the Great Light and moreover settled the question of the past woman, she knocks at the door of the American Grand Lodges for recognition. Let it be borne in mind that recognition is not essential, or even necessary to legality. It only bears in its train a more enlarged and fraternal intercourse among and between their members

CHAPTER III

CUBA AND PORTO RICO

Cuba.

IN December 17, 1804, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered at Havana Le Temple des Vertus Theologales, No. 103, Joseph Cerneau being the first Master. Under the same sanction other lodges were erected—in 1818, Nos. 157, 161; in 1819, Nos. 166, 167; in 1820, No. 175 (at Santiago de Cuba), and in 1822, No. 181. They existed up to 1826, at which time the charters of Nos. 175 and 181 had been revoked for failure of meeting for more than a year, and the others had died out. The Grand Lodges of Louisiana and South Carolina next assumed the warranting of lodges on the island. Under the former Grand Lodge, bodies sprang up, in 1815, No. 7, in 1818, Nos. 11 and 14, and under the latter in 1818, No. 50, and in 1819, No. 52. The Grand Orient of France in 1819 established a lodge and consistory (32), and two further lodges in 1821. The Grand Lodge of South Carolina received from the G. L. of Ancient Freemasons in Havana in 1821, a communication stating that a Grand Lodge had been organized there, to which the Lodge La Amenidad, No. 52, desired permission to transfer its allegiance. A favorable answer was returned, but La Constancia, No. 50, was retained on the roll of the G. L. of South Carolina for some years, after which the Warrant was surrendered by the members "in consequence of the religious and political persecutions to which they were subjected."

For many years Masonry languished in the "Pearl of the Antilles," its votaries practicing their rites in secret, but not daring to indulge in any overt acts, which might entail not only expulsion from the country, but also confiscation of their property. At length, however, a faint revival set in, and a Warrant was granted, November 17, 1859, by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina to St.

Andrew's Lodge, No. 93, "for the purpose of establishing, with the co-operation of two other Lodges[1] already existing on the island, a Grand Lodge," which was accomplished on December 5th of the same year.

An independent "Grand Lodge of Colon" was thus established at Santiago de Cuba, and—December 27, 1859—a Supreme Council of the A. and A. S. R. 33° was founded in the same city by Andres Cassard.[2]

At this time, it must be recollected, the practice of assembling as Freemasons was forbidden by the Spanish laws, which laws, moreover, though destined to become—after the dethronement of Queen Isabella (1868)—innocuous in the Peninsula, remained for a long time in full force in Cuba.

Several, indeed, of the Captains General and other officers who ruled the islands were Masons, and therefore from time to time the Craft was tolerated, but its members being always compelled to work to a great extent in the dark, found it necessary to observe the most inviolable secrecy, and even to shield themselves under "Masonic names," lest by the discovery of their own, they might incur the most grievous penalties.

For the same reason the Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge, which soon after united in forming a Grand Orient, found a convenient title for the amalgamated body in the name of Colon—the Spanish for Columbus—it being desired above all things to conceal from the public ken the seat of the "Grand East" of the Society.

At the formation of the Grand Orient of Colon, a constitution published at Naples in 1820 was adopted as that of the new organization. By this the Supreme Council necessarily became a section of the Grand Orient. In 1865 a new constitution was promulgated. The Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council became—*ex officio*—G. M. of the Grand Orient, but the G M. of the Grand Lodge was still required to submit himself for election. All charters for lodges were issued by the Grand Lodge, but had to be confirmed and *vised* by the Supreme Council.

In 1867 the Grand Lodge promulgated a constitution of its own, in which, while recognizing its continued membership of the Grand

[1] Brothers Albert Pike and Josiah H. Drummond agree that these were Spanish lodges, having warrants from Spain.

[2] Sanctioned by S. C. 33° Southern Jurisdiction.

Orient, it claimed the *exclusive* power to enact its own by-laws, issue charters, constitute and regulate lodges. Their right to do this was denied by the Supreme Council. In 1868, September 30th, the Grand Lodge *suspended* its constitution until a meeting took place of the Grand Orient, convoked for November 30th. But before that time the revolution broke out, and Freemasons, being regarded by the Spanish Government as revolutionists, the G. O. could not meet. The Grand Lodge, so far as it was possible, resumed labor. But the times were unpropitious. In the winter of 1869, at Santiago de Cuba, by order of Gonzales Bret, an officer of the Government, eighteen persons were seized without warrant, and immediately shot, without trial, for being Freemasons—one of them the M. W. G M. of Colon—and many others were arrested and committed to prison for the same offence.

The number of Cuban lodges, which in 1868 amounted to about thirty, had fallen in 1870 to about seven, and in the latter year the S. C. organized a Provincial Mother Lodge at Havana, against which the Grand Lodge very naturally protested. The Warrant to this "Mother Lodge" was soon after recalled, but the dispute between the S. C. and the Grand Lodge continued. In 1873 —April 11th—the Grand Lodge resumed work openly, and in the following year entered into a compact with the Supreme Council, whereby it was agreed that the former should have exclusive jurisdiction over Symbolic Masonry, with the sole right of chartering lodges, and that it should establish a Provincial Mother Lodge in the western section of the island to govern the lodges there, but in submission to the laws of the Grand Lodge. After this compact it was intended that the Grand Lodge, though still nominally a section in the Grand Orient, should have full jurisdiction over the Symbolic Masonry. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that there was a divided authority, and apparently great Masonic confusion on the island.

The Grand Lodge of Colon held five meetings in August, 1876, at the last of which—August 26th—it declared itself free from all other authority, a sovereign body, with full and unlimited powers over its subordinates.

This action, however, was accelerated by an event which had taken place on August 1st, when the representatives of nine chartered lodges, and of four under dispensation, met at Havana, and

formed the Grand Lodge of Cuba. This body from the very first kept itself free from the blighting influence of the (so-called) high degrees, which it willingly consented—December 31, 1876—should be ruled in Cuba by the Grand Orient of Spain. In a circular of September 4, 1876, the Grand Lodge of Colon claimed to have on its register thirty-six lodges and 8,000 members; while its newly formed rival, the Grand Lodge of Cuba, in 1877, possessed an apparent following of seventeen lodges. In the latter year—June 3d —a second Grand Lodge of Colon (or Columbus) at Havana was added to the two existing Craft Grand Bodies.

Thus we find three organizations, each claiming to be the regular Grand Lodge. From a circular of the Grand Lodge of Cuba, we learn that in 1879 the three lodges which formed the Grand Lodge of Colon, at Santiago de Cuba in 1859, and four others, adhered to that body; but that the remaining lodges, excepting those under the Grand Lodge of Cuba, were subject to the control of the Grand Lodge of Colon at Havana. To local jealousies must be attributed this multiplication of Grand Lodges. The representatives of some of the Havana lodges who seceded from the old (or *original*) Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba, met *as the Grand Lodge,* and decreed its removal to Havana.

Eventually, however, the Grand Lodges of Colon (at Havana) and Cuba formally united, and March 28, 1880, the G M. of one body became Grand Master, and the G. M. of the other body Deputy Grand Master. The title assumed by the new organization was the United Grand Lodge of Colon and the Island of Cuba, and it entered upon its career with a roll of fifty-seven lodges, and between 5,000 and 6,000 Masons. The lodges under the original Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba remained true to their allegiance.

In 1885 the number of lodges under the "United Grand Lodge" had apparently increased to eighty-two, with Provincial Grand Lodges at Santiago de Cuba and Porto Rico; but on the official list there were only fifty-eight lodges in all upon the roll. Of these, thirty are in the capital, or in its vicinity, and twenty-eight in other parts. It is possible that further schisms may have disturbed the peace of Cuban Masonry; and it is somewhat remarkable that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Porto Rico—with the fourteen subordinate lodges on that island, shown in sundry calen-

dars for 1886—have wholly disappeared in the official list of current date.

It only remains to be stated, that, from the statistics before me, there would appear to have been in existence on the island thirteen lodges under the National Grand Orient, and twenty-seven under the Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter were subject to a Prov. G. M., whose jurisdiction also extends to Porto Rico.

Since the suppression of Masonry in Cuba by Spanish authority, and the murder of Masons at Santiago de Cuba, no authentic information of the status of the Institution in the island has been attainable. No official documents have been issued, but after the war of the United States with Spain ended, a notice announcing that several bodies of the Fraternity in the island had resumed their labors was issued, and under the new régime there is no doubt that Masonry will flourish there, and its prosperity spread into other parts of the Antilles.

Porto Rico.

The early Masonic history of this island is very vague and conjectural, as are all questions relating to the problem of Spanish Masonry. In 1860, at Mayaguez, there was in existence a Lodge Restauracion under the G. O. of Colon, but the changes which took place in Cuba during the struggle for existence of the Grand Lodges there, had their influence throughout all of the Spanish islands.

The lists show that the Provincial Superintendent of Cuba and Porto Rico under the Grand Lodge of Spain (of which Becera was the G. M.) was Don Manuel Romeno. The lodges are not enumerated in the list, but five are on the roll of the Grand Orient of Spain, however, without a Provincial Superintendent named. Le Phenix, No. 230, constituted in 1874, was the only lodge representing the S. C. of France. At one time the United Grand Lodge of Colon in Cuba had under its jurisdiction fourteen lodges in the island. However, these were formed into an Independent Grand Lodge, September 20, 1885. The greatest centres of Masonic activity have been San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez, the last-named town not only having two lodges, but also a consistory of 32°, a council of 30°, and a chapter of 18°.

While the lodges of Porto Rico severed their connection with the "*United Grand Lodge*" of Colon in the island of Cuba, the

chapters and other associations of Masons in this Spanish dependency retained their allegiance to the *Supreme Council* of the same title.

Upon this a little light is thrown by the action of Don Antonio Romero Ortiz (at the same time presiding over the Grand Lodge of Spain), who, in a decree, dated March 13, 1883, "denounced the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba, and the Masons of its obedience as traitors to the Government and to the Mother Country," simply because they declined to recognize his authority to govern or interfere in the affairs of "Symbolical Masonry" in Cuba. In the same year the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba announced by circular that there being in all three Supreme Councils and three Grand Lodges in Spain, it had recognized the Grand Lodge of Seville as being "the only really independent organization of Craft Masonry" then existing in that country. This, of course, was dealing very summarily with the pretensions of the Grand Lodge (or Orient) under Ortiz, which Mr. Albert Pike pronounced to be the only Grand Body in Spain legitimately entitled to recognition as a regular Masonic body. The name last quoted being, as many will be aware, that of the Sov. G. Com. of the S. C. 33° for the U. S. A., Southern Jurisdiction—the body of which he is the head being to other Supreme Councils what the Grand Lodge of England is to other Grand Lodges, and his own personal authority perhaps ranking higher than that of any other Mason either in the Old World or the New.

The Grand Lodge and Supreme Council of Colon and Cuba have therefore followed different roads, the latter treading in the beaten track traversed by Supreme Councils in amity with that presided over by the patriarch and law-giver of the rite, and the former boldly striking out a path of its own.

Owing to the state of political affairs in the island, and from the influential position held by Ortiz in Spain, the charges he made were calculated to subject the Cuban Masons both to surveillance and persecution on the part of the authorities. At Porto Rico the circumstances were somewhat different. Out of Cuba itself the S. C. of Colon was long regarded—and not alone by votaries of the A. and A. S. R. 33°—as a more stable institution than any other of the numerous Grand Bodies which sprang up like mushrooms in the island. When, therefore, the two governing bodies at Havana,

each in its own way, attempted to solve the problem of Craft sovereignty in Spain, it is not to be wondered at that the confusion existing in the peninsula was reproduced with more or less fidelity in the Spanish Antilles. In Porto Rico there were no less than five chapters of 18°, besides a council of 30°, and a consistory of 32°. These, as already related, adhered to their allegiance; but the lodges on the island set up a Grand Lodge of Porto Rico at the city of Mayaguez in 1885, and it is satisfactory to state that the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba subsequently established fraternal relations with the new body.

CHAPTER IV

FREEMASONRY IN ASIA

E are greatly indebted to Gould's "History of Freemasonry" for the following sketches of Masonry in Asia and other countries in the Eastern Hemisphere. He says: "It has been the practice of Masonic writers to pass lightly over the history of Free Masonry in non-European countries and to exclude almost from mention the condition or progress of the Craft, in even the largest Colonies or Dependencies within the sovereignty of an Old World Power."

Information on this point must be sought amid the records of the countries discussed. Too little emphasis has been laid by writers upon other than European countries, and slight attention given to their dependencies. Of these latter Findel says: "The lodges existing in these quarters of the globe were one and all under the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, Holland or France, and therefore their history forms an inseparable part of that of the countries in question." This statement, to say the least, is inexact. Owing to the varied admixture of peoples found in the Asiatic countries into which Europeans have entered, the practice of the craft emanates from many different sources.

While in the Greater Antilles arose Masonic Innovations claiming equality with or superiority over the Grand Authority of the Craft, in the Lesser Antilles, lodges connected with different European Grand Bodies existed in the same localities. This state of affairs necessarily induced a conflict of jurisdiction. Rebold says:

"After Holland had become incorporated with the French Empire (July, 1810), the Grand Orient of France assumed the control of all the Dutch Lodges which then existed, with the exception of those of the Indies, which remained under the obedience which had

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created them, and which carried on the title of Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of the Low Countries."

Likewise the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, in British India, was more than once independent in fact, if not in name, and its archives must be examined for Hindostanee Freemasonry or else nothing would be known of lodges the names of which do not appear upon the rolls of those European Grand Bodies under which Findel avers they came.

India.

George Pomfret was authorized in 1728 by the Grand Lodge of England "to open a new Lodge in Bengal." This lodge was established in 1730 by Captain Ralph Farwinter, the successor of Pomfret, as "Provincial Grand Master of India." This lodge is described as No. 72, Bengal, and is distinguished by the arms of the Company in the Engraved Lists.

James Dawson, Zech Gee, and Roger Drake, in order, succeeded Captain Farwinter. Drake was Governor of Calcutta, but escaped the horrors of the Black Hole in 1756 by flying to the ships. He returned with Clive, but does not appear to have resumed his Masonic office.

At the period in question it was the custom in Bengal "to elect the Prov. G. M. annually by the majority of the voices of the members then present, from among those who had passed through the different offices of the (Prov.) Grand Lodge, who had served as Dep. Prov. G. M."

Under this practice Samuel Middleton was elected in 1767 and confirmed October 31, 1768. But a few years previously Earl Ferrers had granted a roving commission to "John Bluvitt, commander of the Admiral Watson Indiaman for East India, where no other Provincial is to be found." The annual election referred to was confirmed by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England without its being thought an infringement upon his prerogative. But the dispensation confirming Middleton's election was regarded as abrogating annual elections. He held office until his death in 1775.

The records of the Bengal Grand Lodge only extend back to 1774. But prior to this date other lodges were formed. A second one, of whom nothing, save its existence, is known, arose and seven

members of this organized a lodge April 16, 1740, and on petition the Grand Lodge of England ordered "the said Lodge to be enrolled (as requested) in the lists of regular lodges, agreeable to the date of their Constitution."

Other lodges were formed at Chandernagore, Calcutta, Patna, and Burdwan, the names of only some of which are preserved, but the numbers given them show that others must have existed.

In 1774 there were only three lodges in Calcutta. Besides these and the lodges at the other places mentioned, there were lodges at Dacca, Moorshedabad, and "at some military stations or with army brigades."

"The Grand Lodge of Solomon at Chinsura," which was under Holland, worked in harmony with the Provincial Grand Lodge under England, visits being interchanged and officials of both engaging in the same ceremonies.

"In 1775, February 15, the Prov. Grand Lodge, 'taking into consideration the propriety of preserving concord and unanimity, recommend it to the Brethren who call themselves "Scott and Elect" that they do lay aside the wearing of red ribbons, or any other marks of distinction, but such as are proper to the Three Degrees, or to the Grand Lodge as such,' a request, we are told, which was cheerfully complied with."

Upon the death of Middleton in 1776, Charles Stafford Pleydell was elected in his stead. Under Philip Milner Dacres, the successor of Stafford, the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal assembled for the last time January 25, 1781.

The war in the Carnatic, which nearly swept Masonry out of India, had much to do with this dissolution.

"Industry and Perseverance" of the lodges in Calcutta, "where alone in Bengal Masonry may be said to have existed," may be said to be the only one which survived with a feeble light.

However, the Provincial Grand Lodge was re-opened July 18, 1785, under George Williamson, a former Deputy P. G. M., under a patent from England appointing him Acting P. G. M., and authorizing a meeting for election of Grand Master.

Upon an election November 14th, Edward Fenwick, former Grand Warden, was elected, receiving six votes, while Williamson received four. The former was installed March 17, 1786, though under his patent Williamson was clearly entitled to hold his *acting*

appointment until the confirmation from London of the election of Fenwick.

This led to trouble. Williamson was sustained by the Grand Lodge of England, but the Prov. Grand Lodge maintained its position and, despite protests, Fenwick continued in the duties of his office and his election was confirmed May 5, 1788.

A letter of February 6, 1788, from the Prov. Grand Lodge to Grand Secretary White contains the following:

"An interesting account of the state of Masonry in Bengal appears in a letter of February 6, 1788, from the Prov. Grand Lodge to Grand Secretary White, from which I extract the following:

" 'We earnestly wish to see the whole number of Lodges which existed in 1773 or 1774 re-established. But the Subordinates at Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and Moorshedabad now consist of such small societies, and these so liable to change, that we must confess it rather to be our wish than our hope to see Lodges established at any of these places.'

"At this assembly, the Wardens of Lodge 'Star in the East' said their meetings had been interrupted, because, in the absence of the Prov. Grand Lodge, no new Master could be installed. Williamson, however, ordered them to proceed with the election of a new Master, and engaged to convene a Prov: Grand Lodge for his installation.

"A letter from G. Sec. White, dated March 24, 1787—continuing to Williamson the powers specified in his patent of 1784—was read in the Prov. Grand Lodge on August 27 of that year. In the discussion which ensued, the Master of Lodge Star in the East observed: . . . 'Mr. Williamson, whose affairs have long been in a most anxious situation—who has been obliged, for a long time past, to live under a foreign jurisdiction—who now cannot come to Calcutta, but on a Sunday, or, if he comes on any other day, is obliged to conceal himself during the day time, and to be extremely cautious how he goes even when it is dark!'

"The patent, however, did not arrive in India until March 4, 1789.

" 'With respect to the Brigades, they have been divided into six of Infantry and three of Artillery. This regulation has lessened the number of officers in each, and they will be more liable to re-

movals than formerly. The first circumstance must be a great discouragement to, the formation of Lodges in the Brigades, and the second would sometimes expose such Lodges to the risk of being annihilated. However, we shall give all encouragement to the making of applications, and all the support we possibly can to such Lodges as may be constituted.'

"A grand ball and supper was given by the Prov. Grand Lodge, January 14, 1789, to which invitations were sent, not only to residents in Calcutta, but also to 'Bro. Titsingh, Governor of Chinsurah, and other Masons of that Colony; to Bro. Bretel, and the other Masons of Chandernagore; and also to the Masons of Serampore, and to the Sisters of these Colonies, according to what has been customary on such occasions formerly.'

"In 1790—December 27—Fenwick resigned; and on the same day the Hon. Charles Stuart was elected and installed as his successor. The latter, however—owing to the government of the country devolving upon him in consequence of the absence of Lord Cornwallis from Calcutta—appointed Richard Comyns Birch 'Acting Prov. G. M. of Bengal.'

"The Lodges in the Presidency are thus described in the Freemasons' Calendar for 1794:

Star in the East, Calcutta, 1st Lodge of Bengal	1740
Lodge of Industry and Perseverance, Calcutta, 2d Lodge of Bengal	1761
Lodge of Unanimity, Calcutta, 3d Lodge of Bengal	1772
Anchor and Hope, Calcutta, 6th Lodge of Bengal	1773
Lodge of Humility with Fortitude, Calcutta, 5th Lodge of Bengal	1773
Lodge of True Friendship, with the 3d Brigade, 4th Lodge of Bengal	1775
At Futty Ghur, Bengal	1786
Lodge of the North Star, Fredericksnagore, 7th Lodge of Bengal	1789
At Chunar, in the East Indies, 8th Lodge of Bengal	1793
Lodge of Mars, Cawnpore, 9th Lodge of Bengal	1793"

There was also another lodge, the Marine Lodge, Calcutta, and a Stewards' Lodge under the Grand Lodge of England.

From the first two lodges of the above list the officers of the Prov. Grand Lodge had always been selected, which induced resentment upon the part of the other lodges. This feeling brought about a general defection from the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal and by consequence from the Grand Lodge of England. An

ephemerai lodge—No. 146—under the Athoil (or *Ancient*) Grand Lodge was established at Calcutta in 1767, but no others were founded until later.

"The Lodges 'True Friendship' and 'Humility with Fortitude' were the first who transferred their allegiance, the former becoming No. 315, or No. 1 of Bengal, Dec. 27, 1797; and the latter, No. 317, or No. 2 of Bengal, April 11, 1798. The 'Marine Lodge' followed their example, and obtained a similar warrant—No. 323—March 4, 1801. Meanwhile, Lodge 'Star in the East' fell into abeyance, and 'Industry and Perseverance' was on the point of closing also. One meeting only was held in each of the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, after which, for a long period, there were no more. Lodge 'Anchor and Hope' obtained an Atholl warrant as No. 325—Oct. 1, 1801. Little is known of Lodge 'Unanimity,' which, though carried forward at the union (1813), must have died out at least several years before.

"During the ten or eleven years that intervened between the obliteration of the Prov. Grand Lodge and its re-establishment in 1813, Masonry in Calcutta was represented almost exclusively by the Lodges which had seceded from the (older) Grand Lodge of England.

"On St. John's Day (in Christmas), 1809, the Lodges, True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, No. 338 (Ancients) in the 14th Foot, and the 'Dispensation Lodge,' working under a warrant granted by No. 338, walked in procession to St. John's Church, where a Masonic sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. James Ward.

"Happily, Lodges Star in the East, and Industry and Perseverance, were revived in 1812, and on December 22 of that year, accompanied by the 'Officers' Lodge,' No. 347 in the 14th Foot, and Humility with Fortitude, also walked in procession to the same church, and benefited by a like sermon from Dr. Ward.

"On October 4, 1813, the Earl of Moira—who had been appointed Acting Grand Master of India—arrived in Calcutta. The first Masonic act of the Governor-General was to constitute a new Lodge in that city—the Moira, Freedom and Fidelity—November 8, and his second, to re-establish the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal under the Hon. Archibald Seton."

Upon the union of the two Grand Lodges, the "Atholl" lodges, three in number, at Calcutta came under the jurisdiction of the Prov. Grand Lodge.

Two others of the secession are not mentioned in the records of the Province, 1814-40.

"At the period of this fusion, there were the following Lodges under the old sanction: The Stewards, Star in the East, Industry and Perseverance, and Sincere Friendship (Chunar). Of these Lodges, the first never held a London warrant, and the last was struck off the roll inadvertently at the Union. There were also then in existence the Moira Lodge, and three others, constituted since the revival of the Prov. Grand Lodge, the names of which head the following table of Lodges erected during the period 1813-26:

Moira, Calcutta, November 13, 1813.
Oriental Star, Noacollee, April 21, 1814.
Aurora, Calcutta, June 23, 1814.
Courage with Humanity, Dum Dum, July 12, 1814.
Northern Star, Barrackpore, July 18, 1816.
Sincerity, Cawnpore, January 8, 1819.
Hasting Lodge of Amity and Independence, Allahabad, April 9, 1821.
United Lodge of Friendship, Cawnpore, June 13, 1821.
Humanity with Courage, Prince of Wales' Island, July, 1822.
Amity, St. John's, Poona (Deccan), January 30, 1824.
Kilwinning in the West, Nusseerabed, October 20, 1824.
Larkins' Lodge of Union and Brotherly Love, Dinapore, October 20, 1824,
Independence with Philanthropy, Allahabad, October 26, 1825.
South-Eastern Star of Light and Victory, Arracan, October 26, 1825.
Tuscan, Malacca, October 26, 1825.
Royal George, Bombay, December 9, 1825.
Union and Perseverance, Agra, October 23, 1826.
Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, December 23, 1826.

"Out of these eighteen Lodges, however, only seven—Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, and 18 above—secured a footing on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, and it is not a little curious that of the two now alone surviving, Courage with Humanity (1814), and Independence with Philanthropy (1825), which were placed on the general list in the same year (1828) in juxtaposition, the latter bears the earlier number, and has the higher precedence!"

The Duke of Sussex empowered Earl Moira, whose sway extended over India, to appoint Provincial Grand Masters, as if appointed by himself.

Acting Prov. G. M. Seton, leaving India in 1817, the Governor-General, Marquis of Hastings, selected Hon. C. Stuart to succeed him, but he does not appear to have qualified. So Hon. C. R. Lindsay was appointed by Marquis of Hastings, Prov. G. M. January 17, 1818, and by the Deputy G. M. of India January 13, 1819.

November 30, 1818, request was made to the Grand Master of India by eight persons for permission to meet as a lodge at St. Andrew, to make the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone a Mason and also to install him, when made, as deacon. No record of any reply has been kept.

John Pascal Larkins succeeded Lindsay as D. G. M. of India and Prov. G. M. of Bengal December 24, 1819. He returned to Europe in 1826, and until 1840 the Craft in Bengal was ruled by a Deputy in Calcutta. From this resulted the overthrow of all order and constitutional authority.

"The Lodges in Bengal made their returns regularly, and forwarded their dues punctually, to the Prov. Grand Lodge; but as no steps were taken for the transmission of these returns and dues to their destination, the Grand Lodge of England ceased to notice or regard the tributary Lodges of Bengal. On the submission of a motion for inquiry—March 22, 1828—the Deputy Prov. G. M. 'felt himself constrained to resign his chair on the spot, and the Grand Wardens also tendered their resignations.'

"This led, at the instance of Lodge Aurora, to the formation of a representative body, styled the Lodge of Delegates, who were charged with the duty of preparing a memorial to the Grand Lodge of England, which, bearing date August 22, 1828, was sent to the Duke of Sussex, signed by the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges: True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, Aurora, Courage with Humanity, and Kilwinning in the East.

"To this no reply was vouchsafed. The letters of the Lodges in Bengal remained unanswered, and their requests unheeded. The usual certificates for brethren made in the country were withheld, notwithstanding that the established dues were regularly remitted; and applications for warrants were also unnoticed, though they were

accompanied by the proper fees. This state of affairs continued until 1834, when the question of separation from the Grand Lodge of England was gravely and formally mooted in the Lodges. Overtures for a reconciliation at length came in the shape of certificates for brethren who had by this time grown gray in Masonry. Answers to letters written long ago were also received; but the most important concession made by the Grand Lodge of England was the constitution of the first District Grand Lodge of Bengal—under Dr. John Grant—which held its first meeting, February 28, 1840."

"In 1834 some Masons at Delhi applied to their brethren at Meerut for an acting constitution of this kind, which might serve their purpose until the receipt of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. At the latter station there were two Lodges, one of which, however, was itself working under dispensation, and could not therefore dispense grace to another. The other belonged to the 26th Foot, No. 26, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This Lodge declined giving a dispensation, for the somewhat Irish reason that the Cameronian Lodge had already granted one to another Lodge, of the propriety of which act they had great doubt; and that until an answer had been received from Ireland they could not commit a second act of doubtful legality! The custom, however, was a very old one. In 1759, Lodge No. 74, I. R., in the 1st Foot (2d Batt), granted an exact copy of its warrant—dated October 26, 1737—to some brethren at Albany, to work under until they received a separate charter from Ireland. This was changed—February 21, 1765—for a warrant from George Harrison, English Prov. G. M. of New York; and the Lodge—Mount Vernon—is now No. 3 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of that State."[1]

In the British Army the Grand Lodge of Ireland has been the favorite of Grand Bodies, and yet only one stationary lodge has been erected in India under its jurisdiction. This was in 1837 at Kurnaul, but it seems to have lived only one year. At Bombay, in 1862, an attempt was made to organize another lodge. But the attempt failed, as the Grand Lodge of Ireland refused a warrant on the ground that there were already two jurisdictions in India, the English and Scotch.

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[1] Cf., Barker, "Early Hist. of the Grand Lodge of New York," preface, p. xviii.

"In the decennial periods 1840-50 and 1850-60 there were in each instance 12 additions to the roll. In 1860-70 the new Lodges amounted to 19, and in 1870-85 to 38. These figures are confined to the English Lodges, but extend over the area now occupied in part by the District Grand Lodges of Burmah and the Punjaub, both of which were carved out of the territory previously comprised within the Province of Bengal in 1868. The following statistics show the number of Lodges existing—January 1, 1886—in the various states and districts which until 1868 were subject to the Masonic government of Bengal: under the Grand Lodge of England—Bengal (D. G. L.), 39; British Burmah (D. G. L.), 7; and Punjaub (D. G. L.), 24. Under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 11 —the earliest of which, St. David (originally Kilwinning) in the East, No. 371, Calcutta, was constituted February 5, 1849.

"The Dutch Lodges in Hindustan have passed out of existence, but with regard to these, and also to certain other Lodges established by the Grand Lodge of Holland in various places beyond the seas, the materials for an exhaustive list are not available to the historian."

Madras.

At this place in 1752 was established the earliest lodge in Southern India. In 1765 three others were formed at the same station. Captain Edmund Pascal was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Madras and its Dependencies, about 1756. In the following year a fifth lodge was erected at Fort St. George. The other English settlements in India were dominated by this presidency for a short period, and the Carnatic figures largely in Indian Masonic history during the latter half of the 18th century owing to the continuous wars with the French, and afterward with Hyder Ali and his son.

"In 1768 a lodge—No. 152—was established by the Atholl (or Ancient) Grand Lodge of England at Fort St. George; and in 1773 one by the Grand Lodge of Holland at Negapatam. The next event of importance was the initiation, in 1776, of Umdat-ul-Umara, eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot, at Trichinopoly, who in his reply to the congratulations of the Grand Lodge of England, stated 'he considered the title of an English Mason as one of the most honorable he possessed.' "

A Provincial Grand Lodge under the Atholl sanction was established at Fort St. George in 1781, "but the dissensions in the settlements had so rent asunder every link of social life, that even the fraternal bond of Masonry has been annihilated in the general wreck."

Under Brigadier-General Horn, "Prov. G. M. for the Coast of Coromandel, the Presidency of Madras and parts adjacent," the union of the Brethren in Southern India was effected.

All the older lodges at this time seem to have been extinct; but there was established at Arcot in 1786 the C. M. L. The following year Lodge No. 152 tendered its allegiance to General Horn and joined one of the lodges under that officer.

Of these, four were added to the roll in 1787. Nos. 510-513—Perfect Harmony, St. Thomas Mount; Social Friendship, Madras; Trichinopoly; and Social Friendship, St. Thomas Mount—and styled Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Coast of Coromandel. Two other lodges were also established in the same year, the Stewards and Perfect Unanimity, which, according to the loose practice of those days, were given the places on the list of the two earliest Madras lodges, and became (in 1790) Nos. 102 and 233 respectively.

A lodge of happy nomenclature—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was constituted at Pondicherry in 1786 by the Grand Orient of France, and a second—Les Navigateurs Reunis—1790.

In the latter year—July 5th—John Charnier received a similar patent, as Prov. G. M., to that previously held by General Horn, and was succeeded by Terence Gahagan, 1806, and Herbert Compton, 1812. During this period four lodges were added to the roll—Solid Friendship, Trichinopoly, 1790; Unity, Peace and Concord, 1798; St. Andrew's Union, 19th Foot, 1802; and Philanthropists, in the Scotch Brigade (94th Foot), 1802, at Madras. These lodges were numbered 572, 574, 590, and 591 on the general, and 7, 9, 10, and 11 (Coast of Coromandel) on the local, lists respectively.

After the union the Province was ruled by Dr. Richard Jebb, 1814; George Lys, 1820; and in 1825 by Compton once more. The name of this worthy only disappears from the *Freemasons Calendar* in 1842, and with it the provincial title, "Coast of Coromandel"—exchanged for "Madras," over which Lord Elphinstone had been appointed Prov. G. M. in 1840.

Within this period—1814-42—numerous Lodges were war-

ranted locally, as in Bengal; but thirteen only—of which seven were in Madras itself—secured places on the London Register.

Eighteen English lodges have since been established in the Presidency, and there are at present in existence twenty lodges on the register of England and two on that of Scotland—both erected in 1875—but the introduction of Scottish lodges into India will be referred to in the ensuing section.

The French lodge of Pondicherry—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was revived (or a new one established under the old title) in 1821. Another—L'Union Indienne—was erected at the same station in 1851. At the present date, however, there exist throughout India and its dependencies no other lodges than those under the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively.

Bombay.

During the 18th century there were established in this Presidency a lodge at Bombay in 1758, and one at Surat in 1798, which were carried on in the lists until 1813, but disappear at the union. Jas. Todd was appointed in 1763 Provincial Grand Master, and his name only drops out of the *Freemasons Calendar* in 1799. The 78th foot, a regiment under Sir Arthur Wellesley in Mahratta war, and which took part in the decisive victory of Assaye, received an Atholl Warrant in 1801. A lodge at Poona was established in 1818. No more were established in the Presidency until 1822, when the Benevolent Lodge, Bombay, was placed on the lists. In the Bombay Artillery in 1823 there was "installed" at Poona a military lodge as No. 15—Orion in the West—Coast of Coromandel, November 15th. The Proceedings of this lodge show that members "were examined in the Third Degree T. D. and passed into the chair of the Fourth Degree"—paying a fee of three gold mohurs.

"Among the Masons about this time in Bombay were thirteen non-commissioned officers who were too poor to establish a lodge of their own, and too modest to seek admittance in what was considered an aristocratic lodge. They met, however, monthly in the guard-room over the Apollo Gate, for mutual instruction in Masonry. This coming to the knowledge of the Benevolent Lodge, the thirteen were elected honorary members of No. 746, for which

they returned heartfelt thanks. At their first attendance, when the lodge work was over, and the Brethren adjourned to the banquet, the thirteen were informed that refreshments awaited them downstairs. Revolting at the distinction thus made among Masons, they one and all left the place. The next morning they were sent for by their commanding officer, who was also one of the officers of the lodge, and asked to explain their conduct. One of the party—Mr. W. Willis (by whom this anecdote was first related to me)—told him that as Masons they were bound to meet on the level and part on the square, but as this fundamental principle was not practiced in No. 746, of which they had been elected honorary members, they could not partake of their hospitality. The astonished Colonel ottered not a word, but waived his hand for them to retire. Ever after this, the Benevolent Lodge—including the thirteen—met on the level, both in lodge and at the banquet-table."[1]

Burnes, in 1836, may be best described, in ecclesiastical phrase, as a Prov. G. M. "*in partibus infidelium*" for whatever lodges then existed throughout the length and breadth of India were strangers to Scottish Masonry. But the times were propitious. There was no English Provincial Grand Lodge of Bombay; and under the Chevalier Burnes, who had been bountifully endowed by nature with the qualities requisite for Masonic administration. "Scottish Masonry presented such attractions, that the strange sight was witnessed of English Masons deserting their Mother Lodges to such an extent that these fell into abeyance, in order that they might give their support to lodges newly constituted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In one case, indeed, a lodge—Perseverance—under England went over bodily to the enemy, with its name, jewels, furniture, and belongings, and the charge was accepted by Scotland."

"From this period, therefore, Scottish Masonry flourished, and English Masonry declined, the latter finally becoming quite dormant until the year 1848, when a lodge, St. George, No. 807 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, was again formed at Bombay, and for some years was the solitary representative of English Masonry in the Province."[2]

Rising Star, No. 413, was established by Burnes at Bombay, for the admission of natives—a beautiful medal, cut by Wyon, was

[1] Gould's "Hist.," vol. vi., p. 354, note 2.

[2] Ibid., vol. vi., p. 335.

struck in consequence—No. 414, St. Andrew in the East, at Poona was formed by him. Nos. 421, Hope, Kurrachee, and 422, Perseverance, Bombay, 1847, followed.

In 1824 there was established at Poona a second lodge which, however, has passed out of existence and left no trace thereof. The civilian element of the military lodge at Poona, No. 15, seceded in 1825 and, also at Poona, formed a lodge, 802, the Lodge of Hope. At this point Lodge 15, unrecognized at home, aided in the secession of some of its members who obtained a Warrant, on the recommendation of the parent lodge, from the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1828, Perseverance, No. 818, was erected at Bombay. No notification of the existence of Orion in the west had been received by the Grand Lodge of England, nor had any fees been paid, though regularly paid to the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Coast of Coromandel, though this was not ascertained until 1830. Also it was ascertained that the Prov. G. M. of the Coast of Coromandel had gone beyond his powers in permitting the erection of a lodge at Bombay, though ultimately there was granted from England July 19, 1833, a new Warrant, No. 598.

As yet there had been no invasion of the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England; but the Grand Lodge of Scotland, in 1836, appointed Dr. Jas. Burnes Prov. G. M. of Western India and its Dependencies. But not until January 1, 1838, was a Prov. Grand Lodge formed. Subsequently there was erected in Eastern India a second Scottish Province. This was absorbed within the jurisdiction of Dr. Burnes on the retirement of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who became Prov. G. M. for all India, in 1846, with the proviso, however, that any future subdivision of the Presidencies was not to be restrained by this appointment.

After this, in Bengal, Scottish lodges were established—Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, 1849; and in Arabia Felix, Aden, 1850. At the beginning of 1886, from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, there had been received charters by nineteen lodges under Bombay, eleven under Bengal, two under Madras, and one in Afghanistan—thirty-three lodges in all

In 1849, Burnes, leaving India, was succeeded in Western India only by a Prov. G. M. However, Captain Henry Morland became Prov. G. M. of Hindustan in 1874, and subsequently became Grand Master of All Scottish Freemasonry in India.

Of the lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, St. George, erected in 1848, was the only representative of its class for ten years. However, "Concord" and "Union" were established at Bombay and Currachee respectively, in 1858. From its dormancy, "Orion in the West" aroused a year later. A Provincial Grand Lodge was established in 1861, and other subordinate lodges were subsequently chartered.

At first Freemasonry did not take any real root among the native population of India.

"Umdat-ul-Umara, son of the Nabob of Arcot, was admitted a member of the Society, in 1776. The princess Keyralla Khan (of the Mysore family) and Shadad Khan (ex-Ameer of Scinde) joined, or were made Masons in, the lodge of "True Friendship" in 1842 and 1850 respectively; and in 1861 the Maharajahs Duleep and Kundeer Sing were initiated in lodges "Star of the East" and "Hope and Perseverance"—the last-named personage at Lahore, and the other three in Calcutta.

A By-law of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, forbidding the entry of Asiatics without the permission of the P. G. M., was in force until May 12, 1871; and there was at least a popular belief in existence so late as 1860, that Hindus were ineligible for initiation.

The Parsees of Western India were the first of the native races who evinced any real interest in the institution, and are to be congratulated on the recent election (1886) of one of their number—Mr. Cama—to the high position of Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1876 a Scottish lodge, No. 587, "Islam"—presumably for the association of Mohammedans—was erected at Bombay. The extent to which Freemasonry is now practiced by the Hindus—who form $73^1/_2$ per cent. of the total population of India—I am unable to determine. The first of this class of religionists to fill the chair of a lodge was Mr. Dutt, whose election in 1874 may not have been without influence in the diffusion of Masonic light.

The Indian Freemasons' friend, a publication of rare merit, was set on foot at Calcutta in 1855, but was short-lived. A new or second series was commenced in May, 1861, and lasted to the end of 1867. In Bombay, the Masonic Record of Western India enjoys an extensive circulation, and is very ably conducted.

East India Islands.

Ceylon.—This, for convenience, is grouped under the heading "East India" and in these islands the Grand Lodge of Orient established Masonry. In 1771 Fidelity was erected at Colombo; in 1773 Sincerity at Point de Galle; in 1794 Union, another at Colombo. When the British possessed themselves of the Dutch settlements on the Island, it was annexed to the Presidency of Madras, but in 1801 was formed into a separate crown colony. The Grand Lodge of Scotland granted a Charter February 9, 1801, to the 51st Regiment, stationed at Colombo, for the Orient Lodge. There were also formed on the islands two other lodges under Atholl (or Ancient). In 1810 Sir Alexander Johnston was appointed Prov. G. M. by the Grand Lodge of England, though his name disappears from the lists before 1838. However, greater activity was displayed under other jurisdictions. At Colombo, in 1821, an Irish lodge was erected, and in 1822, a French one under the G. O. In 1832 there was revived the latter, or there was formed a new lodge of the same name.

Sumatra.

There was established at Bencoolen, in 1765, an English lodge, and in 1772 and 1796, at Fort Marlborough, two others. Until 1813 these appeared in the lists, but the "Marlboro," which ultimately became No. 242, was carried forward at the union but was erased March 5, 1862, having omitted to make any returns for several years. Under John Macdonald, in 1793, Sumatra was erected into an English Province, and he was succeeded by H. R. Lewis, as Prov. G. M., December 10, 1821, but continued to hold office until his death in 1877, there having been in existence at the date of his original appointment one lodge, and none at all for fifteen years preceding his decease.

Java.

The Grand Lodge of Holland constituted a lodge—Star in the East—into this island in 1769. There are no precise records, but it is known that others sprung up in the Capitol and larger towns. In 1771 there was erected at Batavia a second lodge, and at Samarang in 1801, and at Sourabaya, 1809, charters were granted. In 1886 there were eight lodges in Java.

Celebes.

There was erected at Macassar, in 1883, under the Grand Lodge of Holland, one lodge—Arbeid Adelt.

Borneo.

An English lodge—Elopura—was established in North Borneo, in 1885, at the station of the same name.

The Philippines.

In 1886 there were four lodges in existence in these islands, one under the National Grand Orient, and three under the Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter form a Province, and are subject to a Provincial Superintendent.

Persia.

"Thory informs us that Asked-Khan, ambassador of the Shah at Paris, and who was himself admitted into Masonry in that city—November 24, 1808—took counsel with his French Brethren respecting the foundation of a lodge at Ispahan. Whether this project was ever carried into effect it is impossible to say, but two years later we find another Persian—also an ambassador—figuring in Masonic history. On June 15, 1810, "His Excellency Mirza Abul Hassan Khan" was granted the rank of Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England. This personage—the Minister accredited from the Court of Persia to that of Great Britain—in addition to having been a great traveler both in Hindustan and Arabia, had also performed his devotions at Mecca. In the course of his journey from Teheran he passed through Georgia, Armenia, and Antolia. At Constantinople he embarked in a British man-of-war, and reached England in December, 1809.

"Sir Gore Ousely, Bart., who was selected to attend upon the Mirza 'as Mehmander—an officer of distinction, whose duty it is to receive and entertain foreign princes and other illustrious personages'—in the following year (1810) received the appointment of ambassador to the Shah of Persia, and was also granted an English patent as Provincial G. M. for that country. No lodges, however, were established in Persia at any time by the Grand Lodge of Eng-

land, nor—so far as the evidence extends—by any other external authority. The Mirza Abul Hassan Khan was made a Mason by Lord Moira in 1810. The extent of his services to the Craft we must leave undecided; but it was stated somewhat recently in the Masonic journals, on the authority of a Persian military officer then pursuing his studies in Berlin, that nearly all the members of the Court of Teheran are Brethren of our Society."

The Straits Settlements.

The Duke of Atholl established Neptune Lodge, No. 344, at Penang (or Prince of Wales Island) by Warrant September 6, 1809, which became extinct in 1819. Three years subsequently a military lodge—Humanity with Courage—was warranted from Bengal. This body, however, having become irregular by the initiation of civilians, the Duke of Sussex renewed the Charter of the Atholl Lodge, which, having flourished for a time, eventually fell into decay, and was erased, together with another lodge "Neptune " also at Penang—erected in 1850—No. 846 on the English roll, March 5, 1862. The only lodge now existing in this settlement is No. 1555, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1875.

In Malacca, a lodge was formed under the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal in 1825, which never secured a place on the general list. In Singapore, English lodges were established in 1845, 1858, and 1867, named Zetland in the East, Fidelity, and St. George, Nos. 748, 1042, and 1152 respectively. Of these the first and last survive, and, together with the lodge at Penang, compose the province of the Eastern Archipelago, of which Mr. W. H. Read was appointed the first Prov. G. M. in 1858.

Cochin- China.

In this French dependency, a lodge—Le Reveil de l'Orient—was established by Warrant of the Grand Orient of France, October 22, 1808.

China.

During the last century two lodges of foreign origin were constituted in the Celestial Empire—the lodge of "Amity," No. 407, under an English, and "Elizabeth" under a Swedish, Warrant. The

former was erected in 1767, the latter in 1788; and in each case the place of assembly was Canton. The English lodge was not carried forward at the union (1813), and "Elizabeth," as we are informed by the Grand Secretary of Sweden, came to an end in 1812.

The next lodge erected on Chinese soil was the Royal Sussex, No. 735, at Canton, for which a Warrant was granted by the United G. L. of England in 1844. A second Zetland, No. 768—was established at Hong-Kong under the same sanction, in 1846; and a third—Northern Lodge of China—at Shanghai, in 1849. No further increase of Lodges took place until 1864, in which year two were added to the English roll, at Hong-Kong and Shanghai respectively; and one each at the latter port under the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Massachusetts. The progress of the craft in the "Middle Kingdom" has since been marked, but uneventful, though as yet Freemasonry has failed to diffuse its light beyond the British Colony of Hong-Kong, and the various ports of the mainland opened up by treaty to the merchants of foreign powers. Mr. Samuel Rawson was appointed by Lord Zetland Prov. G. M. for China in 1847; and a second Province was carved out of the old one in 1877, by the appointment of Mr. Cornelius Thorne as District G. M. for Northern China.

In 1886 there were in existence at Victoria (Hong-Kong) and the Chinese treaty-ports thirteen English, one American, and four Scottish Lodges; and with a solitary exception—No. 1217, at Ningpo, formed in 1868, under the Grand Lodge of England, but now extinct—all the lodges erected in China or Hong-Kong since the revival of Masonry in the Far East (1844) were still active, and can therefore be traced in the calendars of current date by those desirous of further information respecting them.

Japan.

"English Lodges bearing the following numbers were erected at Yokohama—1092 and 1263—in 1866 and 1869; at Yedo (now extinct)—1344—in 1870; at Kobe—1401—in 1872; and at Tokio—2015—in 1883. These are subject to a Prov. G. M., who was appointed in 1873.

"There are also three lodges under the Grand Lodge of Scotland—Nos. 498, 640, and 710—at Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagasaki."

Cape Colony.

Prior to the acquisition of this colony by Great Britain, two Dutch lodges had been erected at Cape Town, in 1772 and 1802, respectively. While these survived, several other lodges under the same jurisdiction passed away without leaving any trace of their existence.

Afterward the Grand Lodge of England, established at the capital lodges in 1811 and 1812—the "British," No. 629 under the old sanction, in the former year; and the "Cape of Good Hope" Lodge under an Atholl Warrant in the Tenth Battalion of the Royal Artillery.

The first band of English settlers arrived in 1820, and in the following year a second stationary lodge, under the United Grand Lodge of England—Hope, No. 727—was erected at Cape Town, where, also, a lodge bearing the same name, under the G. O. of France, sprang up, November 10, 1824. A third English lodge, Albany, No. 817, was established at Grahamstown in 1828. "The Dutch lodges received the English Brethren with open arms, and with great satisfaction. When English Masonry had increased, and it was considered right to form a Provincial Grand Lodge, the Brother selected for the office of Prov. G. M. was the Deputy G. M. of the Netherlands, who continued till his death to hold the two appointments." This must have been Sir John Truter, who received an English patent in 1829; for although an earlier Prov. G. M. under England, Richard Blake, had been appointed in 1801, the words quoted above will not apply to the latter. Between 1828 and 1850 there was no augmentation of the lodges; but in the latter year a revival set in, and during the decade immediately ensuing, 1851-60, six were warranted by the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1860, to the jurisdictions already existing (those of Holland and England), was added that of Scotland, under the Grand Lodge of which country a lodge, Southern Cross, No. 398, was erected at Cape Town. Shortly afterward, in a single year (1863), two Dutch lodges were established in Cape Colony, and one at Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State. This period coincides with the appointment, after an interregnum, of the Hon. Richard Southy as Prov. G. M. under the G. L. of England; and it will be convenient if I here proceed to describe *seriatim* the progress of Masonry under

the three competing jurisdictions. Commencing with that of England between the date to which the statistics were last given (1860) down to the close of 1885, sixty-two lodges were added to the roll. The number at present existing in South Africa, as shown by the official calendar of current date, is fifty-four, *viz.:* Eastern Division, twenty-four; Western Division, eight; Natal, eleven; and eleven not subject to any provincial authority, some of which were formerly under the District Grand Lodge of Griqualand (now abolished), and two, No. 1022, at Bloemfontein (Orange Free State), and 1747, at Pretoria (Transvaal), are situate in foreign territory. Within the same period (1860-85) twelve lodges have been established under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and now compose a Masonic District (or Province). The Dutch Masonic Calendar for 1886 shows twenty-four lodges as existing in South Africa. Of these, as already related, two were erected before 1803, and three in 1863. The latest on the present list dates from 1884. These lodges are distributed throughout the British possessions, and the different Boer Republics, as follows, *viz.:* In British South Africa, sixteen; in the Orange Free State, four; and in the Transvaal, four; and at the head of all is a Deputy National G. M., Mr. J. H. Hofmeisr, at Cape Town.

Between the English and Dutch Masons at the Cape, there have always been the most friendly relations. In 1863 the D. G. L. under England was re-erected, and there assisted at its re-inauguration the Deputy G M. under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. And the Dutch Fraternity placed their Masonic Hall at the disposal of the English Brethren. For a long time it was the custom on St. John's Day for the English and Dutch Masons to assemble at different hours of the day so that the Brethren might be present at both meetings. On June 5, 1867, there was stated at a communication of the Grand Lodge of England that "recently an objection has been raised by some of the younger English Masons against the establishment of some new Lodges lately formed by the Dutch, on the ground that the Convention of 1770 prohibits their doing so, the Cape now being an English possession, and having been so since the early part of the present century. In this view, the District Grand Lodge does not seem to participate. That body is anxious that the amicable relations that have so long subsisted between the English and Dutch Masons should continue. ∴ ∴

After setting the foregoing facts before the Grand Lodge, the Grand Registrar expressed an opinion that whatever might have been the intention of the Convention of 1770, it had not been acted on in the Cape Colony, but that the G. M. of England, by appointing the Deputy G. M. of the Netherlands to be his Prov. G M. over English Lodges, virtually recognized the Dutch Lodges. It must be taken for granted that both the contracting parties have tacitly consented that it should not apply to the Cape. He was of opinion that as both parties seem to have considered that the Cape was neutral ground, and the existence of two Grand Lodges having been allowed to continue side by side, it would be for the benefit of the Brethren in that Colony, that as they have gone on working as friends and brothers, they should continue to do so." A resolution embodying the foregoing was then put and unanimously adopted.

CHAPTER V

AUSTRALASIA

New South Wales.

THE Lodge of Social and Military Virtues—No. 227 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland—attached to the 46th Foot in 1752, after undergoing many vicissitudes, was at work in the same regiment at Sydney in 1816. This paved the way for the establishment of stationary lodges, and Irish warrants were issued to Nos. 260, Australian Social, in 1820, and 266, Leinster, in 1824. The third (strictly colonial) lodge, No. 820, Australia, was erected by the Grand Lodge of England in 1828. The last named, as well as the Irish lodges, met at Sydney, the capital. The first established in any other part of the Colony was No. 668, St. John, constituted at Paramatta in 1838, and the second, No. 697, the Lodge of Australia Felix, at Melbourne—then included in the government of New South Wales—1841. An Irish lodge—No. 275—was erected at Windsor in 1843, and in the same year, No. 408, Australasian Kilwinning, at Melbourne, received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

During the two decennial periods ensuing, there were issued in the Colony twenty-one English, eight Scottish, and two Irish lodges. Between 1864-85 there were added forty-seven English, forty-one Scottish, and four Irish lodges. Up to 1886 there were seventy-four English, one Irish, and fifty Scottish active lodges. In 1839 an English Provincial Grand Master was appointed, and one for the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1855, and that of Ireland in 1858.

"While the question of separation from the Mother Grand Lodges was first formerly mooted in Victoria, still for some years, at least, there had existed in Sydney a body styling itself 'the Grand Lodge of New South Wales,' formed from the great

majority of a regular lodge—St. Andrew's. It affected to make, pass, and raise Masons, grant charters, and issue certificates.'

"On December 3d, 1877, the representatives of twelve or (at most) thirteen Scottish and Irish lodges met at Sydney, and established another Grand Lodge of New South Wales, to which, however, the pre-existing body of the same name eventually made submission, and accepted an ordinary Lodge Warrant at its hands. At this time (1877) there were eighty-six regular Lodges in the Colony; English, forty-seven; Scottish, thirty; and Irish, nine. The thirteen lodges which thus assumed to control the dissenting majority of seventy-three, sheltered themselves under a perverted principle of Masonic law—applied to a wholly illusory state of facts. This was, that any three lodges in a territory 'Masonically unoccupied'—the three jurisdictions already existing being thus coolly and quietly ignored—could form themselves into a Grand Lodge, and that when so formed, the remaining lodges—averse to the movement—were they one hundred or one thousand in number, would be irregular!"

Mr. Jas. F. Farnell, appointed Prov. G. M. under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1869, was a leader in this movement. The flag of independence was first raised by the Irish lodges. While there were great disadvantages in having the Australian lodges working under warrants from distant Grand Lodges, still there were reasons not entirely sentimental, which raised an opposition to separation from the earlier existing Grand Lodges. Whenever matters are in proper condition for the erection of an Independent Grand Lodge, the matter will happily culminate, and a large majority of the lodges and brethren interested will unite therewith. Should, however, the movement be premature, the outcome of the agitation will largely depend upon the character and influence of the leaders, or what is the same thing, upon the extent of the following.

Mr. Farnell for twenty years was a member of the parliament of New South Wales, and was also Prime Minister, but does not seem to have had great influence as a Mason. The Irish Province of New South Wales had its affairs in great confusion when he was elected Grand Master. And not the smallest of the motives which weighed with his supporters—Scotch as well as Irish—seems to have been the disinclination to be taxed by (or remit fees to) the mother countries.

The new organization, at the close of 1885, had been recognized as the only regular governing Masonic body in the Colony of thirty-eight Grand Lodges, chiefly, however, American. There seems, indeed, in the United States a decided inclination to regard each uprising of the lodges in a British colony as a tribute to the efficacy of a certain doctrine which has been laid down by Dr. Mackey with regard to the formation of Grand Lodges. But those American jurisdictions which have lent a willing ear to the specious representations of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales are now running the gauntlet of intelligent criticism, and the several committees by whom they have been hoodwinked or misled, may read with profit some of the reports on correspondence in the larger States, notably, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, where the unaccountable delusion into which so many Grand Lodges have fallen is discussed with equal candor and ability. It is almost needless to say that a Grand Lodge thus constituted by a small minority of the lodges in New South Wales, has been refused recognition by the Grand Lodges of the British Islands.

Victoria.

The lodges of Australia Felix and of Australasia (now Nos. 474 and 530) were established at Melbourne by the Grand Lodge of England in 1841 and 1846 respectively. Scottish Masonry obtained a footing in the same city—with "Australasian Kilwinning"—in 1843; and an Irish lodge—Hiram, No. 349—was also chartered there in 1847. In the same year a third English, apparently the fifth Victorian, lodge—Unity and Prudence, No. 801—was constituted at Geelong. After this the Craft advanced in prosperity by leaps and bounds. Thirty-six English lodges were added to the list between 1847 and the close of 1862; twenty-eight during the ensuing thirteen years, and twenty within the decennial period commencing January 1, 1876. During corresponding intervals of time, the Irish warrants granted in the colony were respectively twelve, seven, and three; and the Scottish, three each in the first two periods, and two in the last.

The first Provincial G. M. of Victoria (or Australia Felix) was the Hon. J. E. Murray. The date of his appointment by the Grand Lodge of Scotland has not been recorded, but he was succeeded by

Mr. J. H. Ross, August 3, 1846. The present District G. M. is Sir W. J. Clarke, who received his Scottish patent in 1883 English and Irish Provinces were established in 1855 and 1856 respectively, and the following has been the succession of English Provincial (now District) Grand Masters: Captain (now Major-General Sir Andrew) Clarke, 1855; Captain F. C. Standish, 1861; and Sir W. J. Clarke, 1883. The rulers of the Irish Province have been Mr. J. T. Smith, 1856-79; and from 1880, Sir W. J. Clarke.

The lodges now at work under the three jurisdictions, all of which, however, are in a manner united under a single Provincial G. M., are: English, ninety-one; Irish, seventeen; and Scottish, twelve (including one in Levuka, Fiji).

The idea of forming an independent Grand Lodge of Victoria seems to have been first launched in 1863, and after encountering the opposition of the Earl of Zetland, was debated—March 2, 1864—in the Grand Lodge of England, by which body a resolution was passed declaring its "strong disapprobation"of the contemplated secession. It was observed in *priecient* terms by the late John Havers, that "every new Grand Lodge was the forerunner of new and conflicting degrees. It was a stone pulled away from the foundations of Masonry, and opened another door for inroads and innovations;" and he exhorted the Brethren in Victoria to "remember that union was strength, and universality one of the watchwords of Masonry."

In 1876 the agitation for a local Grand Lodge was renewed, but again slumbered until 1883, when the scheme was fairly carried into effect by an insignificant minority of the lodges.

In the latter year a meeting was held, and a Masonic Union of Victoria formed, April 27. At this time there were seventy English, fifteen Irish, and ten Scottish lodges in the colony—total, ninety-five. On June 19th certain delegates met, and the adhesion of eighteen lodges—twelve Irish, five Scottish, and one English, to the cause was announced. But the number has since been reduced by the subtraction of the English lodge and one other, which were erroneously named in the proceedings. By this invention it was resolved "that the date of founding the Grand Lodge of Victoria should be July 2, 1883." Thus we find sixteen lodges, with an estimated membership of about eight hundred and forty, calmly trans-

forming themselves into the governing body of a territory containing ninety-five lodges, and a membership of five thousand!

This organization has a following of about twenty subordinate lodges; and as the proceedings of some Grand Lodges baffle all reasonable conjecture, it will occasion no surprise to learn that by seventeen of these bodies the titular "Grand Lodge of Victoria" had been duly recognized at the close of 1885, as the supreme Masonic authority in this Australian colony. At the same date Mr. Coppin entered upon the second year of his Grand Mastership, having been installed—November 4th—in the presence of the Grand Masters of New South Wales and South Australia.

Meanwhile, however, the English, Irish, and Scottish lodges, which have remained true to their former allegiance, are united in a solid phalanx under a single Provincial (or District) G. M.—Sir W. J. Clarke; and should the day arrive when independence is constitutionally asserted by the century and more of lodges which obey this common chief, those bodies by whom the *soi-disant* Grand Lodge has been accorded recognition, will find themselves confronted by an interesting problem, not unlike that propounded with so much dramatic effect by the late Mr. Sothern in the rôle of Lord Dundreary, *viz.*, "Whether it is the dog that wags its tail, or the tail that wags the dog?"

South Australia.

The South Australian Lodge of Friendship, Adelaide, No. 613 (and later, No. 423), on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, was constituted at the British metropolis in 1834. The founders were all in London at the time, and two persons—afterward Sir John Morphett, President of the Legislative Council, and Sir D. R. Hansen, Chief Justice of the colony, were initiated. A second English lodge was established at Adelaide in 1844, and in the same year, also at the capital, a Scottish one.

In 1855 the first Irish Charter was received in the colony, and in 1883 the total number of lodges formed in South Australia was as follows: English, twenty active, one extinct; Irish, seven active, three extinct; and Scottish, six, all active.

The initiative in forming a Province was taken by Scotland in 1846, a step followed by England in 1848, and Ireland in 1860.

In 1883 there were premonitory symptoms that the lamentable

examples set by a minority of the lodges in the adjacent colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, in usurping the authority and honor which should belong to the majority, would be followed in South Australia. The imminence of this danger induced Mr. H. M. Addison to form a Masonic Union, whose labors resulted—April 16, 1884—in a convention of eighty-five delegates, representing twenty-eight lodges, by whom the Grand Lodge of South Australia was established. The proceedings of the executive committee of the Masonic Union, which were characterized throughout by the most scrupulous regularity, were crowned by an unprecedented unanimity of feeling on the part of the lodges. A resolution in favor of independence was carried *nem. con.* in eighteen English, four Irish, and six Scottish lodges, and with a single dissentient in one English, and with two dissentients in one Irish, lodge; while in the sole remaining lodge under England, and in the "Mostyn" under Ireland, a majority of the members joined the Union. Thus, in effect, out of a grand total of thirty-three lodges under the three British jurisdictions, only a single lodge—No. 363—Duke of Leinster (1.), has adhered to its former allegiance. The new Grand Lodge (besides the usual indiscriminate recognition of American Grand Bodies) has been admitted to fraternal relations with the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The privilege, however, accorded by the last named in August, 1885, was cancelled in the November following; a proceeding, there is every reason to believe, arising out of the inconsistent action of the colonial Grand Lodge in recognizing the authority of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales—the irregular establishment of which, it was declared by Mr. Addison, at the formation of the Masonic Union in Adelaide, July 30, 1883, would, if initiated, "bring Masonry in South Australia into disrepute throughout the world."

The Hon. S. J. Way, Chief Justice of the Colony, and Mr. J. H. Cunningham, formerly District Grand Secretary (E.), have been Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively, since the foundation of the Grand Lodge. The subordinate lodges are thirty-six in number, with a total membership of two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven.

Queensland.

The North Australian Lodge was established at Brisbane by the Grand Lodge of England in 1859, and two others under Irish and Scottish warrants respectively, were constituted at the same town in 1864.

Each jurisdiction is represented by a Provincial (or District) G. M., and the number of lodges is as follows: English, twenty-six active, two extinct; Irish, eleven active, three extinct; and Scottish, twelve, all active.

West Australia.

Eight lodges in all have been formed in this colony, the first of which—St. John, No. 712—was erected at Perth in 1842. Seven of these survive, and being included in no Province, report direct to the Grand Lodge of England, which in this solitary instance has not suffered from the exercise of concurrent jurisdiction by other Grand Bodies.

Tasmania.

Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland were established at Hobart Town in 1823, 1829, 1833, and 1834, but the three earliest of the series are now extinct. A fourth lodge under the same sanction was constituted at Launceston in 1843, and it was not until 1846 that English Masonry obtained a footing on the island. In that year Tasmanian Union, No. 781, was formed at Hobart Town, and a second English lodge—Hope—sprang up (in the first instance under a dispensation from Sydney) in 1852. In the following year the Rev. R. K. Ewing became the Master of the latter, and in 1856 the lodges of Faith and Charity were carved out of it—Mr. Ewing then becoming, on their joint petition, Prov. G. M. The other English lodge—Tasmanian Union—objecting to these proceedings, as having been carried on clandestinely, was suspended by the Prov. G. M., and remained closed for nine months. The strife thus engendered nearly put an end to English Masonry in Launceston. Lodge faith became dormant, Charity was voluntarily wound up, and even in Hope the light almost went out. Soon, however, there was a revival, and in 1876 the Grand Lodge of Scotland also began to charter lodges on the island, where there are

now four in existence under its jurisdiction. These are included in the Province of New South Wales. The Grand Lodges of England and Ireland have each a roll of seven lodges on the island, one under the former body, and four under the latter, having surrendered their charters. The English Prov. Grand Lodge died a natural death on the removal of Mr. Ewing to Victoria, but a new one was established under Mr. W. S. Hammond in 1875. The Irish lodges were constituted into a Province in 1884.

New Zealand.

The first lodge in the Colony—Française Primitive Antipodienne—was founded at Akaroa by the Supreme Council of France, August 29, 1843; the second—Ara—at Auckland, by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1844; and the third—New Zealand Pacific—by the Grand Lodge of England in 1845. No further charters were issued until 1852, when English lodges were established in Lyttelton, and Christchurch, whilst others sprang up at New Plymouth and Auckland in 1856, at Wanganui in 1857, and at Nelson and Kaiapoi in 1858. In the latter year an Irish lodge (the second in the Colony) was formed at Napier, and in 1860 an English one at Dunedin—where also the first Scottish lodge was erected in 1861. After this the diffusion of Masonry throughout New Zealand became so general, that I must content myself with giving the barest statistics, which, for convenience sake, will be classified so as to harmonize as far as possible with the Provincial systems of the three competing jurisdictions. Between 1860 and 1875 there were warranted in the Colony twenty-five English, eight Irish, and twenty-one Scottish lodges; while in the ten years ending January 1, 1886, the numbers were respectively forty-seven, seven, and thirty-two.

The lodges in New Zealand are usually classified according to the Masonic Provinces of which they form a part. Of the latter there are five English and three Scottish, of late years dominated Districts, in order to distinguish them from bodies of a like character in Great Britain; and one Irish, to which the more familiar title of Provincial Grand Lodge is still applied. These preliminaries it will be necessary to bear in mind, because the arrangement which seems to me the simplest and best, is to group the lodges according to their positions on the map, which in the present case will correspond very

closely with the territorial classification, or division into Districts, by the Grand Lodge of England.

North Island.

Auckland District.—The District (or Provincial) Grand Masters are Mr. G. S. Graham (E.), Sir F. Whitaker (S.), and Mr. G. P. Pierce (I.); whilst the number of lodges under the several jurisdictions is eighteen under the G. L. of England, and six each under those of Scotland and Ireland, that is, if taken according to locality, for all the Scottish lodges on the North Island are comprised within the Auckland District, and the whole of the Irish lodges in both islands within the Auckland Province.

Wellington District.—The only D. G. M. is Mr. C. J. Toxward (E.); and the number of lodges is respectively eighteen (E.), eight (S.), and four (I).

Middle, or South, Island.

Canterbury District.—The D. G. M.'s are Mr. Henry Thomson (E.) and the Rev. James Hill (S.), who rule over nineteen and nine lodges respectively. The seat of government is at Christchurch, where there is also an Irish lodge, the only one in the District.

Otago and Southland District.—Mr. T. S. Graham presides over one D. G L. (E), and Mr. G. W. Harvey over the other (S.). There are fourteen lodges in each District, *i.e.,* according to the local arrangement, for the Scottish D. G. L. (of which there are only two in the South Island) exercises authority beyond the territorial limits of Otago and Southland. The total number of lodges on its roll is twenty-one, and doubtless Otago has derived much of its importance as a Scottish Masonic center, from the fact of having been originally founded by an association connected with the Free Church of Scotland. At Dunedin and Invercargill there is in each case an Irish lodge.

Westland District.—The only D. G. M. is Mr. John Bevan (E.), who rules over six lodges; and there are three others (S.) which are comprised within the D. G. L. of Otago and Southland at Dunedin.

Marlborough and Nelson District.—These provinces of the Colony are exempt from any local Masonic jurisdiction, under the Grand Lodge of England, which is represented by five lodges. There is also a Scottish lodge (at Blenheim), which is subject to the D. G. L. of Otago and Southland.

Oceania.

Although the various islands and archipelagoes have been treated as far as possible in connection with the continents with which they are ordinarily associated, there are some few of these, lying as it were in mid-ocean, that must be separately dealt with, and their consideration will bring this chapter to a close.

New Caledonia.—This island was taken possession of by France in 1854, and has been used for some years as a penal settlement. At Noumea, the chief town and the seat of government, there are two lodges, L'Union Caledonienne, and No. 1864, Western Polynesia. The former was established by the Grand Orient of France in 1868, and the latter (which is included in the Masonic Province of New South Wales) by the Grand Lodge of England in 1880.

Fiji Islands.—The formation of a lodge—Polynesia—at Levuka, with the assent of the native king, was announced to the Masonic world in a circular dated March 12, 1872. The Islands were annexed to Britain in 1874, and on February 1, 1875, a Scottish Charter—No. 562—was granted to a lodge bearing the same name and meeting at the same place as the self-constituted body of 1872. This is comprised in the Masonic Province of Victoria. A second British lodge—No. 1931, Suva na Viti Levu—was established in the archipelago by the Grand Lodge of England in 1881.

Society Islands.—Masonry was introduced into Papeete, the chief town of Tahiti (or Otaheiti), the largest of the Society group, by the Grand Orient of France in 1834. A Chapter—L'Oceanie Française—was established in that year, and a lodge of the same name in 1842.

The labors of these bodies were intermittent, the latter having been galvanized into fresh life in 1850, and the former in 1857. Both lodge and chapter are now extinct.

Marquesas Islands.—A lodge, which has long since ceased to

exist—L' Amitie—was established at Nukahiva by the Grand Orient of France in 1850.

Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands.—In 1875 there were three lodges in this group, and more recent statistics show no increase in the number: Le Progrès de l'Oceanie, erected by Warrant of the Supreme Council of France in 1850; and the Hawaiian and Wailukee lodges, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of California. The last named is Maui; the others meet at Honolulu, the capital, where they occupy a hall in common. The earliest of the two American lodges (Hawaiian) was formed in 1852. These three lodges are composed of natives, Americans, Englishmen, and Germans, between whom the most friendly relations subsist. King Kalakaua was an active member of Le Progres de l'Oceanie, and also his brother, William Pitt Leleihoku, of the Hawaiian Lodge. The former, who has visited many foreign countries, also evinced the same interest in Masonry while on his travels. On January 7, 1874, he was entertained by lodge Columbian of Boston (U. S. A), and on May 22, 1881, by the National Grand Lodge of Egypt. By the latter body the king was elected an Honorary Grand Master, and afterward delivered a lengthy oration, in which he expressed his belief in Egypt being the cradle both of Operative and Speculative masonry, and thus may be said to have fully reciprocated the compliment which had been paid him by the meeting.

BROTHERLY LOVE, RELIEF AND TRUTH


S. E. WOODWARD ZEIGLER

SUPPLEMENT TO DR. MACKEY'S TEXT

BY W. BRO. WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN
P.S.G.D. of England; P.S.G.W. of Egypt, Iowa, etc.

DR. MACKEY and I had long been regular correspondents and fellow Masonic students, when his lamented decease ended our happy collaboration, which had been mutually helpful and stimulating.

My residence in England obtained for me numerous facilities for the examination of old and original MSS. concerning the Craft. Hence my esteemed friend was often glad to avail himself of my services accordingly, which he always warmly appreciated.

Since Dr. Mackey's regretted death in 1881, several important works have been published and valuable discoveries have been made of ancient records, which, as they concern and in part affect the preceding pages, require to be carefully considered and duly explained. Of these, mention may be made of Bro. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry;* the Transactions and Reprints of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge (London); Bro. E. Conder's *History of the Masons' Company* (London); my *Old Charges of the British Freemasons,* 2d Series, and others.

In loving memory of my dear friend, and in fulfilment of an offer of literary aid made some time ago, I have gone through his comprehensive history, and noted the corrections and additions needful to make it as complete and accurate to date as he would have liked it to be.

His support of what he terms the "Iconoclastic School" can not fail to help us throughout the United States; as we seek to be as constructive as possible, our own desire is that the legends should be kept distinct from authenticated facts, so that the Fraternity may possess a complete history, perfect in all its parts and worthy of

the Free and Accepted Masons throughout the world. His words on the subject at p. 8 are worth reproduction:

"To this school I have for years been strongly attached, and in the composition of this work I shall adopt its principles. I do not fear that the claims of Freemasonry to a time-honoured existence will be injured by any historical criticism, although the era in which it had its birth may not be admitted to be as remote as that assigned to it by Anderson or Oliver."

Book I.—The Old MSS., Etc.

Since the publication of my *Old Charges of British Freemasons,* in 1872, many copies of these manuscript constitutions have been traced, some of considerable value having been discovered during the last decade. There are now some threescore and ten rolls or books of these "Charges" in existence, the text of certain scrolls being of great importance. The dates of some of the older MSS. have also had to be revised, such as a few noted at p. 15. The date of the "Halliwell" or "Regius MS." has been placed a little later, by a few critics, and that of the "Cooke MS." has been put back to 1450 or earlier.

An unfortunate error was made by the Editor of the "Cooke MS." by reading the final word in the line "And in policronico a cronycle p'uyd," as printed, instead of preuyd or proved, as pointed out by Bro. G. W. Speth in his commentary on that noted little gem of a Book.

The "Harleian No. 2054" (British Museum) is not likely to have been written before 1660 (not 1625, p. 15), and a still older copy of its text was found in 1899, *viz.,* the "John T. Thorp MS." of A.D. 1629, which is probably the original of both it and the "Sloane" of 1646.

The "Grand Lodge MS. No. 1," erroneously placed by me at 1632 (pp. 15, 69, etc.), is really of 1583, and the numbers of the two York MSS. 2 and 4 should be reversed, the first mentioned being the junior. These points are all detailed in my second volume on the "Old Charges" (of 1895), and in subsequent additions to 1899.

Since Dr. Mackey wrote his history, additional information has been obtained relative to the "Four Crowned Martyrs" referred to in the "Halliwell MS." and elsewhere, which has considerably

modified the statements thereon at pp. 16, 27, 34, etc. The legend, so far from being of German origin, is mentioned in England many centuries before there is historic proof of its having acquired currency in Germany. On this subject Bro. Gould's history should be consulted, both in relation to the Steinmetzen and the Masonic MSS. of Great Britain. The fact of the legend having been known in England for so many centuries led the late Bro. the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford to suggest that our Students' Lodge No. 2076, London, should be called the "Quatuor Coronati," and, though rather a singular title for such an organization, we agreed thereto.

The curious name of "Noæchidæ" for Masons, referred to at p. 60, may be traced back to Dr. Anderson's *Book of Constitutions,* 1738. It was, however, dropped in later editions, but continued by Laurence Dermott in his *Ahiman Rezon,* which was a pity, the term being so absurd.

The St. Amphibalus legend is not peculiar to the "Cooke" text as the "William Watson" Roll of 1687, first noted in 1890, contains a reference to that ancient celebrity, and I believe that the "Henery Heade" MS. of 1675, in the Library of the Temple, London, also does; but its recent discovery has not allowed time enough for its complete transcription.

There are several MSS. that call Edwin the King's brother, instead of son, as in most MSS. (p. 103), but they are not of much value or antiquity, and belong to the "Spencer" family as respects the text. Dr. Anderson probably had a copy of the "Spencer" or "Cole MS." before him in 1738, as it was printed in 1729.

As to Prince Edwin having been made a Mason at Windsor (p. 98), one or two lately discovered Scrolls contain the same statement as the "Lansdowne" and "Antiquity MSS.," but evidently it was but a local tradition.

Dr. Mackey observes (p. 163) that the reason "why the Temple of Solomon was exclusively selected by the Modern Masons as the incunabulum of their Order can be only conjecturally accounted for." That is so, but on the other hand the extraordinary popularity of works on the Temple of Solomon, and the numerous models made and exhibited, in the latter part of the 17th century, and early in the 18th century, may have led to its incorporation in the Masonic Ritual during the Revival period, 1717-23. It cannot be said that the "Old Charges" make a prominent feature of that great

historic building, and neither are the Biblical worthies familiar to the modern Freemasons conspicuous figures in the ancient MSS. of the Fraternity. The Transactions of the "Quatuor Coronati" Lodge for 1899 are worth a careful study on this point.

Early Records.

Of the most valuable entries concerning Freemasonry in the 17th century may be mentioned those by Elias Ashmole in his famous diary. It is to be regretted, however, that the two editions of the typographical reproduction of that MS. book (1717 and 1774) contain serious errors in the portion relating to his admission into the Craft, and his visitation of a lodge, in 1646 and 1682 respectively. Unfortunately, Dr. Mackey had not facsimiles of these entries, and hence his adoption of the faulty transcripts (pp. 322, 620-21, etc.).

The following may be relied on as being an exact copy of the two entries of A.D. 1682.

"March 1682.

10: About 5. p.m. I recd a sumons to appr. at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.

11. Accordingly I went, & about noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons,

Sr. William Wilson Knight, Capt. Rich: Boothwick, Mr. Will: Woodman, Mr. Wm. Grey, Mr. Samuell Taylour & Mr. William Wise.

I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 yeares since I was admitted) There were prsent beside myselfe the Fellowes after named.

Mr. Tho: Wise Mr. of the Masons Company this prsent yeare. Mr. Thomas Shorthose, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt, . . . Waindsford Esqr. Mr. Rich: Young Mr. John Shorthose, Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompson, & Mr. Will: Stanton.

Wee all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble Dinner prepaired at the charge of the New-accepted Masons."

On comparing the foregoing excerpt with the one printed at pp. 621-22 of the history, it will at once be seen that Ashmole was not reinitiated, or readmitted into the fellowship, A.D. 1682, by Sir William Wilson and others; but that Wilson and the others named were themselves "accepted," and subsequently paid for the dinner, which was served at the Half Moon Tavern, in Cheapside, according to custom.

That being so, the elaborate and most ingenious arguments in

explanation of the interpolated word "by" are wholly unnecessary, because due to a very faulty transcript. Neither can it be said that the lodge in which Ashmole was initiated in 1646 was of an operative character, because Bro. W. H. Rylands has demonstrated most fully that it was a speculative assembly. See his *Freemasonry in the 17th Century* ("Mas. Mag.," London, Dec, 1881). So far from the celebrated antiquary having been made an "Honorary Member," it is quite clear that he was admitted to the full privileges enjoyed by the Brethren who elected him.

A very valuable work which was originally published in 1730 (but no copy has been preserved), and a 2d edition was printed as an appendix to the *Book of Constitutions,* 1738, was not by James Anderson (p. 364) (as generally accepted until recent years), but by Bro. Martin Clare, F.R.S., who became D. G. M. in 1741. It was entitled *A Defence of Masonry, published A.D. 1730, Occasioned by a Pamphlet call'd Masonry Dissected.* In a paper on "The Old Lodge at Lincoln," by Bro. Wm. Dixon (Quatuor Coronatorum, 1891), information is afforded as to this Brother, and copies of minutes given in relation to his authorship of the *Defence.* So also in another paper of the same year read to the members of the "Quatuor C. Lodge," London, by Bro. R. F. Gould, the Masonic historian, on "Martin Clare, A.M. & F.R.S.," with facsimiles. One minute reads thus: Oct. 2, 1733. "When Brother Clare's Discourse concerning Pritchard, as also some of our Regulations and By Laws were read."

Book II—Masonic History.

It was impossible, as Dr. Mackey states at p. 598, "to obtain any continuous narrative of the transactions of the Masons' Company," but happily that condition is now altered by the publication of the *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons, with a Chronicle of the History of the Worshipful Company of Masons in the City of London,* by Bro. Edward Conder, Jr., Master of the Company, 1894.

In this important volume the records of the Company are interestingly described, and many are of a very remarkable character. It appears that there were two separate Masonic organizations meeting in the Masons' Hall. The one known as the Masons' Company

proper, and the other a Lodge, termed the "Acception." In the first named, the members were "admitted," but in the latter they were "accepted." The Company of Free Masons was so termed, about the middle of the 16th century, the fellowship before being of the Masons only. The prefix was dropped officially after 1653.

There were thus the Free Masons of the Company, and the Accepted Masons of the Lodge, until the former ceased to use the term "Free." Eventually the two prefixes were united as "Free and Accepted Masons," but precisely when we can not say; probably toward the end of the 17th century.

The speculative Lodge of the Acception is noted in the records of the company from about the year 1620, and it was this body that was visited by Elias Ashmole in 1682. The grant of arms was made to the Company of Masons in 1472, and is now preserved in the British Museum, but the copy of the "Old Charges," so often noted in the inventories, has been missing for fifty or more years. This is a great pity, as we are unable to decide for certain what the text was, or how near it agreed with those still preserved.

The "Phillipp's MSS." Nos. 1 and 2 may be copies of the missing Masons' Company MS., of 1650 circa, and so may the "G. W. Bain MS." of the same period, but beyond indicating the probability of such relationship, nothing can be said.

Of the "Harleian No. 1942" text (p. 616, etc.) we have now several copies, so it no longer enjoys the solitary position it once had. Though it and the other similar documents seem to have been written for and used by a company, neither of them can be the missing "Masons' Company MS.," nor can they be copies if the MSS. previously mentioned represent the original Scroll or book which belonged in the Accepted Masons' Hall. They are, however, suggestive of the use of the term accepted, and are thus especially valuable in illustration of the minutes of the "Acception."

I do not consider that the "Sloane MS. No. 3329," British Museum, dates from "between 1640 and 1700," now that the matter has been thoroughly sifted; but more likely to have been written soon after the "Revival of 1717." There is no evidence that it was ever known to Dr. Plot (not "Plott"), the historian of Staffordshire, 1686, and I agree that it is unlikely that separate ceremonies or degrees were worked prior to the 18th century, as Dr. Mackey emphatically states.

My friend declares that the word Free Mason is not to be found in the "Masonic Constitutions," *i.e.*, the "Old Charges," of the operative body, but this is not correct. It does not appear in the very early copies, but the term is met with in several of the rolls of the 17th century.

The mark degree is modern, comparatively speaking, but the selection of marks by the operative and speculative Masons is a very old custom. Even apprentices chose their marks, as evidenced in the "Mark Book" of the Lodge of Aberdeen, of A.D. 1670 onward. As a degree, I had traced it back to 1778 in Dr. Mackey's time, but later on it has been found noted in Lodge Minutes of 1777, London;[1] 1773, Durham; and 1769, Portsmouth. The last mentioned is in cypher, and has only recently been read. The first entry is as follows:

"At a Royal Arch Chapter held at the George Tavern in Portsmouth on First Septr., Seventeen hundred and sixty nine, Present:

"Thomas Dunckerley, Esq., William Cook Z, Samuel Palmer H, Thomas Scanville J., Henry Dean, Philip Joyes, and Thomas Webb.

"Pro. G. M. Thomas Dunckerley bro't the Warrant of the Chapter, and having lately rec'd the mark he made the bre'n Mark Masons and Mark Masters, and each chuse their mark, *viz.*, W. Cook Z, S. Palmer H, T. Scanville J., Philip Joyes, T. Webb. He also told us of this mann'r of working which is to be used in the degree w'ch we may give to others so they be F. C. for Mark Masons and Master M. for Mark Masters."

Full particulars of this chapter are given in the history of the Phœnix Lodge, No. 257, Portsmouth, by Bro. Alexander Howell, 1894. The Royal Arch was started in that town under the regular or "Modern Masons" in 1769.

Bro. Dunckerly received the Royal Arch Degree in Portsmouth in 1754, but at that time, though worked by the "Moderns," there was no governing body. The ceremony was known in England, Ireland, and Scotland in the 5th decade of the 17th century, and was thus patronized before the advent of the "Ancients" or "Atholl Masons" in 1751. It is well to remember this fact, as Bro. L. Dermott has erroneously been credited, or his Grand Lodge, with having arranged and started the degree. Royal Arch Masonry is referred to in print (A.D. 1743-44) two years before Dermott obtained

[1] The degree is noted in the records of St. Thomas's Lodge, London (not "Lancashire," *vide* p. 822), and is duly referred to on p. 821.

the degree (1746), and undoubtedly the ceremony was worked in America as soon as it was worked by the "Ancients" in England. Bro. Dermott was initiated in Ireland, 1740-41, and in 1752 was a member of Nos. 9 and 10, London (England), when he was elected Grand Secretary. At that time No. 1 was kept vacant.

It was the usage, certainly, for lodges generally to be known by the taverns or hotels in which they assembled, until it happily became the custom to have halls built for Masonic meetings. Lodges, however, had special names long before the year 1767, as recorded at p. 885. In *Masonic Records, 1717-1894,* by my lamented friend and Bro. John Lane, will be found several instances of lodges having adopted distinctive titles, the first to do so according to this excellent authority being the "University Lodge," No. 74, in A.D. 1730, and there was a "French Lodge," also held in London, and so named in 1737, or earlier. It is not a matter of much importance, but it is as well to remember that lodge nomenclature began some one hundred and seventy years ago as respects England, and probably much earlier in Scotland. Neither is it sure that there were only four operative lodges in the city of London in 1716 (p. 879). The immortal quartette of 1717 may have been mainly operative, but even that is not certain, as we are not informed as to their members until the next decade, when assuredly they were severally of a speculative character. We are wholly in ignorance when Dr. Desaguliers and Dr. Anderson were initiated, or in what lodges, all particulars as to such being mere guesswork.

Concerning warrants (p. 924), it should be stated that these charters, so well known to the Fraternity since 1750 in England (but much earlier in Ireland), were not issued originally by the premier Grand Lodge of England, but Brethren who wished to be constituted into a lodge petitioned the Grand Master, and on his approval of their prayer a day would be fixed for its constitution, and certified accordingly. In the provinces, a Brother would be deputed to constitute such a lodge by a document signed by the requisite authority; which was a kind of Warrant, but did not nominate the W. M. and Wardens, as since the period mentioned. The fact of constitution made the lodge regular, but there were numerous lodges who did not avail themselves of that favor, and so were irregular, from the Grand Lodge point of view, though as much entitled then to continue their meetings as they were be-

fore the Grand Lodge was formed. It is impossible now to decide what lodges joined the new organization between 1717 and 1721; hence my remark, which is referred to in the note at p. 924.

A mass of information had been obtained in 1894 and printed in the volume by Bro. John Lane aforesaid, respecting the old lodges noted by Dr. Mackey at pp. 886-88. The "Lodge of Antiquity" assembled in other places besides those stated, and so as to several of the other lodges; but they need not be recapitulated now. The original No. 2 was erased in 1736. Dr. Mackey (p. 888) assumes that the original No. 3 continued to work from 1723, but as a matter of fact the members gave up their distinctive position, and were constituted into a new lodge, February 27, 1723, taking the No. 11 in 1729. From successive changes it is now 12, and from 1768 was named the "Fortitude," and from 1818 "The Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland." Dr. Anderson puts the matter quite clearly in his *Book of Constitutions,* 1738, p. 185, when it was No. 10 on the list of London lodges only.

"This was one of the four Lodges mentioned, Page 109, *viz.,* the Apple-Tree Tavern in Charles Street. Covent Garden, whose Constitution is immemorial: But after they removed to the Queen's Head upon some Difference, the members that met there came under a new Constitution, tho' they wanted it not, and it is therefore placed at this number." It is, however, of Time Immemorial continuity.

As to the age of the Master Masons' Degree, no later discovery, subsequent to Dr. Mackey's period, at all serves to make the matter any clearer, save to indicate that the ceremony was not generally worked until fairly on in the 18th century. I published a long account of the minutes of a London lodge from 1725, which mentions the Third Degree in 1727. This is the oldest of the kind known, appertaining to a regular lodge in London, and is of great value. The musical and architectural lodge, quoted pp. 1000-1001, was never on the register of the Grand Lodge of England, but its records afford evidence of the ceremony being worked as early as 1725. Minutes published in facsimile by the Q. C. Lo. in 1900.

The lodge opened in Paris as No. 90 (p. 1029) was not constituted until April 3, 1732. The list Dr. Mackey quotes from, though begun in 1730, was continued for two years later. There is no engraved list preserved of 1733; and there was no regular lodge in France until the year I name, *i.e.,* 1732.

The rival Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" was inaugurated in 1751 (not 1753), but Laurence Dermott was not a founder (p. 1105), he having joined in the year 1752, when he became Grand Secretary. Bro. Henry Sadler, in his *Masonic Facts and Fictions* (1887), objects to these "Ancients" being termed Schismatics, and ably defends them in that well-known work. He considers they were mostly Irish Masons, from whom Grand Secretary Dermott also came, and certainly many of the facts he presents indicate their fondness for that organization. There is no doubt that the date given at p. 1109, *viz.,* July 17, 1751, was the day on which this body was established, but no Grand Master was elected until 1753.

The Royal Arch Degree was not started by these "Ancients" (p. 1108), but only adopted by them as an authorized ceremony. In self-defence the "Moderns," who had worked it before the origin of the "Atholl Masons," but not officially, gradually gave it more prominence. In 1767 they formed a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons and issued warrants for chapters, pushing the degree more even than the "Ancients," though not recognized by their Grand Lodge; so at the union of the two Grand Lodges in December, 1813, the way was prepared for the inauguration of the "United Grand Chapter" in 1817, the ceremony being adopted as the completion of the Master Mason's ceremony, not as a separate and independent degree.

The York Masons who revived their Grand Lodge in 1761 had never any dealings with the "Ancients," and consequently the latter had no right to style themselves "Ancient York Masons." The York Grand Lodge never warranted any lodges out of England, and so the lodges chartered in the United States by the "Atholl Masons" were not "A. Y. M." (Ancient York Masons), but "Ancient" or "Atholl Masons."

I should find it simply impossible to treat of the *Introduction of Freemasonry into the North American Colonies* in brief, and so shall not attempt it, and must leave Dr. Mackey's interesting Chapter XLVI. untouched. I may, however, just state that, bearing in mind the distinction already noted between regular and irregular lodges; the one duly constituted by authority of a Grand Lodge, and the other not constituted. Let me say that the "St. John's," Boston, A.D. 1733, was the first regular Masonic lodge in North America. There were before then several lodges assembling in

Philadelphia, and evidently elsewhere by "time immemorial" usage, and these had as good a right to meet Masonically as any other organization. Everywhere, however, outside the pale of regular Grand Lodge Masonry, and unless such Brethren joined under the new *régime,* they were accounted irregular. Strange to say, the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England—the premier of the world—never had a Pennsylvania lodge on its register. I once thought that a lodge assembling in Philadelphia, Penn. (1730, etc.), had been granted by its constitutional authority, but there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion. There were regular "Ancient "warrants issued for Philadelphia during the 6th decade of the 18th century and a Provincial Grand Lodge formed. As a matter of fact, singular as it reads, the lodge of 1730, and subsequent lodges of the kind, were never recognized as of English origin, though a Provincial Grand Master was appointed by the "Moderns" for the "Keystone State" in 1730, etc. This was done, though there was not a lodge on its English register from Pennsylvania. An unusual experience assuredly, but not unique as respects some Provincial Grand Masters appointed in England.

I am not aware of any authority for the statement at p. 1252, that the esteemed Bro. E. T. Carson (deceased) had a copy of Dr. Dassigny's celebrated *Enquiry* of 1744 in his collection, which has lately been acquired by General S. C. Lawrence (P. G. M., Mass.), who is believed to have the largest Masonic library in America, if not in the world. The only copy in the United States is the one I let Bro. R. F. Bower have, who was a distinguished collector and ardent Masonic student. On his regretted decease, his library was purchased by the Grand Lodge of Iowa, which has a great collection of Masonic books, MSS., and curios of immense value. Since my discovery of that volume of 1744, another, and almost perfect, copy has been traced and is now in the important Masonic library of the province of West Yorkshire; and a third has been recognized in the collection of Masonic works in Newcastle on Tyne; so that at the present time, three copies are known, all, however, lacking the frontispiece, and only one of the trio is complete else.

The references in the history of Freemasonry at York, and especially in relation to the additional degrees, *i.e.,* those after the Third, require, occasionally, qualification, in the light of discoveries of late years. It is necessary also to carefully study both portions

of my *Masonic Sketches and Reprints,* as the second part was written after the first was printed, and contains particulars of MS. books discovered whilst the work was in the press. There is an excellent American edition to be had of the same year as the original issue in England.

Chapter XLVIII. is an important one, and deserves particular consideration, for many of the statements are of a very suggestive, not to say startling, character, and advanced by a Brother of great eminence and research. I am not aware of the existence of any evidence in favor of the assertion that Ramsay (not Ramsey) ever sought to introduce any of the additional degrees to the Grand Lodge of England early last century. For that matter, beyond statements of fanciful historians, it has not been proved that he arranged the ceremonies so long connected with his name; and all the declarations concerning the Stuarts and the Craft must be received with caution. Beyond reiterated assertions, the initiation of any of the unfortunate royal family has not at all been clearly established.

Chapter XXX. is of very great interest, but how far it is supported by cold and hard facts it is not for me to say, unless time and space were ample. At all events, it should be read side by side with Chapter XXX. of Bro. Gould's history; so that the reliability or otherwise of some of the sources depended upon should be tested. At p. 280 Dr. Mackey cites the Charter of Arras (Rose Croix), said to have been granted by Charles Edward Stuart. Now, is it likely, is it even possible, that in his father's lifetime he would describe himself as "We, Charles Edward, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland?" Surely, in the face of such a declaration, there is no authority to say as to the authenticity of this Warrant "There appears to be no doubt." It could not be authentic if the document contained any such title.

Another subject has also been more thoroughly elucidated of late years, and in consequence thereof some of the authorities quoted in Chapter XVIII. have been found to be unreliable at times, and rather inclined to treat the question as fiction, instead of as history. The Steinmetzen of Germany are not always safe in the hands of such authors as Fallou (not "Fallon") and Winzer. Gould is much safer than either to follow, and the reader may be confident that existing documents will verify all his statements thereon. Consid-

ering the paucity of really critical works on the subject, Dr. Mackey has done wonders. Kloss is nearly always to be trusted, either as respects Germany or France, but in respect to the latter country all mere statements as to the introduction of Freemasonry must be treated with suspicion; for prior to 1732 we have actually as yet no evidence.

Some parts of Dr. Mackey's massive work are indications as much of his valued opinions as of matters of fact, and these, of course, are left alone, and can not well be questioned, now their author is no more. They are, however, of considerable worth, and, whilst the opinions of some other students may not always coincide, so long as they are accepted as inferences, rather than evidences, they are of special interest and importance, and can not fail to throw light on points needing elucidation, because of their suggestiveness.

The foregoing does not aim at being a microscopic examination of Dr. Mackey's history, but simply a fraternal attempt to read it in the light and by the assistance of valuable discoveries made since the year of his lamented decease.

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PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY

FOR USE BY THE

MASONIC FRATERNITY,

Containing over Fourteen Hundred Words liable to Mispronunciation.
The Form of Instruction for Pronunciation is the same Defined
in the American Dictionary, by Noah Webster, LL.D.

BY CHARLES T. McCLENACHAN.

KEY TO THE PRONUNCIATION.

VOWELS, REGULAR LONG AND SHORT SOUNDS.

Ā, ā (long), as in *Āle, Fāte.*
Ă, ă (short), as in *Ădd, Făt.*
Ä, ä (Italian), as in *Ärm, Fäther, Fär.*
Ē, ē (long), as in *Ēve, Mēte.*
Ĕ, ĕ (short), as in *Ĕnd, Mĕt.*
Ī, ī (long), as in *Īce, Fīne.*
Ĭ, ĭ (short), as in *Ĭll, Fĭn.*
Ō, ō (long), as in *Ōld, Nōte.*
Ŏ, ŏ (short), as in *Ŏdd, Nŏt.*
Ū, ū (long), as in *Ūse, Hūme.*
Ŭ, ŭ (short), as in *Ŭs, Hŭm.*
Ȳ, ȳ (long), as in *Mȳ, Flȳ.*
Y̆, y̆ (short), as in *Cy̆st, Ny̆mph.*

The above simple process is adopted, omitting instruction relating to diphthongs or tripthongs, occasional sounds, or references to consonants.

ACCENT.—The principal accent is denoted by a heavy mark; the secondary, by a lighter mark, as in *Ab′ra-ca-dab′ra.* In the division of words into syllables, these marks also supply the place of the hyphen.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Ab*	Ăb	Heb. Father; 11th Hebraic month.
Abaciscus*	Ă′bă-cis′cŭs	Flooring blocks.
Abacus	Ăb′a-cŭs	A drawing-board—a tray.
Abaddon	A-băd′don	The destroyer, or angel of darkness.
Abazar*	Ă′bă-zăr	Master of Ceremonies of 6th degree.
Abchal*	Ăb′chăl	
Abda	Ăb dă	Father of Adoniram.
Abdamon	Ăb′dă′mŏn	To serve.
Abdiel*	Ăb′dĭel	Servant of God.
Abditorium*	Ăb′dĭ-to′rĭ-ŭm	A secret place for deposit of records.
Abelites	Ā′bel-īte	A secret order of the 18th century.
Abib*	Ăb′ĭb	Seventh Jewish month.
Abibala*	Ăb′i-bă-lā	Derived from Hebrew Abi and Balah.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Abibalk	Ăb′ī-bălk	Chief of the three assassins.
Abif	Ăb-ĭf′	Literally, his father.
Abihael	A-bi′ha-ĕl	Father of Strength.
Abihu	Ăb′i-hū	A son of Aaron.
Abiram	Ăb-ī′răm	Abiram Akisop, traitorous craftsman.
Ablution	Ăb-lū′shun	Washing, baptizing.
Abrac	Ăb-rāc′	Acquiring the science of Abrac.
Abracadabra	Ăb-′ră-că-dăb′ră	A term of incantation.
Abraxas	A-brăx′as	A symbol of the year.
Acacia	A-cā′ci-ă	Symbolic of the soul's immortality.
Acanthus	A-căn′thus	A part of the Corinthian capital.
Accessory	Ak-ses′so-rĭ	Private companionship
Accolade	Ăc′co-lāde′	The welcome into knighthood.
Aceldama	Ă-cĕl′da-mă	Field of blood.
Achad	Ă-chăd	Ă-kăd.
Acharon Schilton	Ă′chă-rŏn Schil-tŏn	Ă′kă-rŏn Schil-ton.
Achias	Ă-chĭ′as	Ă-kē-as.
Achishar	Ăc-hī′shar	One over the household of Solomon.
Achmetha	Ăch-′mē-thă	Name of a Hebrew city.
Achtariel	Ăch-tă′rĭ-el	Cabalistic name of God.
Acolyte	Ak′ō-līte	Candle bearer. Church servant.
Acousmatici	Ă′coūs-mă-tĭ′cĭ	Ă-coos′ma-te′cè.
Adah	Ā′dă	Jephtha's daughter.
Adar	Ā′dar	The twelfth Jewish month.
Adarel	Ă′dăr-ēl	Angel of fire.
Adept	Ā-dept′	An expert.
Adeptus Coronatus	Ăd-ept′us Cōrō-na′tus	Seventh Degree of the Swedish Rite.
Adhere	Ad-hēre′	Cling to.
Adjudicate	Ad-jū′di-kāte	To determine.
Admah	Ăd′mä	A Hebrew city.
Ad Majorum Dei Gloriam	Ăd mä-jō-rum dā-ē glō-ri-ām	To the greater glory of God.
Adonai	Ă′dō-nă′ī	Ă-dō-năh′e. The Lord.
Adonhiram	Ăd′on-hī′ram	Signifying the master who is exalted.
Adoniram	Ăd′ō-nī′ram	Son of Abda.
Adonis	Ăd-ō′nīs	Son of Myrrha and Cinyras.
Adult	Ā-dult′	Of full age.
Ad vitam	Ad vē-tăm	For life.
Adytum	Ăd′ĭ-tum	A retired part of the ancient temples.
Aeneid	Æ-nē′id	A creation of Virgil.
Aeon	Æ-ŏn	Ē′on. Age or duration of anything.
Affiliate*	Af-fil′e-āte	An adopted one.
Agapae	Ăg′a-pæ	Ag′a-pe. Love feasts.
Agate	Ăg′it	The eighth stone in the breastplate.
Agathopades*	Ă′gă-thō-pă′des	Ecclesiastical Order of 16th century.
Age	Āje	Of a given number of years.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Agenda*	Ā-jĕn′da	Order of business. Book of precepts.
Agla	Ăg′lä	One of the Cabalistic names of God.
Agnus Dei	Ăg′nus Dē′ī	Ag′nŭs Dā′ē. Lamb of God.
Ahad	Ā′had	A name of God.
Ahabath Olam	Ă′hă-băth Ō′lăm	Eternal love.
Ahashuerus	A-hăs′-u-ē′-rus	Name of a Persian king.
Ahel	Ä′hel	A curtain of the Tabernacle.
Ahiah	Ă-hĭ′äh	Ă-hē′ä. One of the scribes of Solomon
Ahilud	Ā-hĭl′ud	The father of Josaphat.
Ahiman Rezon	Ă-hĭ′man Rē-zōn′	The will of selected brethren.
Ahinadab	A-hĭn′a-dăb	The son of Jetdo.
Ahisamach	A-hĭs′a-mäk	The father of Aholiab.
Ahisar	A-hī′sär	Ă-hī′sär.
Aheshar	Ă-hī′-shar	An officer over Solomon's household.
Aholiab	Ă-hō′li-ăb	A skilful artificer.
Ahriman	Äh′rī-man	Principle of evil in Zoroaster system.
Aichmalotarch	Ăĭch-mal′ō-tarch	The Prince of Captivity.
Aixlachapelle	Āks-lä-shä′-pel′	A city of Germany.
Akar	Ā′kär	Or Achar, a Pass word.
Akirop	Ă-kī′rop	One of the ruffians of Third Degree
Alapa	Ă-lä-pä	A symbol of manumission.
Alchemy	Ăl′ki-my	The science of Chemistry.
Aldebaran	Ăl-deb′a-ran	A star of the first magnitude.
Aleppo	Ā-lĕp′pō	A town in northern Syria.
Alethophile	Ă-lē′thō-phile	Lover of Truth.
Alfader	Ăl-fä′der	Chief God of the Scandinavians.
Algabil	Ăl′gä-bĭl	Signifying The Builder.
Allah*	Ăl′ä	The God of the Moslem.
Allegiance	Ăl-lē′jance	Fealty.
Allegory	Ăl′lĕ-gō-ry	A fable, or figurative expression.
Allelujah	Ăl-le-lū′yä	Praise Jehovah.
Alleviate	Ăl-lē′ve-āte	To relieve.
Allies	Al-līz′	Companions in enterprise.
Allocution	Ăl-lō-kū′shun	The official opening address.
Almoner	Ăl′mō-ner	Dispenser of alms.
Alms	Ämz	Charitable gifts.
Al-om-Jah	Ăl-ōm-jäh	A name of the Supreme Being.
Alpha	Ăl′fä	Greek letter A.
Alpina	Ăl-pĭ-nä	Name of Grand Lodge of Switzerland.
Als	Ālz	The All-powerful God.
Al Shaddai	Ăl-shäd′dä-e	The second sanctified name of God.
Al-Sirat*	Ăl′ Sĭ-răt′	The path.
Alycuber	Ăl-e-kū′ber	Master of the Tribe of Manasseh.
Amal-sagghi*	Ämăl-Säg′ghī	Fifth step of Kadesh ladder.
Amar-jah	Ă′mär-jäh	God spake.
Amboth	Äm′bōth	A country in Syria.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Amenti*	Ă–men′–tĭ	Place of Judgment of the Dead.
Ameth	Ă′měth	See *Emeth.*
Amethyst	Ăm′e–thist	A stone in the breastplate.
Amicists	Ă′mi–cists	Association of students of Germany.
Aminidab	Ā–mĭn′a–dăb	One of the Chiefs of Israel.
Amis Reunis	Ăm′ĭs Re′ūnis	Ă′mē Re′–u–nē.
Ammonites	Ăm′mon–ĭtz	Descendants of Lot.
Amshaspands*	Ăm–shăs′pands	Principle of good among Persians.
Amulets	Ăm′ū–lets	Mystic gems.
Amun	Ă′mŭn	The Supreme God of the Egyptians.
Anachronism	An–a′chrō–nĭsm	An error in computing time.
Anakim*	Ăn′a–kĭm	Giants.
Ananias	Ăn–a–nī′as	Sapphira's conspirator.
Ancient*	Ān′shunt	Indefinite time.
Andre	An′drĕ	Christopher Karl André.
Andrea	An′drĕă	John Valentine Andreä.
Androgynous	An–drōg′ȳ–nous	An–drŏg–ē–nous. Side degrees.
Angel	Ān′jel	Messenger.
Angerona	An′ge–rō–nă	A pagan deity of the Romans.
Anima Mundi*	Ăn′ĭ–ma Mŭn′dī	Soul of the World.
Annihilate	Ăn–nī′he–late	Destroy finally.
Anno Depositionis	Ăn′nō De′pō–sĭ′ti-o′nĭs	In the year of the Deposite.
Anno Domini	Ăn–nō Dŏm′ĭn–ī	The year of the Lord.
Anno Hebraico	Ăn′nō He′brā′ĭ–co	In the Hebrew year.
Anno Inventionis	Ăn-nō In-ven′she-ō-nĭs	The year of discovery.
Anno Lucis	Ăn′nō Lū′cis	In the year of Light.
Anno Mundi	Ăn–nō Mūn′dī	The year of the world.
Anno Ordinis	Ăn′nō Or′di–nis	In the year of the Order.
Annuaire	Ăn′nū–ăĭre	French annual record of proceedings.
Ansyreeh	Ăn′sȳ–rēĕh	A sect of Northern Syria.
Antarctic	Ănt Ark′tic	Opposite to the Northern circle.
Antepenult	Ăn–te–pē–nult′	The last syllable except two.
Antipodeans	Ăn′tĭ–pō–dē′ans	Les Antipodiens.
Antipodes	Ăn–tip′o–dēz	Opposite sides of the globe.
Anubis or **Anepu***	Ăn–ū–bis or Ăn–ē–pū	Egyptian deity. Son of Osiris and [Nephthys.
Apame	Ăp′a–me	Wife of King Darius.
Aphanism	Ăph′an–ism	Concealing of the body.
Apharsathchites	Ă–phăr′–sath–chītes	A Persian tribe.
Apocalypse	Ā–pŏk′a–lĭps	Book of Revelation.
Apollo	Ā–pŏl′o	A Greek deity.
Aporrheta	A′pōrr–hē′tă	Intelligible to the initiated.
Apostle	Ā–pŏs′l	A deputed agent.
Apotheosis	Ăp–ō–the′ō–sis	Deification.
Apparent	Ăp–păr′ent	Evident.
Apprentice	Ăp–pren′tis	The servitor of a mechanic.
Apron*	Ā′prun	Badge of a Mason.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Aquarius	Ā-quā′ri-us	Water-bearer. Zodiac.
Arab	Ăr′ab or Ā′rab	Inhabitant of Arabia.
Arabici*	Ă′ră-bĭ′cĭ	Pertaining to the Wilderness.
Aral	Ā′rĕl	"Lion of God."
Aranyaka*	Ă′ran-yă′kă	An appendage to Veda of the Indians.
Araunah	Ă-rău′năh	See *Ornan.*
Arbroath*	Ăr-brōath	Abbey of England, 12th century.
Arcana	Ăr-kă′na	Secrets, mystery.
Archangel	Ark-ăn′jel	An Angel of the highest order.
Archbishop	Arch-bish′op	A church dignitary.
Archetype	Ăr′ke-tīp	An original model.
Archimagus*	Ăr′chĭ-mă′gŭs	Chief Ruler.
Achipelago	Ăr-kĭ-pel′a-go	Group of islands.
Architect*	Ăr′kĭ-tect	Skilled in the art of building.
Architectonicus	Ăr′chi-tĕc-ton′ĭ-cus	Relating to Architecture.
Archives	Ăr′kīvz	Place for records.
Archiviste	Ăr′chi-vĭste	An officer in charge of the archives.
Arctic	Ărk′tik	A northern circle of space.
Arduous	Ăr′dū-us	With difficulty.
Area	Ā′re-a	The given surface.
Arelim	Ăr′ē-lim	Literally, valiant, heroic.
Areopagus	Ă′re-ŏp′a-gus	A tribunal.
Arianism*	Ā′rĭ-an-ĭsm	The doctrine of Arius.
Arid	Ăr′id	Exhausted of moisture.
Aries	Ā′riez	The sign Ram in the Zodiac.
Armenbusche	Ăr′men-būsche	The poor box.
Armistice	Ăr′mis-tis	Temporary truce.
Aroba*	Ă-rō′bă	Pledge, covenant.
Aroma	Ā-rō′ma	An agreeable odor.
Arrogant	Ăr′rō-gant	Overbearing.
Artaban	Ăr′ta-băn	A Scribe in the Scottish Rite.
Artaxerxes	Ăr′-tag-zerk′-zez	A Persian king.
Artificer	Ăr-tif′i-ser	Designer of buildings.
Aryan*	Ā′rȳ-an	One of three historical divisions of religion.
Asarota*	Ă′să-rō′ta	A variegated pavement.
Asher	Ăsh′er	A tribe of Israel.
Ashlar	Ăsh′lar	Stone as taken from the quarry.
Asia*	Ā′shĭ-a	An Eastern continent.
Asnapper	As-nap′-per	
Aspirant	Ăs-pir′ant	One who aspires.
Associate	Ăs-so′shĭ-at	Companion with.
Assur	Ăs′sur	Assyria.
Astarte	Ăs-tär′te	Female Deity of the Phœnicians.
Astræa	Ăs′trā-ēă	The Grand Lodge of Russia.
Asylum	Ă-sī′lum	Place of retreat.
Atelier	Ă′tĕl-ier	A workshop where workmen are assembled.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Athenæum	Ăth–e–ne′um	A building for philosophic instruction
Atossa*	Ă–tos′ă	Daughter of Cyrus.
Attacked	Ăt–takt′	Assailed, assaulted.
Attouchement	Ăt–toūch′emĕnt	Ă–tou′sh–măn.
Atthakatha*	Ăt′thă–kă′thă	Commentary on Canonical books of Buddhism.
Atys	Ăt′is	The Phrygian God.
Audacious	Äw–dā′shus	Contemning law.
Audience	Äu′dĭ–ence	An assembly of hearers.
Audi Vide Tace*	Äu–dĭ Vī–de Tă–cē	Hear, see and be silent.
Aufseher	Äŭf′sē–her	Inspector, overseer.
Auriel	Äu′rĭ–el	Angel of Fire.
Aurim	Äu′rim	Or Urim.
Auserwahlter	Äŭs′er–wăhl–ter	Chosen, selected.
Aum or **Om**	Äŭm. Ŏm	God of the Hindoos.
Aut Vincere	Äut Vĭn′cē–rē	Either conquer or die.
Aut Mori	Äut Mō′rī	Either conquer or die.
Avatar*	Ă′vă–tăr	The descent of a Hindu deity.
Avis*	Ă′vĭs	
Axiom	Ak′sĭ–um	Self-evident truth.
Aye	Ā	An affirmative vote.
Aynon	Ăy′nŏn	Agnon, Ajuon.
Azariah*	Ăz–ā–rē′ă	Solomon's Captain of the Guards.
Azazel*	Ă–ză′zel	"Scapegoat," the demon of dry places.
Baal	Ba′ăl	Ba–a′lim. Master.
Baana	Bā–an′ă	Son of grief.
Babylon	Băb′e–lon	Gate of Bel. A kingdom.
Bactylea*	Băc′tŷl–ē′ă	
Baculus	Bă′cu–lus	The pastoral staff carried by a bishop.
Bafomet	Ba′fō–mĕt	See *Baphomet.*
Bagulkal	Ba′gūl–kăl	Guardian of the sacred ark.
Baldachin	Băl′dă–chin	A canopy supported by pillars.
Baldric	Băl′drik	A ribbon worn from shoulder to hip.
Balm	Bäm	A medicinal gum.
Balsamo	Băl–sa′mō	Joseph Balsamo. See *Cagliostro.*
Baluster	Băl′us–ter	The support of a stair-rail.
Banacas	Băn′a–käs	A Captain of Guards.
Baphomet	Băph′ō–mĕt	An imaginary idol or symbol.
Barabbas	Ba–răb′bas	A father's son. Son of Abba or Father
Barbarous	Bär′bā–rus	Not Bär–ba′ri–ous.
Barbati Fratres*	Băr–bă′tĭ Frā′tres	Bearded Brothers.
Bar Mitzvah*	Băr Mĭtz′vah	Son of Commandment.
Barruel Abbe	Bar′ruel Ăb′bĕ	Augustin Barruel.
Basmoth	Băs′moth	Fragrant, spicy.
Basilica*	Ba–sil′ĭ–că	Court-room for administration of laws
Bath Kol*	Băth Kŏl	A voice from the Shekinah.
Bea Macheh	Bē–ä–mäk′–ä	To be with God.
Beaucenifer	Beau–cĕn′ĭ–fer	To carry.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Beauchaine	Beau–chaine	Bō–shā′ne.
Beauseant	Beau′se–ănt	A war banner.
Begone	Be–gon′	Not Be–gawn′.
Bel	Bĕl	A contraction of Baal.
Belenus	Bĕ–le′nus	The Baal of Scripture.
Belshazzar	Bel–shăz′zar	King of Babylon.
Belus	Bē′lus	Corruption of Baal. Lord. A temple.
Benac	Bē′năc	See *Macbenac.*
Benai*	Be–nā′ĭ	The Intelligent God.
Bendekar	Ben′dĕ–kăr	One of the Princes of Solomon.
Benjamin	Ben′ja–min	Youngest son of Jacob.
Benkhurim	Ben–ku′–rim	Free since birth.
Benyah	Ben′yăh	The son of Jah.
Bereth	Bē–rith	Alliance.
Beryl	Bĕr′il	Chrysolite, topaz.
Bethlehem	Bĕth′le–em	Literally, Place of food. Of Judah.
Beyerle	Bey′er–le	François Louis de Beyerle.
Beyond	Be–yond′	Not Be–yund′.
Bezaleel	Be–zăl′–e–el	A builder of the Ark of the Covenant.
Biennial	Bī–en′ni–al	Not Bĭ–en′yal.
Binah	Bī′na	The mother of understanding.
Blatant	Blā′tant	Not Blăt′ant.
Blessed	Bles–ed	Not Blest.
Boaz	Bo′ăz	Literally, fleetness, strength.
Bochim*	Bō′chĭm	Bō′kim. The weepers.
Boeber	Bō–e′ber	Johann Boeber.
Boehmen	Bōeh′men	Jacob Boehmen.
Bonaim	Bō–nā′im	Bō–nah′im.
Bone	Bōne′	Boneh, a builder.
Bosonian*	Bō–sō′nĭ–an	Fourth degree of African Architects.
Bouddha	Bū′dä	A Hindoo God.
Bourn	Bōurn	Bound, limit.
Bramin	Brä′min	Corruption of Brahman.
Brethren	Breth′ren	Not Breth′er–en.
Buh	Būh	A corruption of the word Bel.
Buhle	Būhle	Johann Gottlieb Buhle.
Bul	Būl	The rain-god.
Buri or **Bure***	Bū′ri or Bū′re	The first god of Norse mythology.
Byblos	Bĭb′los	An ancient city of Phœnicia.
Byzantine	Biz′an–tin	An art from the days of Constantine.
Caaba or **Kaaba***	Kä–ä′bä or Kä–ä′bä	Square building or temple in Mecca.
Cabala	Kä–bä′lä	Kabbala. Mystical philosophy or theosophy of Jews.
Cabiric	Kä′bir–ic	Dry, sandy.
Cable-tow	Kā′ble–tō	A man's reasonable ability.
Cabul	Kä′bul	A district containing twenty cities.
Caduceus	Kä′dū′ce–us	Peace, power, wisdom.
Cæmentarius	Ca′ē–men–ta′ri–us	A builder of walls.
Cagliostro	Käg′li–os′tro	A Masonic charlatan.
Cahier	Käh′ier	Sheets of paper or parchment fastened together.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Cairns	Cărns	Heaps of stones of a conical form.
Calatrava*	Căl′ă-tră′vă	Military Order, instituted 1158.
Calid*	Căl′ĭd	A sultan of Egypt about 1110.
Callimachus	Căl-lim′-ā-chŭs	Noted Grecian artist.
Calm	Käm	Tranquil, serene.
Cama	Kä′mä	A Hindoo God.
Canaanite	Kā′nän-īte	Descendants of Canaan.
Candelabra	Kăn-del-ā′brā	A branched candlestick.
Cantalever*	Căn′tă-lĕv′er	A projecting block or bracket.
Capitular*	Kā-pĭt′u-lar	Pertaining to a Chapter.
Capella	Kă-pĕl′la	The name of a star.
Capricornus	Kăp-ri-korn′us	A Zodiacal sign, the Goat.
Capuchin*	Că-pū′chĭn	A monk of the Order of St. Francis.
Caravan	Kăr′a-van	Not Kăr-a-van′. Company of mer-
Carbonarism	Căr′bō-nar-ism	A secret society of Italy. [chants.
Carbuncle	Kär′bun-kĕl	A stone in the breastplate.
Carmel	Kär′mel	Literally, A fruitful place.
Caryatides*	Căr′y-ăt′i-dēs	The women of Caryæ.
Casmaran	Căs′mă-răn	The angel of air.
Catacombs*	Kat′a-kōmbs	A cave for the burial of the dead.
Catechumen*	Căt′ē-chū′men	A novice in religious rites.
Cathari*	Căth′ăr-ĭ	Italian heretical society, 12th century.
Cement	Sem′ent or Sē-ment′	The noun. The bond of union.
Cement	Se-ment′	The verb. To bind together.
Cemetery	Sem′e-tĕr-ĭ	A place of burial.
Cenephorus*	Cĕn′ē-phō′rus	Officer in charge of sacred implements.
Centaine	Cĕn′tāine	A mystical society of 19th century.
Centenary	Sen′te-na-rĭ	Not Sen-ten′a-rĭ. A century.
Censer	Sĕn′ser	An incense cup or vase.
Cephas	Sē′fas	A Syrian name. Literally, A stone.
Ceres	Sē′rēs	The goddess of corn.
Ceridwen*	Cē-rid′wen	The Isis of the Druids.
Cerneau	Cĕr′neau	Cĕr′no.
Cerulean	Sē-ru′le-an	The color of the sky.
Chaldea	Chăl-dē′ă	A country along the Euphrates and
Chalice	Chăl′is	A cup or bowl. [Tigris rivers.
Chamber	Chām′ber	An inclosed place.
Chaos	Ka′os	Not Ka′us. A confused mass.
Chapeau	Chăp′eau	Shăp′o.
Chapiters	Chăp′e-tērz	The capital of a column.
Chasidim	Chă′sĭd-im	A sect in the time of the Maccabees
Chasm	Kazm	Not Kaz′um. A void space.
Chastanier	Chăs′tan-ĭ′er	Benedict Chastanier.
Chasuble	Chăs′ū-ble	An outer dress in imitation of the
Chef-d'œuvre	Chef-d'œuvre′	She-deŭ′vr. [Roman toga.
Cherubim*	Chĕr′u-bim	Literally, Those held fast.
Chesed	Chĕ′sĕd	Signifying mercy.
Chesvan	Chĕs′van	Name of the second Jewish month.
Cheth	Chĕth	A city of Palestine.
Chibbelum	Chĭb′bē-lum	A worthy Mason.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Chisel	Chiz′el	An instrument used by mason or carpenter.
Chivalric	Shiv–ăl′rik	Pertaining to chivalry.
Chochmah	Chŏk′mäh	Heb., Wisdom.
Chrisna	Krĭsh′nä	The Hindoo God.
Chrysolite	Krĭs′o–līte	A stone in the breastplate.
Clandestine	Klăn–des′tĭn	Illegal.
Cleche*	Klēēch	A cross charged with another cross.
Clothed	Klōthd	Invested with raiment.
Cœur de Lion	Kūr de Lĭ′on	Surname of Richard I of England.
Cochleus	Cŏch′lē–us	A winding staircase.
Coetus	Cō′e–tūs	An assembly.
Co-exist	Ko–egz–ist′	Living at the same time.
Coffin	Kŏf′in	Not Kawf′in. Casket for the dead.
Cognizant	Kon′ĭ–zant	Within the knowledge.
Collation	Kol–la′shun	Not Co–la′shun. Luncheon.
Collocatio*	Cŏl′lō–că′ti–o	Cŏl–lo–că′sheo.
Column	Kŏl′um	Not Kol′yoōm. A pillar.
Comment	Kom′ment	To explain, to expound.
Commiserate	Kom–miz′er–āt	Compassion for, to pity.
Compagnon	Cŏm–păn′ion	A French term for Fellow Craft.
Composite	Kom–pŏs′ĭt	An order of Architecture.
Conclave	Kŏn′klāve	An assemblage of Templars.
Condemner	Kon–dem′ner	Not Kon–dem′er. One who censures.
Condolence	Kon–do′lence	Not Kon′do–lence. Sympathy.
Confidant	Kon–fĭ–dant′	Not Kon′fĭ–dant. A bosom friend.
Consistory	Kon–sis′to–ry	An assemblage of brethren of the R.
Consummatum	Cŏn′sum–mă′tum	It is finished.
Conspiracy	Kon–spĭr′a–sĭ	A combination for evil purpose.
Constans	Kŏn′stănz	Unwavering, constant.
Contemplating	Con′–tem–pla–ting	Looking around carefully on all sides.
Convocation	Kŏn′vo–kā′shun	An assemblage of Royal Arch Masons
Corde Gladio Potens	Kŏr′dā glă′dĭ-o pō′tĕnz	Powerful in heart and with the sword.
Cordon	Kŏr′don	A ribbon of honor.
Corinthian	Kŏr–in′thi–an	An order in Architecture.
Corybantes	Cŏr′y–ban′tes	Rites in honor of Atys.
Costume	Kos′tūm	A manner of dress.
Cottyto*	Cō–tŷt′ō	Mysteries of. Rites of the Bona Dea.
Coustos	Coūs′tos	John Coustos.
Couverur	Coū′vrier	Kū′vrir.
Covenant	Kŭv′e–nant	An agreement, a contract.
Cowans	Kŏw′anz	Pretenders, dry dikers, intruders.
Cowls	Kowls	The hood of the mantle.
Crata Repoa*	Cră′tă Re–pō′ă	An Egyptian rite of seven degrees.
Credence	Krē′dence	Not Krĕd′ence. Reliance on evidence
Cresset*	Crĕs′set	Symbol of Light and Truth, open lamp
Crete	Krēte	An island in the Mediterranean.
Cromlech	Crŏm′lĕch	A large stone resting on two or more stones.
Crosier*	Krō′zher	The staff of the Prelate.
Crotona	Crō–tō′nă	A city of Greek colonists in Italy.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Cryptic	Krĭp′tic	Pertaining to Royal and Select Masonry.
Crux Ansata	Crŭx–ăn–să′tă	The cross with a handle.
Cum Civi	Kūm Sĭvĭ	Arise and kneel.
Cupola	Kū′pō–la	Not Kū′pa–lo. A surmounting dome.
Curetes	Cū–rē′tēs	Priests of ancient Crete.
Custos Arcani	Kŭs′tŏs Ar–că′nĭ	The guardian of the treasury.
Cynocephalus	Cŷn′ō–cĕph′a–lŭs	Figure of a man with head of a dog.
Cynosure	Sĭn′ō–shōōr	The center of attraction.
Cyrene	Cȳ–rē′nĕ	Ancient city of North Africa.
Cyrus	Sī′rŭs	A king of Persia.
Dabir	Dä–bēr′	Most sacred.
Dactyli*	Dăc′tȳ–li	Priests of Cybele.
Daduchos	Dă′dū–chōs	A torch-bearer.
Dædalus*	Dæd′a–lus	A famous artist and mechanician.
Dais	Dă′is	A canopy.
Dambool*	Dăm–bool	Rock temple of Buddhists of Ceylon.
Dao*	Dä′ō	From Daer, to shine.
Darakiel*	Dā–ră–kĭel′	By direction of God.
Darius*	Dä–rī′us	A king of Persia.
Dathan	Dă′than	A Reubenite who revolted against Moses.
Dazard	Dă′zard	Michel François Dazard.
Decrepit	De–crep′ĭt	Wasted by age.
Deiseil*	Dĕ–is′ēil	Southward, following course of the sun
Delalande	Dĕ–lă–lan′de	Dĕ-lä-lan′-d. Joseph Jérôme François
Delaunay	Dĕ–lău′nāy	François H. Stanislaus Delaunay.
Delineated	De–lin′e–ā–ted	Marked, described.
Delta	Dĕl′tä	Fourth letter of Greek alphabet.
Demeter	Dĕ–me′ter	Greek name of Ceres.
Demit	De–mĭt′	Release.
Denderah*	Dĕn–dĕ′răh	A ruined town of Upper Egypt.
Depths	Depths	Not Deps nor Debths. Profundity.
Derogate	Dĕr′–o–gāte	Degrade.
Desaguliers	Dĕ–să–gū′liērs	John Theophilus Desaguliers.
Design	De–sīn′	A preliminary sketch.
Dessert*	Dez–zert′	The last course of a feast.
Deuchar Charters	Deŭ–chăr′ Chärters	Working warrants.
Deus Meumque Jus	Dē′us Mē–ŭm′que Jus	God and my right.
Devoir	Dĕ′voir	Dĕ′vōa.
Dew	Dū	Atmospheric moisture.
Dieseal	Dĭ–es–ē′al	A Druidic term.
Dieu et mon Droit	Dieu ĕt mŏn Droit	Dĭeŭ ă mon droa.
Dieu le Veut	Dieu lĕ Veŭt	Dĭeŭ lĕ Veu–t.
Different	Dif′fer–ent	Not Dif′rent. Distinct, separate.
Dionysian	Dĭ′o–nys′ĭan	Celebrations by which the years were numbered.
Dionysus	Dĭ′o–nys′us	Greek name of Bacchus.
Diploma	Dĭ–plo′ma	Not Dī–plo–ma. A sealed writing.
Dislodge	Dis–lŏdge′	To drive from a place of rest.
Disloyal	Dis–loy′al	Faithless.
Dissolve	Diz–zolv′	Separation into component parts.
District	Dis′trikt	A portion of territory.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Diu*	Dĭ′ū	The "Shining Light of Heaven."
Divest	Dĭ–vest′	Deprive of, remove.
Divulge	Dĭ–vulj′	To make publicly known.
Domino Deus Meus*	Dŏm′i–nĕ Dā′us Mā′us	O Lord, my God.
Domitian	Do–mĭsh′i–an	A Roman Emperor.
Donats	Dō′năts	Wearers of the demi–cross.
Doric	Dŏr′ik	An order in Architecture.
Doth	Duth	Not Dōth. Third person of do.
Drachma	Drăk′mä	A coin, a weight.
Dræseke	Drā′e–sēke	Johann Heinrich Dernhardt Dræseke
Druid	Drōō′id	A Celtic priest.
Druses	Drū′sēs	A sect of religionists in Syria.
Duad	Dū′ad	Number two in Pythagorian system.
Due Guard	Dū′ Gärd	Mode of recognition.
Dupaty	Du′pă–ty	Louis Emanuel Charles M. Dupaty.
Dyaus*	Dy′aus	Sanskrit for sky. Bright, exalted.
Dye na Sore*	Dy′ē–nă So–ré	A Masonic romance by Van Meyern.
Eastward	East′ward	Not East′–ard. Direction of the East.
Ebal*.	Ĕ′băl	Literally, bare. Son of Shobal.
Eban Bohan*.	Ĕ′băn Bō′hăn	A witness stone set up by Bohan.
Eblis*	Ĕb′lis	Arabic for Prince of Apostate Angels.
Ecbatana*	Ĕc–băt′ă–nă	Capital of Media.
Ecossais	Ĕ′cŏs–sāis	Ā′cōs–sais.
Ecossism	Ĕ′cŏs–sĭsm	
Edicts	Ē′dikts	Decrees by an authority.
Eheyeh	Ĕ–hĕ′yĕh	I am that I am.
Elai beni almanah*	Ĕ′lă–ī bĕn–i ăl–mă′năh	Third degree A. A. Scottish Rite.
Elchanan	Ĕl–chăn′ăn	Āl–kănă′n.
Eleazar	Ĕl–e–ā′zar	Son of Aaron.
Electa*	E–lĕk′tā	An eminent woman of Judea.
Eleemosynary	El–e–moz′ĭ–na–rĭ	Relating to charity.
Eleham	Ĕl′ĕ–ham	See *Elchanan.*
Elephanta	Ĕl–ē–phăn′ta	Ancient temple in Gulf of Bombay.
Eleusinian	Ĕ′leū–sĭn′ĭ–an	Mysteries of ancient Athenian religion.
Eleusis	E–lū′sis	An ancient Grecian city.
Eliasaph	E–lĭ′a–saf	A Levite.
Elihoreph	Ĕl′ĭ–hō′–rĕph	One of Solomon's secretaries.
Elohim*	Ĕl–ō′hĭm	The Creator.
El Shaddai	El Shäd′dä–ē	The second name of God in the Bible.
Elu	Ĕl′u	See *Elus.*
Elul	Ĕl′ūl	Twelfth civil month of Jewish year.
Elus	Ĕl′ūs	Elected.
Elysium	E–lizh′ĭ–um	A place of happiness.
Emeritus	Ĕ–mĕr′ĭ–tŭs	One who has served out his time.
Emeth	Ĕ′mĕth	Integrity, fidelity, firmness.
Emir	A′mĭr	An Arabic counsellor.
Emounah*	Ĕ–mou′năh	Fidelity, truth.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Empyrean	Em–pĭ′rē–an	The highest Heaven.
Emunah	Ĕ–mū′năh	Fidelity to one's promises.
Encyclical	Ĕn–cȳ′clĭ–cal	Circular, sent to many places and persons.
En famille	Ĕn fă–mĭlle′	En fă–meēl.
Enochian*	Ē–nō′chi–an	Ē–nō′kee–an, relating to Enoch.
En Soph*	Ĕn′Sŏph	
Ephod	Ĕ′phŏd	Sacred vestment of the High Priest.
Eons	E′ŏns	Divine spirits in intermediate state.
Eostre*	E–os′tre	Easter.
Ephesus	Ĕf′ē–sus	An ancient city of Asia.
Ephraim	Ē′fra–im	A tribe of Israel.
Epistle	Ē–pis′l	A letter missive.
Epitome	Ē–pĭt′o–me	A summary.
Epopt	E′pŏpt	An eye-witness.
Eques ‡	Ĕ′quēs	Signifying knight.
Equitas	Ĕk′wĭ–täs	Equity.
Eranoi	E′ră–nŏ′ĭ	Friendly societies among the Greeks.
Erica	E–rĭ′că	A sacred plant among the Egyptians.
Erosch	A–rōsh′	The Celestial Raven.
Errand	Ĕr′rand	A commission.
Erratum	Ĕr–ra′tum	An error in writing.
Esar Haddon	Ē–sar Hăd′don	A king of Assyria.
Esoteric	Ĕs′–o–tĕr′ic	That taught to a select few.
Esperance*	Ĕs′pē–rănce	Ĕs′pē–rănse.
Esquire	Es–kwīr′	An armor-bearer.
Esrim	Ĕz′rim	The Hebrew number twenty.
Essenes	Ĕs′sĕn–ēs	Es′sen–ees. A Jewish sect.
Esther	Ĕs′ter	Wife of King Ahasuerus.
Ethanim or Tishri*	Ĕth′a–nĭm	The seventh Hebrew month.
Eumolpus	Eū–mōl′pūs	A king of Eleusis.
Eunuch	Eū′nŭch	Prohibited candidates.
Eureka	Ū–rē′ka	I have found it.
European	Ū–rō–pe′an	Relating to Europe.
Evates*	Ē–vă′tes	Second degree in the Druidical system.
Eveilles, Secte des*	Ē–vĕil–lĕs, Sĕct–e dĕs	Ē–vā–ēā. Bright, enlightened.
Evergeten Bundder*	Ē′vĕr–gē′ten Būnd′dĕr	Secret order similar to the *Illuminati*.
Evora*	Ē–vŏ–ră	Knights of. A military order.
Exalt	Egz–awlt	To elevate.
Examine	Egz–am′ĭn	To scrutinize.
Example	Egz–am′pl	To be imitated.
Excalibar*	Ex–căl′ĭ–băr	King Arthur's famous sword.
Excellent	Eks–sel–lent	Admirable.
Executive	Egz–ek′ū–tiv	An executor of the laws.
Exempt	Egz–emt′	Not subject.
Exist	Egz–ist′	The state of being.
Exordium	Egz–or′dĭ–um	The introduction.
Exoteric	Ĕx′o–tĕr′ic	Public, not secret.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Expert*	Eks′pert	An experienced person.
Expiration	Eks–pĭ–rā′shun	A breathing out.
Extempore	Eks–tem′pō–re	Without previous study.
Ezekiel	Ē–zē′ki–el	A Hebrew prophet.
Ezel	Ĕ′zĕl	Division, separation.
Familien Logen*	Fă–mil′ĭ–en Lōgen	A family lodge, private.
Fanor*	Făn′or	Name given to the Syrian Mason.
Fasces	Făs′cēs	Speeches or records done up in a roll.
Fealty	Fē′al–ty	Loyalty.
February	Feb′rōō–a–rĭ	Second month in the Calendar.
Feix-Feax*	Fe–ĭx′ Fe–ăx′	Signifying School of Thought.
Fendeurs	Fĕn–deūrs	Făn–deūr.
Fervency	Fŭr′ven–cy	Devotion.
Feuillants*	Feu–ĭl–lănts	Feu–ĭăn–ts.
Fiat Lux	Fē′at Lux	Let there be light.
Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum	Fē′at Jŭs–tĭ–shĭ–a rŭ′ăt sē–lŭm	Let justice be done though the heavens fall.
Fidelity*	Fĭ–del′ĭ–tĭ	Faithfulness.
Fides	Fī′dēs	A Roman goddess. Faith.
Fiducial	Fī–dū′cī–al	Confiding trust.
Fillet	Fĭl′let	Head-band.
Finance	Fĭ–nănce′	Revenue of person or a state.
Forehead	Fŏr′ed	The front of the skull.
Forest	Fŏr′est	Not For′ist. A large tract of wood.
Frankincense	Frănk′in–sĕnse	An odorous resin.
Frater	Frā′ter	Latin for Brother.
Freimaurer	Freī–mau′rĕr	Fri–mou′rer. A builder of walls
Freres Pontives*	Frĕres Pŏn–tives	Frāres Pŏn–tives.
Friendship	Frend′ship	Personal attachment.
Frieze	Freez	The entablature, between architrave and cornice.
Fylfot*	Fŷl′fŏt	An ancient symbol.
Gabaon	Gă′bā–ōn	A high place.
Gabor	Gă′bor	Strong.
Gabriel	Ga′bri–el	An archangel.
Gædicke	Găed′ĭcke	Găd′ick. Johann Christian.
Galahad	Gă′lă–hăd	A corruption of Gilead.
G. A. O. T. U.	G. A. O. T. U.	Great Architect of the Universe.
Gareb	Gă′reb	A Hebrew engraver.
Garimout	Găr′i–mŏut	Corruption of Garimond or Garimund
Garinus	Gă′rĭ–nus	A standard-bearer.
Gavel	Găv′el	A working tool of an Entered Apprentice.
Gebal	Gē′băl	A city of Phœnicia. Border, hilly.
Gedaliah	Gē–dal′ĭăh	Son of Pashur.
Gemara	Gē–mă′ră	See *Talmud.*
Generalissimo	Gen–ér–al–ĭs′–si–mō	Second officer in command of K. T.
Geometry	Je–om′ē–trē	A science of magnitudes.
Gethsemane	Ge̅th–sem′–a–nĕ	A garden near Jerusalem.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Gershon	Gŭr′shon	A son of Levi.
Ghemoul	Gē′mul . . [boū′nah	A step of the Kadesh ladder.
Ghemoul Binah Thebounah*	Ghe′moul Bĭ′nah Thē-	Prudence in the midst of vicissitude.
Gibeah*	Gĭb′e-ah	Literally, height.
Giblim	Gĭb′lim	Stonesquarer.
Gilead*	Gĭl′e-ad	The Syrian mountains. [ledge.
Gnostics	Gnŏs′tics	Nŏs′tiks. Superior or celestial know-
God	God . . . . . [mar	Not Gawd. [Templarism.
Godfrey de St. Aldemar	God′-fry-de-San-alde-	One of the founders of ancient Knights
Goethe	Gōe′thē	John Wolfgang von Goethe.
Goetia*	Gō-e′tiă	Go-ē′sha.
Golgotha	Gol′go-tha	Name given to Calvary by the Jews.
Gomel*	Gō′mĕl	Reward.
Gormogons	Gōr′mō-gons	A society opposing Freemasonry.
Gomorrah	Gom-ŏr′ra	Name of a Hebrew city.
Gonfalon*	Gŏn′făl-ŏn′	Ecclesiastical banner.
Gordian	Gor′dĭ-an	Not Gord′yan.
Gorgeous	Gor′jus	Magnificent.
Gothic	Gŏth′ic	A style of Architecture.
Gravelot*	Grăv′ē-lot	One of the three ruffians.
Gugomos	Gū′gō-mŏs	Baron von Gugomos.
Guibs	Gibz	A ruffian in the Scottish Rite.
Guillemain	Guil′lĕ-măin	Gē′ye-măin.
Guttural	Gŭt′-tŭr-āl	Pertaining to the throat.
Gymnosophists*	Gym-nŏs′ō-phists	Signifying "Naked sages."
Habakkuk*	Hăb′ak-kŭk	Love's embrace. A Jewish prophet.
Habin*	Hăb′ĭn	Initiate of 4th degree, Mod. French R.
Habramah*	Hăb′ră-măh	Used only in France. [med
Hadeases	Hă-dees′-ēs	Traditions handed down by Moham-
Hafedha*	Hăf′ĕd-hă	Second of four gods of Arab tribe of Ad.
Haggai	Hăg′gā-ī	A Hebrew prophet.
Hah	Hăh′	Hebrew definite article "the."
Hail	Hāil	Whence do you hail?
Hale	Hāle′	To hide.
Hallelujah*	Hăl-le-lū′yă	Praise ye Jehovah.
Hamaliel*	Hăm-ā′lĭ-el	The angel of Venus.
Haphtziel*	Hăpht′zĭ-el	Häf-zi-el.
Harnouester	Hărn-ouest-er	Harn-west-er.
Harodim	Har′ō-dim	Princes in Masonry.
Haruspices*	Hă′rŭs-pĭ′cēs	Implying a soothsayer or aruspice.
Haupt-Hutte	Hăupt-Hūtte	Hoūt-hūte.
Hautes Grades	Hăutes Grades	Hō-grā-d.
Heal	Hēal′	To make legal.
Heaven	Hĕv′n	The abode of bliss.
Hecatomb	Hĕc′ā-tūm	A sacrifice of a hundred oxen.
Heptagon	Hĕp′ta-gŏn	A plane figure of seven equal sides.
Hermaimes	Hĕr-māimes	A corruption of Hermes.
Hermandad*	Hĕr-măn-dăd	"Spanish Brotherhood."
Hermes	Hĕr′mēz	The Greek God, Mercury.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Herodoin	Hĕr′ō–dŏin	Mythical mountain in Scotland.
Hesed	He′sĕd	Literally, kindness.
Hibbut-Hakkeber*	Hĭb′bŭt Hăk′kē–ber	Beating of the sepulchre.
Hieronymites*	Hī′e–rŏn′y–mītes	Hermit order of the 14th century.
Hierophylax*	Hī′ē–ro–phy′lăx	Guardian of the holy vessels and vest- [ments.
Hindoo	Hĭn′dōō	A native of Hindostan.
Hiram Abba	Hī′ram, A′bä	Not Abi. Hiram the Master, Father.
Hiram-abif	Hiram–ăb–ĭf′	A widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali.
Ho La Tai	Hō lä tä–e	He has suffered.
Homage	Hŏm′ăj	Reverential worship.
Hor	Hŏr	The mountain on which Aaron died.
Horeb	Hō′rĕb	The Mount Sinai range.
Horizon	Hō–ri′zun	Not Hor′i–zŏn. Visible boundary of [earth.
Hoschea	Hŏs–chē–a	A corruption of the word huzza.
Hospitallers*	Hŏs′pĭ–tal–erz	A branch of the Templar Knighthood
Humble	Hum′bl	Lowly of mind.
Huzza	Hŭz–zä′	Acclamation.
Hypothenuse	Hi–poth′e–nūs	The longest side of a right angle tri- [angle.
Hystaspes	His–tăs′pēz	Father of the Persian king, Darius.
Hyssop	Hĭs′up	A species of caper.
Iatric	Ī–ăt′ric	Searchers after universal medicine.
I-Colm-Kill*	Ic′ŏlm–Kill′	Ik′ŏm–kil′.
Iconoclasts*	Ī–cŏn′ŏ–clăsts	Image-breakers.
Iconology	Ī′con–ŏl′o–gy	Teaching the doctrine of images.
Iesus Hominum Salvator	Yā′sūs hom′e–nŭm Säl–vä′tor	Jesus, savior of men.
Iesus Nazerenus Rex Judæorum	Yā′sūs Nä–zā–rā–nŭs Rĕx jū–dē–ō–rŭm	Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.
Ih-Ho	Ĭh–hō	See *Ho–hi.*
Ijar*	Ĭ–jăr	Eighth month of the Hebrew year.
Illuminati	Ĭl–lū′mi–nă′tī	Immaculate.
Immanuel	Im–man′–u–el	God with us.
Imaum*	Ĭm′aum	Im′ŏm.
Immortality	Im–mor–tal′ĭ–tĭ	Unending existence.
Impious	Im′pĭ–us	Profane, wicked.
Imposter	Im–pŏs′ter	Not Im–paw′ster. A deceiver.
Incomparable	In–kŏm′pa–ra–bl	Transcendent, peerle-s.
Indian	In′dĭ–an	Pertaining to the Indies.
Ineffable*	In–ĕf′fā–bl	Unutterable.
Inexplicable	In–eks′plĭ–ka–bl	Without explanation.
In Hoc Signo Vinces	In hŏk sĭg′nō vĭn′sēz	By this sign thou shalt conquer
Initiate*	In–ĭ′shĕ–āt	Performing the first rite.
Inquiry	In–kwī′rĭ	Search for information.
Institute	In′stī–tūt	Erect, establish.
Interesting	Ĭn′ter–ĕst–ing	Engaging the attention or curiosity
Ionic	Ī–on′ic	A style of Architecture.
Irrevocable	Ir–rev′ō–ca–bl	Incapable of being recalled.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Ischngi*	Ĭsch′n-gī	One of the five masters of Solomon.
Ish Chotzeb	Ĭsh-chōtzĕb	Literally, hewers.
Ishmael	Ĭsh-ma′ĕl	God is hearing.
Ish Sabal	Ĭsh-să′băl	Men of burden.
Ish Sodi	Ĭsh-sō′dĭ	A select master.
Isiac Tables*	Ĭs′ĭ-ăc Tā′bles	A flat rectangular bronze plate.
Islamism	Ĭz′lam-ĭzm	The Moslem faith.
Isolate	Ĭz′ō-lāte	Place by itself.
Israfeel*	Ĭs′ră-fēēl	Trumpeting Angel of Resurrection.
Isis	Ī-sis	Sister of Osiris. Beneficent Goddess
Ithamar	Ĭth′ä-mär	Youngest son of Aaron. [of Egypt.
Itratics*	Ĭ-tră′tics	A society of adepts.
Izads*	Ĭz′ăds	The twenty-eight creations of Ormudz
Jaaborou Hammain*	Jă-ăb′ō-rōu Hăm-mā′ĭn	A word of covered significance.
Jabesh	Jä′bāsh	Dry place.
Jabescheh*	Jă-bĕs′chĕh	The dry soil.
Jabulum*	Jā′bū-lŭm	Corruption of Jū-bē-lŭm′. [temple.
Jachin	Jā′kĭn	To establish. A pillar in Solomon's
Jachinai	Jă′chĭn-ăĭ	Jă′kin-ăhĭ. Corruption of Shekinah.
Jacinth	Jä′sinth	A mineral gem of value.
Jacques de Molay	Shăk′ dā Mō-lāy′	Past Grand Master of the Templars.
Jafuhar*	Jä′fū-hăr	Synonym for Thor.
Jah	Jăh	Triliteral name of God.
Jamblichus	Jăm′blĭ-chus	A Neoplatonic philosopher.
James de Molay	James dē Mōlāy	Last Grand Master of ancient K. T.
Jaina*	Jă-ĭ′nă	A cross adopted by the Jainas.
Jared	Jä′red	Descendant of Seth. Lived 962 years.
Jasher*	Jă′sher	Upright.
Jasper	Jă′per	Fourth stone in the breastplate.
Jebusites	Jeb′ū-sites	Natives of Jebus, (afterwards Jerusa-
Jehoshaphat	Jē-hŏsh′-a-făt	A valley East of Jerusalem. [lem.)
Jeksan*	Jĕk′săn	Son of Abraham and Keturah.
Jeroboam	Jĕr-o-bō′-am	First king of the ten tribes.
Jetzirah Sepher*	Jĕt-zĭ′rah Sē′pher	A traditional document.
Jeva Jova Jua	Jā′vä. Jō′vä. Jū-ä	Abbreviations and corruptions of Je-
Jezeeds*	Jĕz′ēēds	Jah is honor. [hovah.
Joabert	Jō-ă′bert	The chief favorite of Solomon.
Joah	Jō′ah	Jah is brother.
Jobel*	Jō′bĕl	A name of God.
Jochebed*	Jō-che′bĕd	Jō-kē′bĕd. Jah is honor.
Jod he vau he	Yŏd hā vau hē	Hebrew letters spelling Jehovah.
Joha	Jō′ha	Jah is living.
Jo-ha-ben*	Yō-hä′ben	A mystical word.
Jokshan*	Jŏk′shăn	Fowler. Second son of Abraham.
Joppa	Jŏp′pa	Seacoast city, 37 miles from Jerusalem
Jordan	Jŏr′dan	A tortuous river of Palestine.
Josedech	Jō′sē-dek	Jah is righteous. Father of Jeshua.
Joshua	Josh′-u-a	High Priest who rebuilt the temple.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Jua	Jū′a	Corrupted form of Tetragrammaton.
Jubal	Jū′bal	Shout, blow. Son of Adah.
Jubalcain*	Jū′bal–cāĭn	Founder of the science of music.
Jubela-o-m*	Jū–bē–lă′–ō′m′	Assassins.
Jubala*	Jū–bē–lä′	First ruffian.
Jubalo*	Jū–bē–lō′	Second ruffian.
Jubelum*	Jū–bē–lŭm	Third ruffian.
Kaaba	Kă–ä′bă	Kă–ăr′bar. Holy temple of Mecca.
Kabbala	Kăb′bă–lă′	A mystical philosophy of the Jews.
Kabbalistic*	Kab′bal–is–tic	Pertaining to the mysteries.
Kadesh	Kā′dāsh	Holy. Same as Kedesh.
Kadiri	Kă′dĭ–rĭ	An Arabian secret society.
Kamea	Kă′mē–ă	An Amulet.
Karmatians*	Kăr–mā′tiăns	A Mohammedan sect.
Kasideans	Kă′sĭ–dē′ans	Latinized spelling of Chasidim.
Katharsis	Kă–thăr′sis	Ceremony of purification.
Khem*	Khĕm	The Egyptian deity, Amon.
Khepra*	Khē′prä	An Egyptian deity.
Kher-heb*	Khĕr′hĕb	Master of Ceremonies.
Khesvan*	Khĕs′văn	Second month of Jewish civil year.
Khetem el Nabiim*	Khē′tĕm el Năb–ĭim.	Kē′tĕm el Nahb–ĭim.
Khon*	Khŏn	The dead. Subject to examination.
Khotbah*	Khŏt′băh	Mohammedan Confession of Faith.
Khurum-Abba*	Khū–rŭm–Ă′bbă	Hiram Abba.
Ki*	Kī	In old Ritual of A. A. Scottish Rite.
Kidron	Kĭd′ron	Turbid water. A brook near Mount of [Olives.
Kislev*	Kĭs′lev	The third Hebrew month.
Knewt-neb-s*	Knewt′nĕb–s	Nūte′nĕbs.
Kohath	Kō′hăth	Assembly. Ancestor of Moses.
Kojiki*	Kō′jĭ′ki	The ancient religion of Japan.
Konx Ompax	Kŏnx Ŏm′păx	Definition uncertain.
Korah*	Kō′răh	Baldness. A Son of Esau.
Koran*	Kō′răn	The reading. The Moslem Bible.
Krishna*	Krĭsh′nă	A Trimurti in Hindu religious system.
Kulma*	Kūl′mă	Hindustani Confession of Faith.
Kum Kivi	Kūm Kĭ–vĭ	Arise! and kneel!
Kun*	Kūn	The creative fiat of God.
Laanah*	Lā′a–năh	Wormwood.
Labarum	Lă′bă–rum	Monogram of Christ.
Laborare est orare	Lă′-bō-ră′rē est ō-ră′rē	To labor is to pray.
Lacorne	Lā–corne′	Lă′kor′nă′.
Lakak Deror Pessah*	Lā′kăk Dĕr′or Pĕs′săh	Liberty of passage and thought.
Lalande	Lă′lände′	See *De la Lande.*
Lamaism*	Lā′mă–ism	Religion of Tibit and Mongolia.
Lamma Sabactani*	Lăm′mă Sä′băc–tä′nĭ	Used in French Rite of Adoption.
Lanturelus*	Lăn′tū–rē′lŭs	Instituted in 1771.
Lapicida	Lă′pĭ–cĭ′dă	A stone-cutter.
Larudan Abbe	Lă′rū–dan Ăb′bĕ	Author of a libellous work.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Latomia	Lă′tō-mĕ′ă	A stone quarry.
Latres	Lă-trĕs′	A brick.
Laus Deo	Läw-ŭs Dā′ō	God be praised.
Laurel	Lŏr′el	An evergreen shrub.
Lebanon	Lĕb′a-non	The forest mountains in Syria.
Lechangeur	Lĕ-chăn′geur	
Lefranc	Lĕ-frănc′	A bitter enemy of Freemasonry.
Legate	Lĕg′ate	An embassador.
Legend	Lĕj′end	A fable.
Lehrling	Lĕhr′ling	German for Entered Apprentice.
Lemanceau	Lĕ-man-ceău′	Lā-man-so′.
Leontica*	Lē-on′tĭ-că	Ancient sacrifices in honor of the sun.
Lepage	Lĕ-pāge′	Lĕ-pa′j.
Leucht	Leŭcht	A Masonic charlatan.
Level	Lĕv′el	An instrument to find a horizontal line
Levitikon	Lĕ-vit′ĭ-kŏn	The spurious Gospel of St. John.
Libanus	Lī-bă′nus	The Latin for Lebanon.
Libation	Lī-bā′shun	A pouring out a liquor.
Liber*	Lī′bĕr	The Book.
Libertas	Lib-er-tas′	Liberty.
Libertine	Lĭb′er-tĭn	A dissolute, licentious person.
Licht*	Lĭcht	Light.
Lichtseher*	Lĭcht′sē-hĕr	A mystical sect of the 16th century.
Linear Triad	Lĭn′ē-ăr Trī′ad	A figure in some old floor cloths.
Listen	Lis′n	To attend and hear.
Livre d' Architecture*	Lĭ′vre d'Ăr′chi-tec-tur	Lĭ′vr d'Ar′she-tek-tū-r.
Livre d'Or	Lĭ′vre d'or	Lē′vr-d'or. The Book of Gold.
Lodge	Lŏdg	A place of shelter.
Logos	Lŏg′ŏs	The word.
Loki*	Lō′kĭ	
Lotos	Lō′tus	An Egyptian aquatic plant.
Louveteau	Loū-vē-teău′	Loū-v-to′.
Loyal	Loi-al	Devoted, faithful.
Lubec	Lū′bĕk	A town in Germany.
Lumiere La Grande*	Lū′mĭere Lă Grăndē	The Grand Light.
Lux e tenebris	Lŭx ē ten′ē-bris	Light out of darkness.
Lux Fiat et Lux Fit	Lŭx Fī′at ĕt Lūx Fit	Let there be light, and there was light.
Luz*	Lūz	Literally, bending, curve.
Maacha	Mă-ă-chă	Mă-ăr′kă.
Macbenac	Măc-bē-năc	See *Mac.*
Maccabees	Măc′că-bēēs	A heroic Jewish family.
Macconniere Rouge*	Mă-çŏn′nē-rie Rouge	Mă-sŏn-nē-rē Rūge.
Macconnieke Societeiten*	Mă-çon′niē-ke Sŏ-ci′-e-teī′ten.	Dutch Masonic clubs.
Macerio	Mă′ce-rĭ′ō	This word is now obsolete.
Macio	Mă′cĭ-o	Mă′she-o.
Maconetus	Mă′cōn-ē′tŭs	Mă′-son-e-tus.
Maconne	Mă′çon-ne	Ma-son-e.
Macrocosm*	Măc′ro-cŏsm or	Ma′cro-cŏsm. Creating the universe.
Maczo	Măc′zō	A mason, a constructor of walls.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Magi*	Mă′gī	Mă′jī. Wise men of Persia.
Magna est veritas et prævalebit*	Măg′nă ĕst vĕr′e-tas ĕt prē′vā-lā-bĭt	Truth is mighty and will prevail.
Magus	Mă′gŭs	Mă-gŭs.
Mah	Mäh	Hebrew pronoun "What."
Mahabharata*	Mă′hă-bhă′rä-tă	A Sanskrit poem.
Mahadeva*	Mă′hă-dē′vă	"The Great God."
Mahakasyapa*	Mă′hă-kă′sy̆-ă-pă′	Disciple of Buddha Sakyamuni.
Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz	Mă′hĕr Shă-lăl Hăsh-Baz	Make haste to the prey, fall upon the spoil.
Mahomet	Mă-hŏm′et	The Moslem prophet.
Mah Shim	Mä′shēm	A standard bearer.
Maitre Macon	Māī′trĕ Mă-çōn′	Mĕ′tr Mă-sōn′.
Maitresse Agissante	Māī′trĕsse	Acting mistress.
Maitrise	Māī′trĭse	Without an English equivalent.
Malach	Mă-lăch′	An angel.
Malachi	Măl-ă′chī	Messenger of Job.
Malakoth	Măl′a-kŏth	The angelic messenger.
Malek Adhel Sayfeddia	Mä′lek′äd-ĕl Sāf-ĕd-dĭa	The just king who holds the Sword of Faith
Malta	Măl′tă	An island in the Mediterranean Sea.
Manasseh	Ma-năs′sä	A tribe of Israel.
Manes	Mā′nēs	Souls of the dead.
Manichaeans*	Măn′i-chē′ans	Also termed Gnostics.
Manu*	Măn′ū	Corresponding to the word West.
Marchesvan	Mär-kesh′van	The second Jewish month.
Marduk*	Mär′duk	A victorious warrior-god.
Masora*	Mäs-ō′rä	A Hebrew work on the Bible.
Masoretic Points	Mă′sō-rēt′ic points	Vowel signs.
Massonus	Mäs-sō′nŭs	Mason.
Master	Mäs-ter	Lord, Chief, Prince.
Mathoc*	Mă′thŏc	Amiability.
Mausoleum	Mau-sō-lē′ŭm	A stately sepulchre.
Maut*	Măut	Mort.
Megacosm*	Mĕg′a-cŏsm	An intermediate world.
Mehen*	Mĕ′hĕn	Or, May-hĕn.
Mehour*	Mĕ′hoūr	Or, May-hŭre.
Meister	Meīst′ĕr	German for master.
Melchizedek	Mĕl-chĭz′ē-dĕk	King of Salem.
Melech	Mĕ′lĕck	Mă′lak.
Melesino, Rite of	Mĕl′es-ĭ′-nō	Scarcely known out of Russia.
Melita	Mĕl-ĭ′tă	Ancient name of island of Malta.
Memento Mori	Mē-mĕn′tō Mō-re	Remember death.
Memory	Mem′ō-re	Not Mem′ry. Mental power to reproduce thoughts.
Menatzchim	Mĕ-năt′chim	Expert Master Masons.
Menu	Mĕ′nū	Son of Brahma.
Merari	Mē-rä′re	Heb., Bitter. Youngest son of Levi.
Mer-Sker*	Mĕr′ Skĕr	Space in which the sun moves.
Meshia Meshiane*	Mĕsh′ĭ-a Mĕsh′ĭ-äne	Corresponding to Adam and Eve.
Mesopolyte	Mĕs′ō-pō-ly′te	4th degree of German Union of XXII.
Mesouraneo	Mĕ′sōu-rä-nē′ō	I am the centre of heaven.
Metusael*	Mĕ-tu′sä-el	Heb. quarryman, one of the assassins.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Mezuza*	Mĕz′ū-ză	Third principle of Judaism.
Microcosm	Mī-crō-cosm	See *Man.*
Minos	Mī′nos	The lawgiver of Crete.
Mistletoe*	Mĭz′l-tō	An evergreen plant.
Mithras	Mĭth′räs	The principal Deity of the Persians.
Mitre	Mī′ter	The covering of a Bishop's head.
Mizpeh	Mĭz′pĕ	A city in Gilead.
Mizraim	Mĭz′raim	Rite of, originated at Milan in 1805.
Moabon*	Mō-ä′bŏn	Mō-ah′bŏn.
Moloch*	Mŏl′ok	The Deity of the Ammonites.
Montfaucon, Prior of	Mont′fau-çon′, Prior of	One of the two traitors.
Monument	Mon′ū-ment	A memorial.
Mopses	Mŏp′sēs	A pretended name for Masonry.
Moriah	Mō-rī-ă	The hill on which the Temple was built.
Mortal	Mor′tal	Subject to death.
Mosaic	Mō-sā-ĭc	Variegated, tessellated.
Moslem	Mŏz′lem	Mohammedan.
Mot de Semestre	Mōt′ dĕ Se-mes′tre	Mō′ de-se-mest-r.
Murderer	Mur′der-er	Not Murd′rer. Assassin.
Mystagogue	Mŭs′tă-gŏgue′	One who makes or conducts an initiate.
Mystes	Mŭs′tēs	To shut the eyes.
Mythology	Mĭ-thol′ō-ji	The science of myths.
Naamah	Nă-ä′măh	The daughter of Lamech.
Nabaim	Nā′bā-im	See *Schools of the Prophets.*
Nadab	Nā′dăb	High-priest of the Persians.
Naked	Nā′kĕd	Unclothed, defenceless.
Naphthali	Năf′ta-lī	One of Jacob's sons.
Narbonne	Năr-bonne	
Naymus Grecus	Nāy′mŭs Grē′cŭs	Possible corruption of Magna Græcia.
Nazarene*	Năz′ā-rene	An inhabitant of Nazareth.
Nebuchadnezzar	Nĕb-uk-ăd-nĕz′zar	A king of Babylon.
Nebuzaradan	Nĕb-ū-zăr′ā-dăn	An officer under Nebuchadnezzar.
Necum	Nē′kōōm	Vengeance.
Nec proditur, nec proditur, innocens ferat	Nĕk prō′dĭ-tor, nĕk prō′dĭ-tor ĭn-nō-sĕnz fē-răt	Not the traitor, not the traitor, let the innocent bear it.
Neder	Nā′dĕr	Promise.
Neith*	Nĕĭth	Egyptian synonym for Greek Athené.
Nekam	Nĕ′kăm	Signifying vengeance
Nekamah	Nĕ′kă-măh	Same as Nekam.
Neocorus*	Nē′ō-cō′rŭs	The Guardian of the Temple.
Ne plus ultra	Nā plus ŭl′trä	Nothing beyond.
Ne varietur	Nā vă-rĭ-e′tŭr	Unless changed.
Nicotiates*	Nĕ-cō′tĭ-a′tes	Nĕ-cō′tĭ-ah′tes.
Nihongi*	Nī-hon′gĭ	Chronicles of Nihon.
Nil nisi clavis	Nĭl-nīsī-clăvis	Nothing but the key is wanting.
Nisan	Nī′san	First month of Jewish year.
Noachidæ	Nō-ach′ī-dæ	Descendants of Noah.
Noffodeli	Nŏf′fō-dĕl′	An apostate Templar.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Nonage	Nŏn′aj	Under lawful age.
Nonesynches	Nōnĕ–sŷn–chĕs	A corruption of Noonshun (luncheon)
Nonis*	Nō′nĭs	A mystic word.
Non nobis, Domine, non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam	Nŏn nō-bis, Dŏm-ĭ-nē nŏn nōbis, sĕd nŏm -ĭn–ē tū–ō dä glō–rĭ–ăm	Not to us, O Lord! not to us, but to Thy name give the glory.
Nornæ*	Nŏr′nae	Signifying Past, Present and Future.
Notuma	Nō–tŭm	Anagram of Aumont.
Novice Maconne	Nŏvice Ma–çon′ne	Novice Má–sŏn–né.
Novitiate*	Nō–vish′e–āte	A person under probation.
Nuk-pe-nuk*	Nŭk′pē–nŭk	"I am that I am."
Nyaya*	Nŷ–ä′yä	A system of ancient Hindu philosophy
Nyctazontes*	Nŷc′tä–zŏn′tes	An ancient sect.
Oannes*	Ō–ăn′nes	
Oath	Ōth	Solemn affirmation.
Obligatory	Ob′lĭgā–to–rŷ	Binding in law or conscience.
Obsequies	Ob′sē–kwiz	Funeral rites or solemnities.
Occult	Ok–kult′	Secret, unknown.
Odious	O′dĭ–us	Deserving hatred.
Off	Off	Not Awf. Away from.
Offer	Of′fer	Not Aw′fer. Present for acceptance.
Office	Of′fis	Not Aw′fis. Assumed duties or business.
Officiate	Of–fish′ĭ–āt	To act as an officer.
Often	Of′n	Not of′ten. Frequent.
Oheb Eloah	Ō–hĕb e–lō′ä	Love of God.
Oheb Karobo	Ō–hĕb kä–rō′bō	Love of neighbor.
Olibanum	Ol–ĭ–bä′num	An aromatic sap, frankincense.
Omega	Ō–mē′gä	Last letter of Greek alphabet.
Omer	Ō′mĕr	A Hebrew measure.
Omnia Tempus Alit	Ŏm′nĭ–ä tĕm′pŭs ä′lĭt	Time heals all things.
On	Ŏn′	A name for Jehovah among Egyptians
Onech*	Ō′nĕch	After Enoch or Phenoch (the Phœnix)
Onyx	Ō′nix	A stone of the breastplate.
Ophites*	Ō′phītes	Brotherhood of the Serpent.
Oral	Ō′ral	Verbal, by word of mouth.
Ordo ab Chao	Ŏr′dō–äb–chä′o	Order out of chaos.
Oriflamme*	Ō′rĭ–flamme	Ancient banner of the Counts of Vezin
Orion	O–rī′un	One of the constellation of stars.
Ormudz and Ahriman	Ŏrmŭdz and Äh-rĭ-măn	Good and evil. Darkness and light.
Ornan	Ŏr′nan	Strong. Whose threshing floor became David's altar.
Osiris	Ō–sī′ris	Chief god of old Egyptian mythology.
Oterfut	Ō′ter–fŭt	The assassin at the west gate.
Otreb	Ō′trĕb	Pseudonym of Rosicrucian Michel Mayer.
Ouriel*	Ou′rĭ–ĕl	
Overseer	O–ver–sēr′	Nutsach. One who inspects

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Ozee	Ō′-zēē	Acclamation.
Oziah*	O′zi-ăh	A Prince of Judah.
Pachacamac*	Păch′ă-cā′măc	Peruvian for Creator of the Universe.
Paganis, Hugo de	Pă-gă′nĭs, Hūgō de	Latinized name of Hugh de Payens.
Palestine*	Pal-es′tīne	Commonly called, The Holy Land.
Palladium	Pal-lā′di-um	That which is an effectual defense.
Paracelcus	Pă-ră-cĕl′sŭs	Degree in MSS. collections of Peuvret.
Parent	Păr′ent	One who begets offspring.
Parian	Pā′ri-an	A fine quality of marble.
Parikchai Agrouchada*	Pa′rĭk-chă′ĭ A′groū- [chă′dă	An occult scientific work of Brahmans
Parlirer*	Păr′lĭr-er	Spokesmen.
Parsees*	Pär′sēz	Followers of Zoroaster.
Pas perdus	Pás′ pĕr-dūs′	French name for room for visitors.
Pastophori	Păs′-tō-phō′rĭ	Couch or shrine bearers.
Pastos	Pâs′tos	Greek for couch.
Patent	Pat′ent	A letter securing certain rights.
Pax vobis cum*	Pax vō-bes′ cŭm	Peace be with you.
Pectoral	Pĕk′tō-ral	Pertaining to the breast.
Pedal	Pē′-dal	Pēdes, the feet.
Pedum	Pē′dŭm	Literally, a shepherd's crook.
Peetash*	Peēt′ăsh	The Demon of Calumny.
Peleg or **Phaleg**	Pē′leg or Fā′leg	Division. A son of Eber.
Penance	Pen′ance	Suffering as evidence of repentance.
Pentacle*	Pĕn′tā-kl	Two intersecting triangles.
Pentateuch	Pĕn′tā-tūk	The five books of Moses.
Perambulate	Per-ām′bu-lāte	To walk over.
Periclyte*	Pĕr′ĭ-clȳte	
Perignan	Pĕr′ig-nân	See *Elect of Perignan.*
Persian	Per′shan	A country in Western Asia.
Pestle	Pes′tl	An instrument for pounding.
Phaal Chol	Fā′ăl Kŏl	Separated, driven apart.
Phainoteletian Society	Phāi′nō-tē-le′tian	Founded at Paris in 1840.
Pharaxal	Phă′răx-ăl	Division and subsequent reunion.
Pharaoh	Fā′ra-ō	A king, a sovereign.
Pharaoschol	Fā-rā-ŏs′kŏl	Congregated, re-assembled.
Philalethes	Phī′lă-lē′thēs	Literally, Friends of Truth.
Philistine	Fĭ-lis′tĭn	An inhabitant of Philistia.
Philocoreites, Order of	Phī′lō-cō-re′ĭ-tes	Established in French army in Spain [in 1808.
Phylacteries*	Phȳ-lac′ter-ies	Ornaments.
Picart's Ceremonies	Pĭ′cart	By Bernard Picart.
Pilaster	Pĭ-las′ter	A partly projecting column.
Pilier	Pĭl′iēr	A pillar or support of an edifice.
Pinceau	Pĭn′ceău	Pin-so. To act as secretary. [East.
Pirlet	Pĭr′let	Organizer of Council of Knights of the
Pitaka*	Pĭt′a-ka	The Bible of Buddhism.
Pitris*	Pĭt′rĭs	Spirits.
Planche Tracee	Plan′che Trā-cēe	Designation for minutes in French [Lodges.
Pleiades	Pley′a-dēz	A group of seven stars.
Polkal	Pŏl′kăl	Altogether separated.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Polycronicon	Pŏlĭ-crŏn′i-cŏn	Latin Chronicle by Ranulf Higden.
Pomegranate	Pŏme′-gran-ate	Adopted as the symbol of plenty.
Pomme Verte*	Pōmme Vĕrtē	Pō-m Vĕr-t.
Poniard	Pŏn′yard	A small dagger.
Pontifes Freres	Pŏn′ti-fēs Frĕres	Pon′te-fēes Frāres.
Pontiff	Pŏn′tiff	A High Priest.
Porch	Porch	Not Pawrch. A gate or entrance.
Position	Po-zish′un	Situation, station.
Postulant	Pŏs′tŭ-lănt	From Latin postulans—asking for.
Potens	Pō′tĕnz	Powerful.
Potentate	Pō′ten-tāt	One of high authority.
Poursuivant	Pour-su′ĭ-vănt	Poor-su′e-van.
Praxœans*	Prăx′ō-ēans	Followers of Praxeas.
Prelate	Prĕl′ate	A dignitary of the church.
Precept	Pre′sept	An injunction, mandate.
Presentation	Prĕz-en-ta′shun	Setting forth, a gift.
Princeps	Prĭn′cĕps	Chief.
Progress	Prog′res	Advancement.
Proponenda	Prō′pō-nen′dă	Subjects to be proposed.
Propylæum*	Prŏp′y-lae′um	Court or vestibule in front of an edifice
Pro tempore	Prō tĕm′pō-rē	For the present time.
Protean	Pro′tē-an	Assuming different shapes.
Protocol	Prō′tō-kŏl	The original writing.
Provost	Prŏv′ust	A presiding officer.
Prudence	Prū′dence	Wisdom applied to practice.
Psalms	Sämz	A sacred song.
Psaterians*	Psăt-ē′rians	A sect of Arians.
Pseudonym	Pseū-dō-nym	Sū′do-nim. False or fictitious name.
Puissant	Pū-is′sant	Powerful.
Pulsanti Operietur	Pul-san′tī Ōpē-rī-ē-tur	To him who knocks it shall be opened.
Punjaub*	Pun-jaub′	Pun-jawb.
Puranas*	Pū-ră′nas	Text-books of worshippers of Vishnu.
Pursuivant*	Pŭr′sui-vant	Per′swē-vant, messenger.
Pythagoras	Py-thag′-o-ras	School of, supposed model of Masonry.
Quadrivium and **Trivium**	Quăd-rĭv′i-um and	Triv′ĭ-um.
Quaternion	Quă-ter′nĭ-ŏn	The number four.
Quetzialcoatl*	Quet′zi-ăl′coatl	Kĕt′ze-al′cotl.
Rabbanaim	Răb′bă-nā′ĭm	Chief of the architects.
Rabbi	Răb′bē	An eminent teacher.
Rabbinism	Răb′bĭn-ism	A Jewish system of philosophy.
Rabboni	Răb-bō′nī	My Rabbi. A most excellent Master.
Ragon	Rā′gŏn	A noted Masonic writer of France.
Rahab	Rä′ab	A name of Egypt.
Ramayana*	Ră′ma-yă′na	The great epic of ancient India.
Raphodom	Răf′ō-dŏm	A mystic word.
Ratisbon	Răt′is-bon	A city of Bavaria.
Razahbelsijah	Rä-zäbĕl-sĭ′yă	A mystic word.
Recognize	Rĕk′ŏg-nīz	To know again.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Recovery	Rē-kuv′er-ĭ	Restoration.
Rectitude	Rek′tĭ-tūd	Straightness, justice.
Recusant	Rē-cū′sant	Insubordinate.
Rehoboam	Rē-hō-bō′am	Son and successor of Solomon.
Rehum	Rē-hŭm	A Persian officer.
Rendezvous	Ren′de-vōō	An appointed place.
Requiem	Re′kwĭ-em	A hymn for the dead.
Research	Re-serch′	Investigation, examination.
Resplendens	Rē-splen′danz	Resplendent.
Restoravit pacempatri	Re-stō-răv′it pă-sĕm [pătrī	He restored peace to his country.
Reverent	Rev′er-ent	Expressing veneration.
Revestiary*	Re-vĕst′ĭ-a-ry	Wardrobe, place for sacred vestments.
Rex regum dominus dominorum	Rex regum dŏm-ĭ-nŭs dominōrum	King of Kings and Lord of Lords.
Robelot	Rō′bē-lŏt	A distinguished French Mason.
Rose Croix	Rōse Croīx	Roz-crwa. Literally, Rose Cross.
Rosenkreuz, Christian	Rō′sen-kreuz	See *Rosicrucianism.*
Rosicrucians*	Rōs′-i-crū′cians	A Brotherhood of the 14th century.
Route	Root	The course or way.
Ruchiel*	Rūch′ĭ-el	Rōōsh′e-el.
Saadh*	Sā′ădh	Literally, hosts.
Sabaism	Săb′a-ism	Worship of the sun, moon and stars.
Sabaoth	Să-bā′ōth	Jehovah of Hosts.
Sabbal*	Săb-bal′	Mystic word, Scottish Rite.
Sabianism	Săb′ĭ-an-ism	Same as *Sabaism.*
Sacellum*	Să-cĕl′lum	A walled enclosure without roof.
Sacerdotal	Sas-er-dō′tal	Pertaining to the order of priests.
Sacrifice	Săk′rĭ-fīz	An offering.
Sadoc	Sā′dok	Heb., Just. Father of Achim, ancestor of Jesus.
Sadonias	Sa-dō′-ne-as	Significant word in the higher degrees.
Sagitta*	Să-git′ta	The keystone of an arch.
Saint Adhabell	Saint Ad′hă-bell	Evidently meaning St. Amphibalus.
Saint Amphibalus	Saint Am′phĭ-bal′us	
Saint Nicaise	Saint Nĭ-caise	Title of a sensational Masonic work.
Sakinat*	Să′kĭ-năt	The Divine presence.
Sakti*	Săk′tĭ	The female energy of Siva.
Salah-eddin	Sä-läh ed-deen′	King of Kings.
Salix	Sāl′ĭx	Initials forming part of a sentence.
Salle des Pas Perdus	Sällè des Päs′ Per-dūs′	The Hall of the Last Steps.
Salsette	Sāl-sĕtte′	An island in the Bay of Bombay
Salute	Sa-lūt′	To greet, to hail.
Salutem	Sal-ū′tĕm	Health, a Roman greeting.
Samaritan	Sa-măr′ĭ-tan	Of the principal city of the Ten Tribes
Samothracian	Să-mō-thrā′cĭ-an	See *Mysteries of Cabiri.*
Sanctum Sanctorum	Sănk′tŭm Sănk-tō-rūm	Holy of Holies.
San Graal	Sän Grāäl	An emerald dish.
Sanhedrim	Sän-he-drĭm	Highest judicial tribunal of the Jews.
Sapicole	Sā′pĭ-cōle	Cited in the nomenclature of Fustier
Saracens	Sär′a-cens	Arabic followers of Mohammed.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Sardius	Sär′de–us	A precious stone of the breastplate.
Sarsena	Sar–sē′nä	Pretended exposition of Freemasonry
Sat B'hai*	Sät B'häi′	Sot–b–hoi′.
Satrap	Sät′rap or Sa′–trap	A local Eastern ruler.
Scarabæus	Skär′ä–bē–us	An insect with wings cased.
Schism	Sizm	Division, separation.
Schismatic	Schĭs–mät′ĭc	Insubordinate Masons.
Schor-Laban*	Schor–Läban′	White Ox, or Innocence.
Secretary	Sek′re–tā–rĭ	A superintending officer of records
Sefidd Schamagan*	Sē–fĭdd Schä′mä–gan	A secret Moslem society.
Sejjin*	Sĕj′jin	Arabic register of all the wicked.
Selah	Sē′läh	A pause or musical note.
Selamu Aleikum*	Sĕ–la′mū Ä′lēi–kūm	Se–lä′moo A′lī–koom.
Semestre	Sĕ–mĕs′tre	Semi-annual word used only in Fran.
Seneschal	Sĕn′e–shal	A steward.
Seniority	Seen–yŏr′–ī–tȳ	Priority, or superiority in rank.
Sephiroth	Sĕph′i–rŏth	From Saphiri—splendid.
Seraphim*	Sĕr′ä–fim	An angel of the highest order.
Serai	Se–rä′e	A rest house.
Serapis	Se–rä′pis	An Egyptian Deity.
Sesh Bazzar	Sĕsh baz–zär′	A name of Zerubbabel.
Sethos	Sē′thŏs	A popular work published in 1731
Shaddai	Shäd–dä–ĭ	One of the names of God.
Shalal Shalom Aba*	Shäl′äl Shäl′ōm Äb′ba	He restored peace to his father.
Shalash esrim*	Shäl′äsh ĕz–rem	Twenty-third.
Shamir	Shäm′ĭr	The worm used for building the temp
Shastras	Shäs′träs	The sacred book of the Hindus.
Shaveh	Shä′vä	A valley in Palestine.
Shealtiel	Shē–äl′te–el	Father of Zerubbabel, who led bac the Jews from Babylon.
Shebat*	Shē–băt	Fifth month of Hebrew civil year.
Shekel	Shĕk′l	A Jewish coin. Value about 62 cent
Shekinah	Shē–kī–näh	To dwell.
Shelomoth	She′lō–mōth	Peacefulness.
Shelum lecka*	Shē–lŭm leck′ä	Password of the Order of Felicity.
Shem Ham Phorash	Shem hăm fō′räsh	The unsolved mystery. The name
Shemitic*	Shĕm–it′ic	A historical religious division.
Shesha*	Shē′shä	Free, noble.
Shetharboznai	Shē–thar–bŏz′nä–ī	See *Tatnai*. A Persian officer.
Shibboleth	Shĭb–bō′leth	An ear of corn. Stream of water.
Shimshai	Shims–shaī	
Shinar	Shī′när	Babylonia in its fullest extent.
Shoulkain*	Shōul′kain	Stolkin, mentioned in A. A. S. R.
Shrine	Shrīn	A hallowed place.
Shrub	Shrub	Not Srub. A dwarf tree.
Shushan	Shū′shan [mŭndĭ	The ancient capital of Persia.
Sic transit gloria mundi	Sĭk trăns′ĭt glōr′ia	Thus passes the glory of the world.
Sijel Al*	Sĭg′el Äl	Recording Angel in Islam.
Simeon	Sĭm′e–on	One of the tribes of Israel.
Simorgh*	Sĭm′orgh	Guardian of the Persian mysteries.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Sinai	Sī′năĭ	A mountain of Arabia.
Sirat*	Sī′răt	
Siroc	Sī′rōc	Signifies a shoe-latchet.
Sivan*	Sĭv′ăn	The ninth Hebrew month.
Smaragdine*	Sma-răg′dīne	Foundation of Hermetic knowledge.
Socius	Sō′cĭ-ŭs	6th deg. of Order of Strict Observance.
Sofism	Sō′fism	A mystical religious sect of Persia.
Sojourn	Sō′jurn	Temporary residence.
Solemn	Sŏl′em	Reverential, devout.
Solomon	Sŏl′ō-mon	King of Israel.
Solstice	Sŏl′stis	The apparent stoppage of the sun.
Solus	So′-lus	Latin, alone.
Sorbonne	Sŏr′bonne	College of theological professors in Paris.
Southerly	Sŭth′er-le	Toward the South.
Spes mea in Deo est	Spēs me′-a in Deo′ ĕst	My hope is in God.
Squarmen*	Squār′men	Companies of wrights, slaters, in Scotland.
Sruti*	Srū′tĭ	Revelation.
Stauros	Stou′rus	A stake. Cross.
Stibium	Stĭb′i-um	Antimony.
Steinmetz	Stēin′mĕtz	German for stonemason.
St. Jean d'Acre	Shăn dä′ker	The city Acca, taken by Richard I. in 1191 and given the new name.
Stolkin	Stŏl′kin	Inspector of the Tribe of Benjamin.
Strength	Strength	Not Strenth. Force, vigor.
Succoth	Suc-kōth′	Heb., Booths. A place east of Jordan
Sultan	Sŭl′tan	A Turkish sovereign.
Superficies	Sū′per-fĭsh-ēz	The surface, the face of a thing.
Summoned	Sŭm′mund	Not Sum′manzd. Commanded.
Sword	Sōrd	Not Sword. Military officer's weapon.
Symbolic	Sim-bŏl-ik	Relating to symbols.
Synagogue	Sĭn′a-gŏg	Place of Jewish worship.
Synod	Sŷn′od	A meeting, convention or council.
Syria	Sĭr′i-ă	Heb., Aram. East of the Mediterranean.
Systyle*	Sŷs′tŷle	An arrangement of columns.
Tabaor*	Tă′bā-or	A name of Edom.
Tabernacle	Tab′er-nă-kl	A temporary habitation.
Tableau	Tab′lō	A vivid representation.
Tadmor	Tăd′mōr	City of Palms.
Talisman	Tăl′iz-man	Magical charm.
Talith*	Tăl′ĭth	An oblong shawl.
Taljahad*	Tăl-jăh′ad	Angel of water.
Talmud	Tăl′mud	The Hebrew laws and traditions.
Tamuz*	Tă′mŭz	The tenth Jewish month.
Tapestry	Tap′es-trē	Woven hangings.
Tarshatha	Tăr-shă′thă	See *Tirshatha.*
Tassel	Tăs′sĕl	A pendant ornament.
Tatnai	Tăt′nā-ī	A Persian officer.
Tau	Tău	The last letter of Hebrew alphabet.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Taurus	Täu′rŭs	Bull. A sign of the Zodiac.
Tchandalas*	Tchăn′dăl-as	A class of pariahs.
Tebet	Tā′bĕt	The fourth Jewish month.
Tebeth	Te′-bĕth [ŭ-mæ	Literally, winter.
Templum Hierosolymæ	Tĕm′plum Hī′ē-rō-sŏl′	Latin for Temple of Jerusalem.
Tenets	Tĕn′-ets	Dogmas, doctrines and principles.
Tengu	Tĕn-gū	Initials of a sentence.
Tensio-Dai-Sin*	Ten′sĭ-o Daī′ Sĭn	A deity held in adoration by Japanese.
Teraphim	Tĕr′ā-fĭm	Household deities.
Tessellated	Tĕs′se-lā-ted	Ornament of a lodge.
Tessera	Tĕs′sĕ-rä	Tessera Hospitalis, token of the guest.
Tetractys	Tē-trăc′tŭs	The number four.
Tetradites*	Tĕt′rä-dīte	Believers in a Godhead of four persons
Tetragram	Tĕt′ra-grăm	A four-letter word.
Tetragrammaton	Tet′-ra-gram-ma-ton	Signifies a word of four letters.
Teutonic	Tū-ton′ĭk	Relating to the ancient Germans.
Thammuz	Thăm′mŭz	Syrian god Adonis.
Thebet	Thā′bet	Same as Tebet, above.
Thebounah	The-bŭ′nä	A mystic word in Kadesh.
Theopaschites*	Thē′o-pas′chites	Followers of Peter the Fuller.
Theoricus*	Thē-or′ĭ-cŭs	12th degree of German Rose Croix.
Therapeutæ	Thĕr′a-peū′tæ	Ascetic sect of Jews in first A.D.
Theriog*	Thē′rĭ-ŏg	
Theurgy	Thē-ŭr′gy	Magic operated by celestial means.
Thokath*	Thō′kăth	Strength.
Thummim	Thum′-mim	See *Urim and Thummim.* Truth.
Tiara	Te-ä′rä	A crown. The Pope's triple crown.
Tiberius	Tī-be′re-ŭs	A city of Palestine.
Tiluk*	Tĭ′lūk	Impress upon forehead of Brahman.
Timbre	Tĭm′brē	Name given in France to a stamp.
Tirshatha	Tĭr-shä′thä	Title of Persian governors of Judea.
Tisri*	Tĭs′rī	The first Hebrew month.
Tito	Tī-tō	A favorite of the king of Israel.
Torgau	Tōr-gäu	A fortified town on the Elbe.
Tortuous	Tŏrt′ū-us	Deviating from rectitude.
Traveler	Trăv′el-er	One who journeys.
Tredic*	Trĕd′ic	The ranking King in Scan. Mysteries.
Trestle	Trĕs′sel	The designing board.
Triad	Trī′ăd	The union of three objects.
Tribute	Trĭb′ūte	A subsidy or tax.
Triglyphs	Trī′glifs	An ornament in the Doric Order.
Triliteral	Trī-lit′e-ral	Sacred name of God among Hindoos.
Trimurti	Trī-mŭr′tē	The Hindoo Trinity.
Trinosophs	Trī′nō-sophs	A lodge instituted at Paris in 1816.
Tripitaka*	Trī-pit′ä-kä	Canonical book of the Buddhists.
Triune	Trī′ūn	Three in one.
Tsaphiel*	Tsä′phĭ-el	Sä′fē-ĕl. The Luna angel.
Tsedakah*	Tse-dä-käh	First step of the mystical ladder.
Tsidoni*	Tsĭ-dō-ni	An enquirer.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Tsoim*	Tsō′ĭm	Sō-ĭm.
Tuapholl	Tū-ă-pholl	A term used by the Druids.
Tubal Cain	Tū-băl Cā′ĭn	Son of Lamech and Zillah.
Tunic	Tū′nĭk	The long undergarment of the clergy.
Turcopolier	Tŭr′cō-pō-li′er	Commander of cavalry.
Turquoise	Tŭr-quōĭse	Tur-koă-z. A stone in breastplate.
Tuscan	Tŭs′căn	An order of Architecture.
Typhon	Tĭ′fŏn	The Egyptian evil deity.
Tyrian	Tĭr′e-an	Relating to Tyre.
Unaffiliated	Ŭn-af-fil′ē-ā-ted	Not a member.
Unhele*	Ŭn-hele′	To uncover or reveal.
Unison	Yū′ne-sun	Harmony, concord.
Upadevas*	Ū′pă-de′-văs	
Upanishad*	Ū′păn-ĭsh-ăd	Name for certain Sanskrit works.
Ur*	Ŭr	Fire, light or spirit.
Uri	Ū′rī	Heb., Enlightened. Son of Hur.
Uriel	Ū′ri-el	God is light.
Urim	Ū′rĭm	Lights.
Usage	Yū′zij	Custom, use, habit.
Utopia	Ū-tō′pe-a	Ideal perfection.
Usurp	Ū-zŭrp′	Seize and hold possession.
Vagao*	Vă′gă-ō	Found in French Rite of Adoption.
Valorous	Văl′or-oŭs	Brave, courageous.
Vase	Văz	An ornamental vessel.
Vashti	Văsh′tē	Wife of Ahasuerus.
Veadar*	Vē′ä-dar	That is, the second Adar.
Vedas	Vē′dăs	Sacred canon of the Hindoos.
Vehm-gericht	Vĕhm′-gĕr-ĭcht′	See *Secret Tribunal of Westphalia.*
Verger	Vĕr′jer	An attendant upon a dignitary.
Veritas	Ver′-i-tas	Truth.
Vesica Pisces	Vĕs′ĭ-ca Pĭs-cĭs	The air-bladder of a fish.
Vespasian	Ves-pa′-sian	
Vexillum Belli	Vĕx-il′lum Bellĭ	A war flag.
Vicegerent	Vĭs′gē-rent	An officer authorized to act for another
Vielle-Bru	Vĭ′elle Brū	V-ie-l Brū, Rite of, established 1748
Vincere aut Mori	Vĭn′cē-rē ăut Mori	To conquer or to die.
Vineyards	Vĭn′yärdz	A plantation of vines.
Vitra*	Vĭ′trä	A Mohammedan sect established 1740
Viva voce	Vē′vä vō′sä	By word of mouth.
Vivat	Vĭ′văt	Vivat! vivat! vivat! Acclamation.
Voishnuvus*	Vō-ĭsh′nū-vŭs	
Volutes	Vō′lūtz	A spiral ornament in Architecture.
Vouch	Vouch	To attest or bear witness.
Wahabites*	Wă′hă-bītes	Represents the opponents of Masonry.
Warrant	Wŏr′rant	Commission, authority.
Westward	West′ward	Not West′urd. Toward the West.

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL PRONUNCIATION.	PROPER MASONIC PRONUNCIATION.	NOTATIONS.
Wilhelmsbad	Wil′helms–băd	A city of Germany.
Wolfenbuttel	Wŏl–fen–bŭttel	A city of Lower Saxony.
Worship	Wŭr′ship	Title of honor. To adore.
Worthy	Wŭr′the	Estimable, possessing merit
Xerophagists	Xē′ro–pha′gĭsts	Eaters of dry food.
Xinxe	Xĭn′xe	The seat of the soul.
Xysuthrus*	Xȳs′ū–thrŭs	Zĭs′ū–thrŭs.
Yah, Yeva, Yod	Yä, Yāvä, Yŏd	Corrupt names of the Deity.
Yaksha*	Yăk′shă	Hindoo Deity.
Yaveron Hamaim	Yä′ve–rōn Hä′–māim	The passage of the river.
Yezdegerdian*	Yĕz′dĕ–gĕr′dĭan	Pertaining to the era of Yezdegerd.
Yezidee*	Yĕz′i–dēe	A sect bordering on the Euphrates.
Yggdrasil*	Ȳgg–drä′sil	Sacred tree, Scandinavian mythology.
Y-ha-ho	Ȳ–hä′hō	Signifying the Eternal God.
Yod	Yŏd	A Hebrew letter.
Yoni	Yō′nĭ	A female symbol of the Orientalists.
Zabud	Zä–bŭd	A historical personage at Solomon's
Zabulon	Zä′bū–lŏn	Tenth son of Jacob. [court.
Zadok	Zä′dŏk	Righteous. Son of Ahitub, a priest.
Zadki-el*	Zăd′kĭ–el	Angel of the planet Jupiter.
Zaherlaherbon	Zä–her′–lä–her–bon′.	
Zaphnath-paaneah*	Zăph–năth–paa′ne′ăh	Saviour of the world.
Zarathustra	Zä′ra–thūs–trä	Name of Zoroaster in Zend language.
Zarriel*	Zär′rĭ–el	The angel that governs the sun.
Zarthan	Zär′thăn	See *Zeredatha.*
Zebedee	Zĕb′e–dē and Zeb–ē′de	Jah is gift. Husband of Salome.
Zedekiah	Zĕd′e–kī′ä	Jah is might. A false prophet.
Zend-Avesta	Zĕnd Ä–vĕs′tä	Persian Bible in Zend language.
Zennaar	Zĕn′när	Sacred cord used in Hindustanee ini-
Zeraias	Zē–räi′äs	[tiation.
Zerbal	Zĕr′bäl	King Solomon's Captain of Guards.
Zeredatha	Ze–rĕd′–ä–tha	See *Clay Ground.*
Zerubbabel	Zē–rŭb–ba′bel	A prince of the House of Judah.
Zeus*	Zē′ŭs	The Chief Deity of the Greeks.
Zicu*	Zĭ′cū	
Zif*	Zĭf	Blossom. The second Jewish month.
Zipporah	Zĭp–pō′rä	Little bird. Wife of Moses.
Zithern*	Zĭth′ern	A musical instrument of 28 strings.
Zizon	Ze′zōn	Balustrade.
Zodiac*	Zō′de–ak	An imaginary belt in the heavens.
Zohar*	Zō′hăr	Distinction, nobility.
Zohariti*	Zō′ha–rĭ′tĭ	Nobility.
Zoroaster	Zō–rō–as′ter	Founder of the Parsee religion.
Zschokke*	Zschŏk′kĕ	An eminent German Masonic author.
Zuni*	Zū′nĭ	Indian tribe of New Mexico.
Zurthost	Zŭr–thōst	Modern Parsee name for Zoroaster.
Zuzim	Zū′zĭm	Strong. A primitive race.