

The Lodge of Research No. 2429

Leicester

Transactions 2005-06

CONTENTS

Editorial 2
List of Officers 2005–2006 3
Portrait of the Master W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C. 4
Biography 5
Historical Note. Membership and Objectives of the Lodge 6
Lodge Meetings 7
'It is not in the power of any Man.' A Study of the Changes in the Physical Qualifications for Initiation within the context of the Landmarks of Freemasonry, by W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C. . . . 9
The Old Charges Revisited
by Professor A. Prescott 25
Alcohol and Masonic Conviviality
by W.Bro. R. Leek, P.P.D.G.D.C. 39
19th Century Surveys of the Temple Mount
by W.Bro. D. A. Peacock, P.P.S.G.W. 43
Some Thoughts on the Second or Fellow-Crafts' Degree
by W.Bro. A. Simpson, P.P.J.G.W. 49
Am I My Brother's Keeper?
by W.Bro. M. A. Robinson, P.P.J.G.W. 53
The Eye in Masonry. As a Symbol, and in other Contexts
by W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C. 62
Address at the Freemasons' Carol Service, 11 December 2005
by W.Bro. Rev. Canon M. Wilson, P.A.G.Chap. 71
The Office of Steward. Address to the Derek Buswell Lodge of Provincial Grand Stewards No. 9705
by W.Bro. Rev. Canon M. Wilson, P.A.G.Chap. 73
Report of the Library Committee (June 25th 1860) 75
Copies of Transactions for Sale 77
Note on Transactions 77
The 17th Regiment 77
Members of the Lodge 78
Register of the Lodge 79
Brethren 82

EDITORIAL

It is a common failing to accept and not to question.

How many Brethren attend Lodge Meetings, actively or passively, without any spiritual or emotional involvement in the proceedings. In the Lodge Room without giving thought to the origins and meaning of the ceremony, or to the furnishings and decorations around them, or to the Customs of the Festive Board.

Careful study of the ceremony of 'Passing' reveals many unanswered questions, some of which are revealed in the ceremony of 'Raising'. Its importance is further exemplified in the Degree of Mark Master Mason, and the extended version of the 'Installation of a Master' in the Craft. Two ceremonies no longer countenanced by the United Grand Lodge of England and Wales.

Symbols can mean many different things to different people. An eye surrounded by a triangle was a common artistic device, in the early sixteenth century, to depict the Trinity.

Hopefully the contributions of W.Bro. A. Simpson and W.Bro. J. M. Cappin will give cause for thought and consideration of our ceremonies and their symbolism. Likewise the contributions of W.Bro. R. Leek and W.Bro. Rev. Canon M. Wilson on the subject of conviviality and the Festive Board are worthy of contemplation.

An historical interpretation of the origins of the 'York Legend' was given by Professor Andrew Prescott, the first Director of the Centre for Research into Freemasonry at the University of Sheffield, the first academic centre devoted to the study of Freemasonry to be established at a British University. This was particularly appropriate as 'The Masonic Order of Athelstan' consecrated the 'High Cross Court No. 5', in the Province of Mercia on the 29th of March 2006 (covering inter alia the Province of Leicestershire and Rutland).

The Lodge of Research, No. 2429

Officers 2005 2006

Worshipful Master

BRO. JOHN M. CAPPIN

Bro. JOHN T. HARRISON (P.M.)	Senior Warden
Bro. BRYAN B. WILLS (P.M.)	Junior Warden
Bro. EDWARD W. BRAMFORD P.M.	Chaplain
Bro. ROGER G. PIPES (P.M.)	Treasurer
Bro. WALTER W. GLOVER (P.M.)	Secretary
Bro. ALAN SIMPSON P.M.	Director of Ceremonies
Bro. JEREMY A. RIDGE P.M.	Almoner
Bro. AUBREY N. NEWMAN P.M.	Charity Steward
Bro. WILLIAM G. DAWSON (P.M.)	Senior Deacon
Bro. A. DAVID HERBERT (P.M.)	Junior Deacon
Bro. ALAN SELBY P.M.	Assistant Director of Ceremonies
Bro. RALPH LEEK (P.M.)	Organist
Bro. DONALD A. PEACOCK (P.M.)	Assistant Secretary
Bro. BRIAN E. HEAD (P.M.)	Inner Guard
Bro. MICHAEL A. ROBINSON (P.M.)	Steward
Bro. MICHAEL E. HERBERT (P.M.)	Steward
Bro. MICHAEL WILSON (P.M.)	Tyler

Immediate Past Master

W.BRO. PETER A. NEAVERSON

Master Elect

W.BRO. JOHN T. HARRISON

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"Tanglewood", 35 The Oval, Oadby, Leicester LE2 5JB
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Freemasons' Hall, 80 London Road, Leicester LE2 0RA
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Editor

W.BRO. J.A. RIDGE
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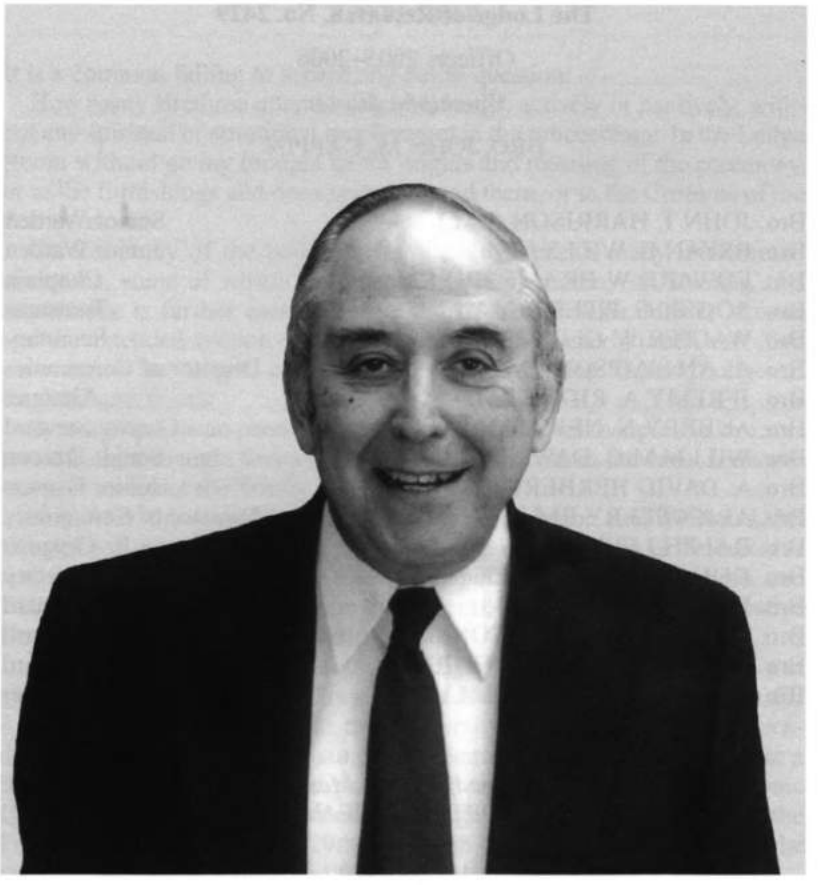

Portrait of the Master W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C.

BIOGRAPHY

W.Bro. John Michael Cappin, a Lewis and nephew of W.Bro. Harry Carr (Master of The Lodge of Research No. 2429 in 1963) was made a Mason in the St. Denys Lodge No. 8276 in 1977 and Master in 1993, the year in which he was elected a Full Member of the Lodge of Research No. 2429, having been a Correspondence Circle Member since 1979. In Provincial Grand Lodge he was promoted to Past Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies in 2001.

In the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch he was exalted in the Gartree Chapter No. 7778 in 1981 and installed as First Principal in 1995. In 2005 he was promoted to Past Grand Sword Bearer in the Provincial Grand Chapter. In the Degree of Mark Master Masons he was advanced in St. George's Lodge No. 1133 in 1984, being Master in 1997. In 1999 he joined the Progress Lodge of Installed Mark Masters No. 1786, and 2004 was appointed Provincial Grand Junior Warden.

In the Honourable Degree of Royal Ark Mariners he was elevated in the William Kelly Lodge of Royal Ark Mariners No. 19 in 1991 and enthroned as Commander in 2001.

Published papers in the Transactions of the Lodge of Research are:

Relationship of Music to Freemasonry	1982
Harry Carr, the Man and his Work	1989
A French First Degree Ritual of 1788	1996
London Coffee House Lodges	2000

Historical Note

The Lodge of Research, No. 2429, was consecrated on 26th October, 1892 W.Bro. J.T. Thorp, a masonic historian of outstanding note, being installed as the first Master.

The Lodge seeks to exchange opinions with Freemasons throughout the world, and to attract and interest Brethren by means of Papers on the historical and symbolic aspects of Masonry.

(Revised By-Laws, 1962)

Membership

The membership of the Lodge is limited in number. The members will *as a rule*, be elected from among the members of the Correspondence Circle.

Papers

The writers of Papers are alone responsible for the opinions expressed therein.

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE

The members of the Correspondence Circle are entitled
to have posted to them, as issued, the Summonses convoking the meetings of the Lodge,
to be supplied gratis, with the Annual *Transactions* of the Lodge,
to attend Meetings of the Lodge
to take part in any discussions relating to any Papers which may be read, or subjects of general masonic interest which may be introduced,
to read Papers and introduce discussions on masonic subjects (by arrangement).

They are not entitled to vote, hold office, or take part in the management of the Lodge.

A Candidate for Membership of the Correspondence Circle is subject to election by a show of hands.

The names of Candidates will be submitted to the Permanent Committee at their next Meeting after completed application forms have been received by the Secretary.

No entrance fee is required, and the Annual Subscription is £10.00 payable in advance in the month of July. Any member whose subscription is unpaid for the current year is not entitled to a copy of the Lodge *Transactions*.

The Lodge reserves to itself the full power to exclude any Member from the Correspondence Circle whom it may deem unworthy of continued membership.

Note:- All Master Masons, in good standing, whether Members of Lodges in this Province or elsewhere, are eligible for membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Four-hundred and seventy-sixth Meeting

was held on

MONDAY 28th November 2005

There were present W.Bro. M. D. M. Parkes Bowen, acting W.M.; W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, S.W.; W.Bro. J. T. Harrison, J.W.; eleven Officers, eleven full members, seventeen members of the Correspondence Circle and three visitors, a total attendance of forty-five.

Seven brethren were elected members of the Correspondence Circle.

The Master elect, W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, was presented by the Director of Ceremonies, installed by W.Bro. M. D. M. Parkes Bowen and proclaimed in the three degrees.

After the Worshipful Master had appointed and invested his officers for the year his inaugural address entitled:

"It is not in the power of any man..."

The brethren afterwards met together for refreshments and conversation.

The Four-hundred and seventy-seventh Meeting

was held on

MONDAY 23rd January 2006

There were present W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, W.M.; W.Bro. B. B. Wills, J.W.; thirteen officers, eight full members, twenty-two members of the Correspondence Circle and one visitor, a total attendance of forty six. In the absence of W.Bro. J. T. Harrison, W.Bro. D. A. Peacock took the S.W.'s chair.

There were no applications for membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Professor Andrew Prescott presented his paper entitled:

"The Origins of the York Legend Reconsidered"

A vote of thanks was given by W.Bro. A. N. Newman and the brethren expressed their appreciation.
The brethren afterwards met together for refreshments and conversation.

The Four-hundred and seventy-eighth Meeting

was held on

MONDAY 27th March 2006

There were present W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, W.M.; W.Bro. J. T. Harrison, S.W.; thirteen officers, three full members, twenty-four members of the Correspondence Circle and two visitors, a total attendance of forty-four. In the absence of W.Bro. B. B. Wills, W.Bro. D. A. Peacock took the Junior Warden's chair.

W.Bro. Rev. D. H. Heatley and W.Bro. Fabio Venzi were elected members of the Correspondence Circle.
The annual election resulted as follows:

W.Bro. J. T. Harrison	Master Elect
W.Bro. R. G. Pipes	Treasurer

The W.M. introduced the subject for the evening. To conduct a Symposium on Masonic Research:

W.Bro. R. Leek	'Alcohol and Masonic Conviviality'
W.Bro. D. A. Peacock	'19th Century Surveys of the Temple Mount'
W.Bro. A. Simpson	'Some Thoughts on the Second Degree'

The brethren afterwards met together for refreshments and conversation.

'IT IS NOT IN THE POWER OF ANY MAN'

A study of the Changes in the Physical Qualifications for Initiation within the context of the Landmarks of Freemasonry

W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C.

'You admit that it is not in the power of any Man or Body of Men to make innovation in the Body of Masonry'. Those of us who became Masons prior to 1986 have heard, for many years, this familiar version of the 'Ancient Charge' to which the Master Elect must pledge himself at the beginning of the Installation Ceremony. Likewise, the Initiate must 'strictly adhere to the Ancient Landmarks of the order', which the Fellow Craft discovers are under 'the superintendance of an experienced mason who will guard them against encroachment', and the Master Mason must preserve them 'sacred and inviolable'. Thus our ritual hammers into us the essential principle of constancy and permanent tradition within Masonry.

This so-called 'Ancient Charge' was not in fact quoted from the original "Old Charges", but was derived from an early resolution in the Grand Lodge of England on 24 June 1723. 'It is not in the Power of any person, or Body of men, to make any Alteration, or Innovation in the Body of Masonry without the Consent first of the Annual Grand Lodge'. T. O. Haunch in the Prestonian Lecture of 1972 revealed that the last nine words (without the Consent first of the Annual Grand Lodge) were removed by William Preston in his eighth edition of Illustrations of Masonry (1792). In discussing the Ancient Charges and Regulations (of which this was the second) to be read during the Installation ceremony. Arthur Waite (New Encyclopaedia) suggested that the original Grand Lodge Resolution implied that 'It follows that it is possible to alter the Body of Masonry but not its Landmarks ...'. The Rev. George Oliver (1875) even suggested that the Grand Lodge had been 'actually altering several old Landmarks which appeared to stand in the way of improvement, and the adaptation of ancient Masonry to modern requirements.' Nevertheless, Preston's abbreviated version of the Grand Lodge resolution has encouraged rigid conservatism in many Grand Lodges throughout the world at different periods, and following the revelations of that 1972 Prestonian Lecture, and only since 1986 has it returned to its original form in the English Book of Constitutions.

What are the Landmarks of Freemasonry and what is the 'Body of Masonry'? In the XXXIX Regulation of Anderson's 1923 Constitutions, which was the first published book including the English Grand Lodge Regulations, we find the unexplained word 'Landmarks' which must be 'carefully preserved'. The 'Body of Masonry' is not mentioned here especially in regard to the Old Charges, which are included in the volume. Professor Roscoe Pound, the prominent early American Twentieth century authority on Masonic law felt that the Landmarks and the word 'Body' were essentially identical (Lectures 1911–12). It is usually accepted that the Landmarks are principles, statements, facts and usages and customs

deemed essential to freemasonry. They should be unalterable and unchanging and valid for all time. They are often included as part of the legal structure of Masonry, together with the General and Local Regulations, though past authorities such as the Rev. George Oliver (1846) felt that lodge and ritual details and its history could be included. The need for a belief in a Supreme Being has been axiomatic since the beginning, albeit no longer only The Christian Trinity and the importance of this belief led to the rejection by the United Grand Lodge of England of other Grand Lodges including the Grand Orient. Other Landmarks identified by Roscoe Pound were ... belief in the persistence of personality, a 'book of the law' as an essential part of the lodge furniture, the third degree legend, secrecy, symbolism of the operative art, and that a mason must be a man, freeborn, and of age.

However, there has been much dispute as to the number, content, origin, age, and significance of these Landmarks, but some authors think of them as part of the 'Body of Masonry', (T. O. Haunch 1979), this term implying a wider concept of masonic culture, tradition, history and practice. There has, however, been little attempt to officially define the Masonic Landmarks in England, in contrast to the U.S.A; more a suggestion that these include the principles on which the Old Charges and Constitutional Rules are based. (The Constitutions state that, 'In The Grand Lodge resides the power of enacting laws and regulations for the government of the Craft, and of altering, repealing, and abrogating them, provided they continue to preserve the ancient Landmarks of the Order').

It is now my intention to discuss this concept of Landmarks with examples referring to the Physical Qualifications for acceptance into Masonry, how changes have evolved in the relevant Masonic law and its interpretation. It is not appropriate to present a comprehensive history of these laws in this paper, as this would fill a monograph in its own right, but I will consider the British Isles and North America, with examples from their multiple jurisdictions.

Who was and is considered to be 'a fit and proper person to be made a mason?' W.Bro Aubrey Newman has already discussed the social and moral fitness of some of the characters and the social status of some brethren prominent in masonry in the eighteenth century. For 'Fit and Proper Persons' we must look to the rules and regulations of the craft.

The central organisation of Speculative Masonry or Freemasonry began with the foundation of the First or Premier Grand Lodge by four 'old lodges' in 1717. In the first published volume to include their Regulations, Anderson's Constitutions of 1723, Charge IV states that 'no Master should take an Apprentice, unless he has sufficient Imployment (sic) for him, and unless he be a perfect youth, having no maim or defect in his Body, that may render him incapable of learning the Art, serving his Master's Lord and of being made a Brother and then a fellow Craft in due time'. In addition, he had to be freeborn, of honest parents, no bondman, of mature and discreet age, good and true, of good report, and not a eunuch. In the 1738

edition, the Charge was more specific, insisting that he had to be 'hale and sound, not deformed, or dismembered at the time of his making'. It is to be emphasised that in these and subsequent Constitutions, the 'Old Charges' of the Grand Lodge, Regulations, and Laws etc. are printed as separate chapters.

These together with other rules and regulations are considered to have been derived from the original Old Charges (Gothic Constitutions), a number of manuscripts, which appear to relate to Operative Masonry, including the Cooke Manuscript of about 1460, which Anderson and his Grand Lodge associates are understood to have studied amongst the 'ancient records of Lodges beyond Sea and of those in England, Scotland and Ireland ...', and which were regarded with considerable veneration by all the early speculative lodges. The oldest of these, the Regius Manuscript of around 1410 was not discovered until 1839, so did not influence the early Grand Lodge Constitutions. The Antiquity manuscript (1686) stated 'that an Apprentice should be freeborn and of limbs whole as a man ought to be and no Bastard'. Elsewhere, it states 'he should be ablebodied', or as in the Cooke Manuscript have 'no maim or defect which would incapacitate him from doing a Mason's work), as in the Harleian Manuscript No. 1942 (About 1670),' of able body, honest parents, etc,' possessing 'capability of the body to attend to the science.' A version of the Old Charges (Knoop, Jones and Hamir: Early Masonic Pamphlets appeared in five issues of the newspaper 'The Postman and the Historical Account in August 1722 as a reply to an attack on the Craft (later printed as a pamphlet as Roberts' Constitutions 1722) stating that 'You shall not take upon you to make any one Mason – and that have his right and perfect limbs, and able of Body to attend the said Science'.

Other versions of the Old Charges echo these requirements, each emphasising physical integrity rather than general health. No doubt these stipulations arose from the strenuous physical requirements of operative masonry, whether heaving blocks of stone, or chiselling away at hard surfaces. The 'Operative' requires the candidate to demonstrate his physical ability to 'do the work' prior to his admission to the Assemblage (The Worshipful Society of Freemasons, Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviors, Plaisterers and Bricklayers). Also, other mediaeval guilds such as the Cutlers' and Barber Surgeons required evidence of physical intactness, and comparisons have been made with the Old Testament ruling (Leviticus xxi, 7-23 that a man with a bodily imperfection could not even approach the altar of the Tabernacle. Thus we have, at the beginning of regular Freemasonry, the adoption of principles and rules taken from practical and professional crafts and applied to a speculative or purely philosophical and social organisation, whether appropriate or consistent with the aims or the philosophy of that organisation.

The Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons, founded in 1751 by Irish and other masons, in opposition to the Grand Lodge of England, followed a similar ruling. Their Constitutions were included in Lawrence Dermott's

'Ahiman Rezon', first published in 1756, but their 'Old Charges', also in a chapter separate from the Regulations, did not prohibit 'innovation in the Body of Masonry'. Charge IV asserted that 'No master should take an apprentice that is not the son of honest parents, a perfect youth, without maim or defect in his body'.

This doctrine of 'The Perfect Youth' dominated discussions concerning the admission of candidates for many years. In Eighteenth century Masonic literature (such as William Hutchinson's 'Spirit of Masonry') there appeared the frequent theme of the purity of the masonic initiate, and comparisons were made with the purification necessary before any acolyte could be initiated into the priestly and other rites of the Egyptians, Greeks, Jews and other civilisations.

In the Minute Books of the 'Maid's Head Lodge' at Norwich in 1809, one unfortunate candidate was mentioned as about to be made 'an Enter'd Apprentice Mason but in consequence of his not being upright in body, he could not be admitted and therefore was rejected accordingly'. However, even in the early years, the rules were not always strictly adhered to, as exemplified by a Polish dwarf, Count Boruwlaski, being about thirty nine inches in height, though perfectly proportioned, who was made a mason in 1783 at the Feathers Inn in Chester. (BEJ)

The Nineteenth century saw the beginning of a divergence of attitudes between the American and English Grand Lodges. Early in that century, the Rev. George Oliver, who was a staunch believer in the old traditions and prolific writer, wrote 'It would indeed be a solecism in terms to contend that a loss or partial deprivation of a physical organ of the body could, by any possibility, disqualify a man from studying the sciences, or being made a mason in our times, while in possession of sound judgement and the healthy exercise of his intellectual powers.' In his book, 'Institutes of Masonic Jurisprudence' (1859), in discussing the qualifications for a potential initiate, he does not mention physical qualifications. By contrast, the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky in 1808 were specifying that a candidate should be 'of sufficient natural endowments and the senses of a man', and 'upright in body, not deformed or dismembered a the time of making, but of hale and entire limbs as a man ought to be'.

The Constitutions of the United Grand Lodge in England and all its districts and sister lodges have not specifically mentioned a candidate's physical qualifications since the Union. The 'Ancient Charges' are included as a separate chapter in each volume, with the 'perfect youth' requirements of the operative masons, but the application of this issue is never discussed in the General Laws and Regulations. One caveat here; in 1845, they do state, as a footnote, that 'any individual who cannot write is ineligible to be admitted into the Order; and this appears until the Constitutions of 1926, but not in 1940, the subsequent, and following editions. The Proceedings of United Grand Lodge in 1869 (28 July) quote the initiation of Isaac Robins, 'a man who could neither read nor write ... against the permission of the District Grand Master', who then sent the

Warrant of the Lodge back to Grand Lodge. This was sent back to the District Grand Master to return to the Lodge, whom he was instructed to caution against similar breaches of the rules. They did not discuss what should be done with Isaac Robins himself. It is rare to find discussions concerning physical disabilities in the Grand Lodge Proceedings.

On February 24th 1875, John Hervey, Grand Secretary issued this circular:

'Dear Sir and Brother,
According to the promises made in my note of the 2nd inst., I submitted our letter of the 1st inst. to the Board of General Purposes (of the Grand Lodge of England) at their meeting on Tuesday in the last week. The Board feel that it is impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule as to the initiate not perfect in his body as required in Art.4 Ancient Charges, p.6 Constitutions. I am directed to say that the general rule in this country is to consider a candidate eligible for election (to the Degrees) who although not perfect in his limbs is sufficiently so to comply with and go through the various ceremonies required in the different degrees.
Each case of this description must be decided by the members of the lodge to whom the candidate is personally known, subject to the investigation and appraisal of the Master of the lodge, who is of course officially responsible, that the candidate was in a condition to comply with the above named requirements.
I am etc.
John Hervey G.S.'

This circular is quoted in a letter (Phy.Dis) dated 28 August 1893 from Bro. E. Letchworth, Grand Secretary, who responds:

'Dear Bro. Newhart,
I return to you Bro. Cooper's note. There is really no reason why Mr. Bird should not be initiated, notwithstanding the loss of his right arm. I enclose a copy of the circular on the subject issued by the late Bro. John Hervey, Grand Secretary. It is not so clearly worded as it might be, but if the W.M. is of the opinion that the candidate is eligible in other respects, it is now understood that physical infirmity is no bar to his being initiated.
I am etc.
E. Letchworth G.S.'

The Grand Lodge of Scotland followed the traditional Old Charges in the Eighteenth century, but their Constitutions from 1878 permitted 'mutilation' or loss of limb in an initiate at the discretion of the lodge, though not blindness, or a deaf mute. The Irish Constitutions, through the Nineteenth century and until 2003, state that any application for a candidate who is 'maimed, lame, or defective, he shall not be initiated without a

dispensation from the Grand Master ... or Deputy Grand Master the application to be made by memorial wherein the defect shall be clearly specified. Any lodge violating this law shall have its Warrant cancelled or suspended, or fined ...'. They also forbid acceptance of any candidate unable to read or write.

In the Nineteenth century, the American fraternity seem to have been more preoccupied with masonic jurisprudence than their British cousins, their pre-eminent representative being Dr. Albert Mackey. This scholarly brother was born in Charleston (South Carolina) on March 12, 1807, where he qualified as a doctor in 1834, and later moved to Washington D.C. He was initiated in 1841, and issued his first masonic book, a 'Lexicon of Masonry', in 1845. He published many other masonic works, and was editor and contributor to several important journals, including his own 'National Freemason', as well as holding high office in numerous masonic orders. He claimed to be the first to define and codify the 'Ancient Landmarks' but was in fact preceded by Dr. J.W.S. Mitchell of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, (1850) and Rob Morris of Kentucky (1856) who listed seventeen, as well as the published constitution of the Grand Lodge of Minnesota (1856) with twenty-six landmarks.

Mackey's first article in American Quarterly Review of Freemasonry (1858) (and also his Text-Book of Masonic Jurisprudence (1859)), in which he states his twenty-five Landmarks, set a standard by which all 'landmarks' have regularly been compared, though they have been much criticised. Many American Grand Lodges and others have adopted his list at different times. However, this was followed by a stream of authors contributing to the confusion that developed concerning the definition, numbers, and contents of different lists.

Number eighteen of Mackey's Landmarks follows the mediaeval dictum and asserts that a mason should be 'unmutilated, freeborn, and of mature age', arguing that 'the qualifications really arise from the nature of the Masonic institution and from its symbolic teachings, and have always existed as Landmarks'. Other lists published in the U.S.A during the Nineteenth century agree with this concept. However, nowhere in the English Regulations or Constitutions is a health qualification referred to as a Landmark.

Even then, variations in these qualifications were appearing, the Virginia Textbook (1860), not even mentioning physical health, just requiring a candidate to believe in one God, a moral person, and able to support himself. Soon after Mackey had published his list of Landmarks, a resolution for Virginia to adopt his list was defeated, and indeed they never agreed on any list. (Bessel 2004).

J.W.W Mitchell, Provincial Grand Master of Missouri (in his book Common Law of Masonry 1869) quotes the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Ireland at that time that 'Nor shall any candidate be initiated who cannot read or write.' Such handicap precludes a man from issuing or signing certificates on behalf of himself or others. Many other Grand

Lodges concurred with this ruling. He also asserted that 'What becomes of the ritual if the senses are wanting or render him incapable of learning the Art ... he who has but one foot or one hand or one who cannot see or hear could not become the Master or teach of the lodge'. He could not enter the lodge and be equal to the other brethren. Others, through recognising the importance of landmarks as the basis for masonic law, were prepared to interpret these more flexibly in line with the changing character of masonry in the historical and conceptual setting. In 1859, the Massachusetts' Constitutions stated that:

> *'By the ancient regulations, the physical deformity of an individual acts as a bar to his admission into the Fraternity. But in view of the fact that this regulation was adapted for the government of the Craft at a period when they united the character of operative with that of speculative masons, this Grand Lodge, in common with it is believed with most of her sister grand lodges in this country and Europe, has authorised such a construction of the regulation as that where the deformity does not amount to an inability to meet the requirements of the ritual, and honestly to acquire the means of subsistence, it constitutes no hindrance to initiation.'*

This interest in masonic principles and laws evolved at a time of political conflict, prior to, during and after the American Civil War. There was a substantial increase in the numbers of lodges and members. Freemasonry may have offered a light in the darkness at the time, and the search for new or old defining principles such as the Landmarks might well represent a yearning for stability, security, and an alternative to politics as a formula for peaceful coexistence. This may well have encouraged some Grand Lodges to examine their regulations. For example, in 1867 the Grand Lodge of Kentucky accepted a candidate with one arm missing, and Mississipi a blind man. In 1891 The Prince Hall Grand Lodge introduced an identical ruling to that of Massechusetts. However, in 1893 Ohio was still demanding "that absolute competency to conform literally to all the requirements of the several degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry, fulfils the requirements of physical perfection". Also, at the same time, the Masonic Code (1893) of Iowa still excluded candidates with a loss of a hand or foot and not accepting artificial limb parts in substitution.

The beginning of the Twentieth century witnessed a veritable kaleidoscope of opinions. The Grand Lodge of Missouri in 1899 adopted the rule that "It is incompetent for any lodge in this jurisdiction to confer any of the three degrees of Ancient Craft Masonry on any person whose physical defects are such as to prevent his receiving and imparting the ceremonies of the several degrees; provided, nothing herein contained shall be construed as to render anyone ineligible to the privileges of masonry, who can by the aid of artificial appliances conform to the necessary ceremonies".

During the subsequent years, (the bracket indicates the year of the

inclusion in the Regulations), artificial replacements for the following were permitted:

A missing leg (1899)
A missing hand (1900)
A missing arm (1924)
A missing right thumb (1926)
Missing fingers (1940)
Missing larynx (1944)

Acceptable defects were a partially stiff knee (1899) which limited kneeling to no closer than twelve inches from the floor, missing portion of one foot (1901), feet of different size (1913), missing fingers of right hand (1919 and 1920), and the ability to see well enough to observe proceedings in receiving degrees (1941). These requirements and restrictions still continue today.

In 1908, the Grand Master of New Jersey arranged for one hundred and two candidates to be examined, and granted eighty applications from petitioners whose "physical ability literally conform to all the requirements of Ancient Craft Masonry" while rejecting twenty two others. In 1909 the Grand Lodge of Wyoming asked, "Can a man who has lost a foot and part of his leg be initiated? No, he need not be physically perfect but he must be able to fulfil all the requirements of the work with his own body". West Virginia (1909) insisted that "A Fellow Craft who allowed a year to elapse before applying for advancement, pending which he lost his leg (which is not stated) is ineligible to receive his Master's Degree". Washington accepted a petitioner who had lost his first joint of his index finger (which hand?) as able to comply with the requirements of the several degrees, but Arkansas (1909) refused a man with one leg, and another with an absent left hand, while accepting another with one eye. In 1910, a candidate was admitted by the Belknap Lodge, Illinois, in spite of physical disqualification, but the Master W. Bro S.D. Peeler was indefinitely suspended from ... "all rights and privileges of Masonry until restored by this Most Worshipful Grand Lodge".

Consideration of the definitive Landmarks of Masonry continued to be controversial. Roscoe Pound, Professor of Jurisprudence at Harvard University (1911–1912) considered that they were a worthwhile concept, and proposed seven from Mackey's list. This did not include that of any Physical Qualifications for Initiation.

The first World War, which introduced conscription, resulted in the mutilation of many men, seriously challenging the minds and consciences of the Grand Lodges. The Grand Master of Georgia (1916) still refused to permit a candidate, who had already been initiated and passed, to become a Master Mason because he possessed an artificial cork foot.

In 1917 several of the Grand Lodges in the U.S.A actively discussed the Physical Qualifications for initiation, and Louisiana, Mississippi,

Missouri, South Dakota, and Virginia all expressed a more liberal policy. Louisiana fully supported the ruling of the Grand Lodge of England, and the Grand Master of South Dakota, James Roane, was very strongly in favour of flexibility. "We work in speculative not operative Masonry... the ability of a candidate to conform to the ritual is all that is necessary. Under this interpretation, men have made Mason who were considerably mutilated", deprived of one or both legs, an eye, an arm. He felt that "A wooden leg was much to be preferred in an initiate to a wooden head".

By contrast, (1917) Washington, Wisconsin, Illinois, Georgia and Texas rejected the idea and possibility of change, retaining a traditional stance, emphasising the importance of maintaining landmarks, constancy of ritual, and a strict adherence to the Ancient Charges. The attitude of Past Grand Master of Wisconsin, Aldro Jenks to the acceptance of artificial limbs was not atypical:- "This thing of making a person eligible if he has a combination of sticks and metal to wear and ineligible if he has not or lays it aside, would be ludicrous if it were not so serious." Grand Master Jones of Texas (1917) rejected fifty five petitioners because of such defects such as:- the right leg being 1 1/4 inches shorter than the left, hare lipped, glass eye, loss of first joint of forefinger on the right hand. His Council of Jurisprudence praised his "Excellent wisdom in endeavouring to enforce the Ancient Charge that no Apprentice should be taken "unless he is a perfect youth having no maim or defect...etc". They proclaimed, "No inflexible rules can be formulated. The Grand Master's rules cannot serve as precedents. Each must depend largely upon the peculiar facts and circumstances surrounding each case...In this connection we recommend that the cases of physical qualification and disqualification should not be published in the printed Proceedings of Grand Lodge". Perhaps, they were conscious of the criticism to which their decisions would be exposed if published, as was this announcement.

In 1918, John M Barry Grand Master of Iowa insisted that "The Perfect Youth who goes to France and has the misfortune to lose a leg should not have the misfortune at home of losing his right to become a mason". Iowa became a trail blazer by changing their Code(Section285) in 1916 and, further liberalising of the Missouri rules, this was adopted in 1918: "A man to be eligible for the degrees must be able to substantially conform to all the ceremonies required in the work and practice of Masonry. The substitution of artificial parts or limbs for portions of his natural person shall not be a bar, provided such are under practical control of the petitioner. Deformities or blemishes of the natural person may or may not be disqualifications, depending on the nature of and extent of the same. The lodge has full discretion to determine the physical fitness if the petitioner to conform to the ceremonies and to sustain his good standing in the fraternity...". They appear to have pursued these principles with missionary fervour and with some but not universal success.

That year (1918) finds further jurisdictions discussing the issue Proceedings of the Grand Lodges of Alabama, and the Philippine Islands

quote cases of accepting "maimed" petitioners provided their defects did not prevent compliance with the requirements of ritual, with or without artificial aids. Indiana followed the example of Iowa, except that the Grand Master made the final decisions, not the lodge, and California and South Carolina had already "liberated their policy". Arkansas, New Hampshire and Washington recommended further committees of enquiry. In the Grand Lodge of Illinois, the Grand Master Austin Scrogin, began to question their own policy, recommending that maimed war veterans should be admitted, though not others handicapped in peacetime. Their Past Grand Master Delmar Darral was in favour of the Iowa Regulations. Texas remained as obdurate as ever, insisting on physical perfection. West Virginia insisted that artificial aids were unacceptable to enable the performance of rituals, and Utah even rejected a candidate with one "stiff knee". Minnesota discussed the issue of blindness, and supported the policy of the Grand Lodge of England permitting the admission of blind candidates. Changes were certainly on the way in some states.

The United Grand Lodge of England (1918) repeated its edict that "The Board feel that it is impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule as to the initiation of a candidate not perfect in his body within the meaning of Article 4 of the Ancient Charges, preface of the Book of Constitutions, when the defect does not render the candidate incapable of learning our art, there is no reason why he should not be initiated, provided he is able to understand our secrets and mysteries, and to explain and exemplify them when called upon". Again each case was to be decided by the Master of the lodge, subject to the sanction of the Provincial Grand Master or the Grand Master. (Syd)

Canada discussed in much detail (1917 and 1918), the need for changes in the physical requirements, as did its individual States, because of the War, and issued new regulations for initiates in 1919 virtually identical to those of the United Grand Lodge of England. "A candidate not perfect in his body may be initiated, provided he is able to understand our secrets and to explain and exemplify them when properly called upon". Each case was to be decided by the Lodge members and its Master and was subject to the Grand Master's sanction. They had just previously approved that candidates, previously "perfect" at initiation, who later became disabled could be further advanced, subject also to the sanction of the Grand Master. However, progression of such disabled members, through the offices to the chair of their lodge, had to wait until 1952 for Grand Lodge approval.

By 1920, North Carolina, Oklahoma, New Jersey, Quebec and others were following the Iowa lead, though other Grand Lodges offered confusing or inconsistent advice. In Alabama, maimed candidates were being admitted, though the Grand Master thought "it wise for the Grand Lodge to define the loss of limb to be permitted, else the custom will be abused unless it is "somewhat restricted". In Minnesota, a candidate with "all the senses of a man" should be "possessing no maim or defect that may render him incapable of what the several degrees require of him". However the

lodge could submit photographs of the defects to the Grand Master for his decision! Illinois had passed a law the previous year allowing the Grand Master to investigate cases prior to issuing dispensations, but the Grand Master Daniel Fitzgerell said he received so many applications that he found it was impossible for him "to have gone into all these cases". He therefore refused, with the approval of his Advisory Council, to apply the new laws, feeling "it was safer and wiser to allow the lodge to follow the letter of the old law". In spite of earlier discussions, the Grand Master of Arkansas in 1921 stated that physical qualifications were sill Landmarks.

There was a great upsurge in masonic membership which occurred after the first World War. In Washington D.C, the numbers increased from around ten thousand in 1918 to over twenty thousand within a few years (Paul Bessel 1998), in spite of their traditional stance on physical qualifications, and after a decline of about two thousand, rose up by more than four thousand following the second World War. A similar picture was reflected in the overall statistics of the whole U.S.A. and of the United Grand Lodge of England. In England, the number of new masons (Grand Lodge certificates issued) were

1915	12,288	
1918	18,453	
1921	30,983	Maximum
1935	15,292	
1941	11,685	Minimum
1945	19,538	
1949	23,357	

with a slight decline since. (Proceedings of the United Grand Lodge of England). It would appear that men have sought the companionship they had had while in uniform, and again perhaps a new raison d'être in the subsequent years. It is interesting to compare this with the fact that we become more aware of English Freemasonry, prior to its formal organisation, after the English Civil War.

In 1932, the Masonic Service Association published its first Digest of Masonic Landmarks. Of the forty-nine States of the U.S.A., ten had adopted no list, five proposed "The Old Charges" (as in Anderson's Constitutions), thirteen adopted Mackey's list, which was suggested by another eight, and ten had their own lists. A survey conducted in 2004 (Masonic Leadership Centre. Paul Bessel) revealed a different picture; that twenty five States had no list, five retained Mackey's list, another five had no clearly adopted list, and fourteen their own selection. Again, we have evidence of the inconstancy both of the "landmark" concept, and the policies of masonic legislating bodies.

After the Second World War, we continue to find changes occurring in the regulations in the U.S.A. In 1946, Connecticut, New York and Arkansas dismissed the idea of physical qualifications as landmarks, as did

Louisiana and Maine the following year. Artificial limbs enabling candidates to participate fully in the degrees were permitted in 1946 by New York and Connecticut, and also in the next two years by Indiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, together with Florida, who otherwise retained physical intactness as a Landmark. Arkanas completely rejected the need for physical qualifications. The decision whether a candidate had acceptable physical qualifications was left to the master or the lodge itself by New York and Connecticut (1946), but a dispensation for the Grand Master of Colorado, Idaho, Ohio, Oregon, Texas was required if there were significant physical defective problems. In 1947, Wisconsin was still insisting that the physical requirements were still a landmark, albeit not an officially adopted landmark, and refused to modify them.

In 1965, the Laws of the Grand Lodge of Texas stated that candidates for all three degrees should be "without maim or defect which will render him incapable of earning his own living, or receiving and imparting, masonically, all that is required of the ritual of the three degrees" subject to the Grand Master's dispensation. Their Application form (No.27) contained diagrams of a skeleton, a face and an eye on which any defect of the candidate was to be illustrated.

Since December 10, 1986, regulated change in Masonry has become officially acceptable in England, with the proposal in United Grand Lodge which returned those critical words "...without the Consent first of the Annual Grand Lodge" to that 11th "Ancient Charge" in the Book of Constitutions. The proposer indicated the origin of that Regulation, and felt that William Preston's truncated version, for so long quoted, did not of course recognise the validity of change instituted by Grand Lodge. He did not mention the influence it had had on the evolution of Freemasonry all over the world.

Currently, we find that most Grand Lodges reject candidates who cannot read or write, or are in their "dotage". Even Missouri still rejects candidates with a knee too stiff to kneel, those paralysed from the waist down, or substantially blind, or totally deaf, as well as if able to comprehend "only by sight and that comprehension uncertain". The lodge, having confirmed that the applicant can maintain himself and his family, and that he would be able to understand and explain the ceremonies, may apply for a dispensation to the Grand Master who, if in favour, would appoint a Grand Lecturer or deputy to conduct the ceremonies. In Indiana, the handicapped candidate may apply to the Grand Master, after investigation into his abilities to understand and participate in the ceremonies.

In North Carolina, a petitioner must still apply to the Grand Master if his "physical defects prevent him from conforming literally to the requirements of the three degrees of Ancient Craft masonry with the use of artificial appliances and or aids". "He should also have "the senses of a man especially those of hearing, seeing and feeling". Alaska and Washington demand these same intact "senses of a man", and that "he has no maim ("disability" Washington) in his body that would render him

incapable of confirming reasonably to what the degrees require of him". South Dakota requires the candidate to declare that he conforms with these same criteria, in spite of their policies in 1917, but any physical problems are considered by an eligibility committee and the Master requests a dispensation from the Grand Master, describing what steps will be taken to accommodate the problems and still communicate the masonic lessons. A functioning artificial limb is not regarded as a dismemberment. (PC SD) Some Grand Lodges have very detailed regulations by contrast to others whose requirements are stated in general terms. All lodges still emphasise an applicant's ability to earn an adequate living income.

Alabama, California, Maine, amongst many others do not specify particular physical disqualifications, as long as the petitioner is capable of learning and exemplifying "the arts and mysteries of Freemasonry". Indeed, Maine states that the ritual can be adjusted for those who are blind, deaf, and in wheelchairs, and yet employs very similar wording to that of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1859! Similarly, Florida, which, from the foundation of its Grand Lodge in 1830 had specified ten Landmarks, one of which was the prohibition of physical defect, only abolishing this in 1992. The present qualification is that of "having no maim or defect of body that may render him incapable of LEARNING the art or being advanced to the several degrees" (C.D. Prosser personal communication). Decisions are made within the individual lodge, which applies for a dispensation from the Grand Master. Wisconsin no longer specifies any physical qualifications in their most recent Constitutions. A blind man cannot be a Tyler in Alabama. The requirement of a dispensation from a Grand Master still introduces an element of uncertainty in several Grand Lodges, as personal interpretations cannot be excluded. I have not attempted to include all the Grand Lodges in the U.S.A. here, or to represent them in all their history, but to select examples demonstrating the variety of regulations.

Today in England, Scotland and Ireland, a man may be blind, deaf, in a wheelchair, have missing limbs, but as long as he is deemed able to appreciate and benefit from Freemasonry, and contribute to the activities of the Lodge as decided by the Master and brethren of the lodge themselves, he may be initiated. Ireland recently abolished the need for a dispensation, for "in symbolic Masonry, it is his moral worth, not physical integrity, that justifies his admission" (Irish Laws and Constitutions 2003). Scotland still specifically excludes deaf mutes, who would obviously have extreme difficulty in participating in the ritual. The United Grand Lodge offers guidance to help handicapped candidates. Indeed in 1918, the Lodge Lux in Tenebris No.3856 was formed in London for the purpose of admitting war veterans who had lost their sight and those caring for them. The candidates were guided round the lodge and signs demonstrated by contact. Rituals have been available for some time in Braille from the RNIB, or on tape. Currently, Lux in Tenebris has only one blind member. (Personal Communication). The problems facing a deaf candidate are even greater, because when he is hoodwinked, he cannot even lip-read and thereby

understand the Master during the ceremony. The solution recommended by Grand Lodge described by Colin F.W. Dyer was recently followed in the Province of Leicestershire and Rutland by the Lodge of Welcome, when the candidate was partially Obligated by the Master, Wardens and other Brethren outside the door of the Lodge before the main ceremony. He also read a written description of certain details of the ceremony as well as their significance and was then admitted hoodwinked into the Lodge and performed the perambulations. He was taken to the pedestal, restored to light, and the Master confirmed to the lodge that he had ratified his Obligation outside but this would be completed on the Volume of Sacred Law. He could follow the rest of the ceremony by lip reading.

To summarise, a number of arguments have been proposed to justify rejecting a candidate on physical qualifications:

1) Their physical state does not conform with the Landmarks and Regulations of a particular Grand Lodge. This is usually justified by referring to the need to maintain those traditions, which are derived from operative masonry, from the Old Charges. These have always been presented separately in the English Constitution, but have, by contrast, previously been incorporated into the actual legal structure of many of the North American Grand Lodges. This integration within the corpus of Laws, and Regulations might well increase their legal imperative, and separate presentation offers an opportunity for more flexible interpretation.

   However, the diversity of Landmarks are witness to such choices as arbitrary, and many jurisdictions no longer adopt fixed landmarks or include health in their list. A Landmark changed is no longer a Landmark! Robert F. Gould in his History of Freemasonry rather cynically wrote "Nobody knows what they comprise or omit: they are of no earthly authority, because everything is a landmark when an opponent desires to silence you; but nothing is a landmark that stands in his own way".
2) An inability to participate in and learning the ritual, receiving and responding to the signs and tokens, as a normal man. The ritual can however be adapted to a candidate's disabilities, and these details are of less significance than the moral, spiritual, and didactic essence of freemasonry.
3) The ability to teach the ritual to another candidate. This could be done by word of mouth or otherwise.
4) The fear that the candidate may not be able to support himself and his responsibilities, and prove a burden to the lodge. This financial independence is a necessary criterion for entry into Masonry, irrespective of the candidate's social status.
5) That he might not be perceived as equal to the other brethren. No man is truly ever equal to another, contrary to Rousseau's dictum that we are all born equal. However, we are all received into the lodge

"poor and penniless:, and each can participate to the best of his ability and benefit from freemasonry. There have been numerous examples of prominent yet handicapped masons.

To return to our title: the Master Elect pledges himself to support the stability and constancy of the Craft. Nevertheless, we see here a conflict between this requirement and the need for change. Society has at different times accepted, neglected, or rejected Freemasonry. The Craft, like many institutions of Western Civilisation, has evolved in response. After periods of self-scrutiny, we have modified our laws, ritual, and pattern of communication, often with great justification, in the search for consistency and greater social acceptability. It should always be valuable to consider why and for what purpose any ritual details, laws and traditions have been part of masonry before changing them. Each Mason must define himself those Landmarks he has pledged himself to preserve. Perhaps the only true Landmark of Freemasonry is its definition as "a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols"; all else is elaboration.

Leo Tolstoy wrote that "Art begins where the wee bit begins". Similarly the identity and the fascination of the Craft is defined by its details. Many interesting and traditional items continue to be expunged for the ritual. The increasing interest of the brethren in the side degrees (in spite of sadly diminishing total numbers in the Craft) may partly be a quest "to seek for that which was lost". Change is inevitable, but we must never permit the Craft to degenerate into a social club whose traditions are only known to historians.

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THE OLD CHARGES REVISITED

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Where does Freemasonry come from? Since 1717, this has been a subject of passionate concern to almost every freemason. There remain a mass of competing views and theories, and this question has dominated research into Freemasonry. I have suggested elsewhere that this obsessive devotion to what the French historian Marc Bloch called 'the idol of origins' has profoundly distorted the historiography of Freemasonry, and has led to a neglect of its more recent history.[1] But nevertheless it is a question which will not go away. English freemasons consulting that imposing new reference work, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, will perhaps be surprised to find that, in the view of Oxford University Press at least, the problem has been solved. There you will find that William Schaw, the Master of the King's Works of James VI of Scotland from 1583 to 1602, is described as 'a founder of freemasonry'.[2] Other authoritative reference works such as the *Oxford Companion to British History*[3] also describe Freemasonry as a social organisation which was essentially created by Schaw in Scotland at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

These views on the origins of Freemasonry derive from the researches of the eminent historian of Scotland, David Stevenson, who was the author of the entry on Schaw in the new *Dictionary of National Biography*. Stevenson describes in his book *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century 1590–1710*[4] how Schaw, in two sets of statutes issued in 1598 and 1599 in his capacity as Master of the King's Works and General Warden of the Craft of Stonemasons in Scotland, reorganised the Scottish stonemasons. Previously stonemasons had met together informally in lodges set up for particular building projects. Schaw established permanent lodges for particular towns which were removed from the burgh jurisdiction and placed under Schaw's direct control. These lodges started to keep regular minutes, in which the initiation of entered apprentices and fellow crafts is recorded. Schaw encouraged members of the lodges to take an interest in the latest philosophical and esoteric movements, such as aspects of Rosicrucian thought. These new lodges attracted interest from men who were not working stonemasons, and intellectuals like Sir Robert Moray joined Scottish masonic lodges and enthusiastically incorporated imagery drawn from the craft and legends of stonemasons in their own philosophy. Eventually, these gentleman masons were to dominate the membership of the Scottish masonic lodges, so that their roots in the sixteenth-century craft would be almost forgotten.

In Stevenson's view, the ideologues of the early years of English Grand Lodge Freemasonry such as John Theophilus Desaguliers were profoundly influenced by Scottish precedents,[5] a contribution reflected in the choice of

the Scottish clergyman James Anderson to compile the Grand Lodge's first printed *Book of Constitutions*.[6] The evidence assembled by Stevenson is very imposing and it is not surprising that his views have been generally accented by academic historians, but on the whole they have failed to find favour with English masonic scholars.[7] To some extent, this appears to be an issue of definitions. The assumption of English masonic commentators appears to be that Scottish Freemasonry of the seventeenth century was entirely concerned with trade organisation and lacked the philosophical dimension which is so evident in eighteenth-century English Freemasonry. This, however, appears to be a rather dismissive view of the highly speculative concerns of men like Moray and overlooks such Scottish references to esoteric traditions as the claim in the 1658 indenture of the Lodge of Scoon that the 'uniforme communitie and wnione' of stonemasons had its origins in the building of Solomon's Temple, the 'Temple of temples'.[8] Stevenson's fundamental argument has generally not been addressed by English masonic scholars, who are simply unwilling to accept a Scottish origin for Freemasonry. Stevenson points out that in Scotland there is continuous and extensive documentary evidence for the operation of recognisably masonic lodges from 1599. In England during the seventeenth century we have only fragmentary references, such as the celebrated notes of the initiation of Elias Ashmole at Warrington and Randle Holme at Chester.

However, there is one major body of documentary evidence for seventeenth-century English Freemasonry. These are the copies of masonic legends known as the 'Old Charges'. Insofar as they provide direct evidence of legends circulating among craftsmen from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, these are among the most extraordinary and fascinating historical documents of the pre-modern period. The oldest of these documents are the two fifteenth-century manuscripts in the British Library known as the Regius and the Cooke manuscripts.[9] More than twenty manuscripts compiled between 1583 and 1717 have been identified whose contents ultimately derive from these medieval exemplars, and these charges continued frequently to be copied after 1717, so that altogether more than one hundred and twenty versions have so far been traced.[10] These documents originate from England, although, as Stevenson stresses, they were also known in Scotland by at least 1600 and circulated separately there.[11] They represent a substantial documentary corpus and if we want to find out how the situation in England in the seventeenth century compared with that in Scotland, we need to start with the Old Charges.

Yet the manuscripts of the Old Charges have excited little enthusiasm among modern masonic scholars. While some scholars such as Wallace McLeod have looked at the textual relationships of the Old Charges, there are has been very little recent work on the dating and localisation of these manuscripts. The heroic days of work on these documents was before the First World War, when W. J. Hughan in particular made a systematic search for pre-1717 manuscripts relating to Freemasonry. Virtually every week in

the 1880s and 1890s, the masonic newspaper *The Freemason* carried news of yet another manuscript of the Old Charge or ancient Scottish masonic record identified by Hughan.[12] Since Hughan's time, this impetus has been lost, and we remain very dependant on Hughan's work. This is surprising, since there are still many exciting discoveries to be made. David Stevenson has recently identified in the Bodleian Library a previously unknown copy of the Old Charges dating from 1666. Moreover, a number of other ordinances and regulations relating to stonemasons survive. There are, for example, in the National Archives in London 'Certeyn ordinaunces made by the treasowur and comptroller of the towne of Calis and marches of the same concerning carpenters and masons' dating from 1474–5, which refer to the maintenance of common funds, known as 'Saynte Johns boxe', by the 'fellishipp' of craftsmen.[13] Likewise, Gérard Dielemans has recently published in *Thoth*, the Dutch masonic research jornal, a transcript and facsimile of ordinances of a guild of stonemasons in Maastricht written down in the sixteenth century but said to incorporate regulations dating back to *circa* 1400.[14] While these ordinances from Calais and Maastricht are not textually related to the tradition stemming from Regius and Cooke and are thus not strictly speaking Old Charges, they are nevertheless vital evidence of the forms of organisation adopted by groups of working stonemasons in the middle ages and thus essential in understanding the context from which the Old Charge tradition emerged.

Not only are there important new documentary discoveries to be made, but the fact that there has been little recent scholarly work on the Old Charge manuscripts means that many of the most widely-held assumptions about these manuscripts are out of date and should be discarded. For example, it has been assumed since the time of Hughan that the copy of the Old Charges in London, British Library, Lansdowne MS. 98, dates from about 1600, because it occurs in a volume of papers said to be connected with Elizabeth I's Secretary of State and Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. However, the manuscript also contains some much later papers and it is clear from the handwriting that this copy of the Old Charges dates from the end, not the beginning, of the seventeenth century. Likewise, the Regius manuscript has been generally dated to *circa* 1390. However, this dating is dependant on opinions given by David Casley before 1730 and James Halliwell in 1839, long before the modern study of palaeography had begun. In fact, it seems that the Regius manuscript should be ascribed instead to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Such a view of Regius's dating is supported by other texts incorporated in it. [15]

There is clearly a need for a detailed new study of the Old Charge manuscripts. It is not possible to present such an analysis here, but I should like to suggest some lines of interpretation by focussing on just one aspect of the Old Charge manuscripts, that is the origins of what has been called the York legend.[16] From the medieval period, stonemasons claimed that they had been given a charter by the Anglo-Saxon King Athelstan (who reigned from 924–939) which permitted them to hold an assembly. As this legend

developed, it was claimed that Athelstan's charter was obtained through the mediation of his son (and in later versions his brother) Edwin. Edwin was said to have convened such an assembly at York at which he gave ordinances to the stonemasons. A date has been ascribed to this York assembly of 926.

In considerating the origins of this story, it is necessary first to consider the relationship between the Regius and the Cooke manuscripts.[17] Both Regius and Cooke date from the fifteenth century. Their dating largely depends on analysis of the handwriting, which is always an inexact science, but comparison with other manuscripts suggests a date for Regius of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and Cooke the middle of the century. In other words, they are not very far separated in date, with Regius perhaps slightly earlier. Both are in Middle English, with Regius in verse. Recent analysis of the dialect of Regius has indicated that it was compiled in Shropshire.[18] The language of Cooke cannot be so precisely located, but it probably also comes from the West Midlands. It has been assumed that stonemasons were unlikely to have compiled either manuscript, since they were thought to be illiterate, but recent work on lay literacy has stressed that many urban craftsmen were literate in English; according to one estimate, half of the male inhabitants of late fifteenth-century London could read English.[19] In 1417, the stonemason John Clifford of Southwark, who had been master of the London Mason's Company in 1386, left to the church of St Olave Southwark his 'principal psalter and another book of gospels in English' for use in the church.[20] In his context, it seems probable that Regius and Cooke were made for, and used by, working stonemasons.

It has also previously been assumed that, although Cooke was written after Regius, it incorporates an older form of the text. This seems difficult to sustain from a close reading of the texts. Both manuscripts start with a legendary history of the craft of stonemasonry. In Regius, it is claimed that that stonemasonry was invented by Euclid to provide employment for sons of the nobility in ancient Egypt. In Cooke, this account of the antiquity of the craft has been extended back beyond Egypt to biblical times, with origins of the craft placed in the pre-flood era during Cain's lifetime. The legendary history in Cooke reads very much like an attempt to claim both an even greater antiquity for the craft than that claimed in Regius and also to demonstrate a biblical origin.

The way in which Cooke is an elaboration of Regius is particularly evident from comparing their accounts of the history of stonemasonry in England. According to Regius, the craft, having been invented by Euclid, spread from land to land, coming eventually to England 'in time of Good King Athelstan's day'. Regius claimed that Athelstan summoned every mason from across his realms to meet with his nobles in a great assembly, where ordinances were made to regulate the craft of masonry and to protect the status of masons. The poem claims that these consisted of fifteen articles and fifteen points, which it then recites. These articles and points

comprise detailed regulations on the pay and working conditions of masons. There is a particular emphasis on the fair treatment of apprentices, and a number of specific restrictions on the actions of masters, who are prohibited for example from poaching work or undertaking work which they cannot finish. An annual assembly was established as the governing body of the craft, with responsibility for the enforcement of Athelstan's ordinances.

In Cooke, the history of English masonry has been hugely expanded. Cooke introduces an elaborate story to explain the spread of the craft into France. It then pushes back the story of the introduction of the craft into England to the earliest days of Christianity in Britain. It claims that the Roman martyr St Alban (c.287) was the first to make regulations for the trade. Cooke emphasises that St Alban enjoined that masons should be well paid for their work. Moreover, in descending Athelstan's grant to the masons, Cooke suggests that rather then being the first such king to make such a grant, he was acting in accordance with precedents set by many other kinds dating back to Nimrod. Cooke also introduces for the first time the figure of Athelstan's supposed son. Cooke states that Athelstan's youngest son loved the masons and understood their craft. This unnamed son became a mason himself, gave them charges, and ordained that they should have reasonable pay. He also purchased a patent from his father to allow the masons to hold an assembly. The regulations for masonry made from Edwin are then repeated.

If Cooke is read, as it apparently should be, as having been composed after Regius, it can be seen as elaborating the legendary history of stonemasonry in order to strengthen the claims of stonemasons. The central character of these claims is clear: that the masons should have reasonable pay and that they should be permitted to hold an annual assembly. In Regius, it is claimed that these demands were warranted by the charter of Athelstan. In Cooke, the first regulation that masons should be properly paid is extended back to the time of St Alban, and Athelstan is presented as confirmation these ancient provisions and authorising the assembly. Why then is the figure of Athelstan's son introduced? Almost certainly because the author of Cooke was anxious to claim another royal freemason and also to more firmly establish the right of masons to hold their own assembly. In Regius, the assembly held by Athelstan consisted of the king and many nobleman. In Cooke, the introduction of the figure of Athelstan's son who becomes a mason changes the character of the assembly. It becomes an assembly held by masons for their own regulation. In other words, the introduction of a king's son is designed to establish the right of stonemasons to meet together and regulate their craft; stonemasonry is both a royal art and self-regulating. Masonic historians since the time of Gould have harboured a sneaking hope that the stories in Regius and Cooke perhaps embody an ancient oral tradition among stonemasons and that there might be a germ of truth somewhere in their legendary stories. Unfortunately, it is difficult to sustain this view confronted with the evident

manipulation and elaboration of the stories between Regius and Cooke. Clearly, the stonemasons were seeking to claim greater and greater antiquity for their right to meet together to ask for better wages. We do not have to look very far to find reasons for this. Since 1351, legislation has been introduced to control wages in the wake of the labour shortages caused by the Black Death.[21] The prosecutions undertaken under these statutes show that the pressure for higher wages was particularly acute in all the building trades.[22] Legislation continued to be introduced in a vain attempt to keep a lid on wages throughout the fifteenth century. In the 1425 parliament, the commons presented a petition complaining that the annual congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general chapters and assemblies were publicly violating and undermining the statutes of labourers. The commons asked King Henry VI (1422–1461, 1470–1471) and the lords to ordain that the holding and gathering of such chapters should be utterly forbidden and judged a felony, and requested that the justices of the peace should be given authority to enquire into these chapters and assemblies. King Henry replied that such chapters and congregations should not be held, and declared that those who convene such chapters should be adjudged felons. Any masons who attended such congregations should be imprisoned without fine or ransom at the king's will. A statute to this effect was duly enacted.[23]

The stories in Regius and Cooke were intended to authorise the continued holding of such assemblies notwithstanding the statutory provision. It is probable that the assemblies to which the statute refers consisted of wage-earning journeymen masons, who had completed their apprenticeship but were not yet masters. The stress of Regius and Cooke on the social equality of masons and the calm that the craft was of noble origin were apparently a reaction to the rise of a distinct group of masters. It was for this reason that both Regius and Cooke insisted (almost certainly unsuccessfully) that master masons were obliged to attend the assemblies. Regius and Cooke then are probably manuscripts compiled by gatherings of junior stonemasons held in Shropshire and elsewhere in the west of England to authorise the holding of gatherings which sought to improve their wages and conditions.

Their wages of building workers continued to be a prominent concern of labour legislation up to the early sixteenth century. An act of 1444–5 decreed that freemasons and master carpenters were to take no more than 5½d a day when feeding themselves, while the wages of all other building workers were not to exceed 4½d a day.[24] This suggests that freemasons, originally carvers in freestone, were emerging as an elite within the trade, a trend also apparent from legal cases of the period. However, the position of the freemasons was tenuous. An act of 1495 stipulated that freemasons were to be paid the same as other building workers, namely no more than 6d a day when feeding themselves, with the only exception being master carpenters and masons who were in charge of more than six men.[25] These wages rates were repeated in legislation until the middle of the sixteenth

century, when steep price rises meant that such wage levels became increasingly unrealistic.[26]

It is probably no coincidence that it is only after building workers began to agitate once more for better wages in the second half of the sixteenth century that manuscripts of the Old Charges start appearing once again. The next oldest surviving manuscript of the Old Charges after Regius and Cooke is London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, Grand Lodge MS. 1, whose purchase by Grand lodge in 1839 was facilitated by Robert Crucefix.[27] This manuscript is dated 25 December 1583, just four days after the appointment of William Schaw as Master of the King's Works in Scotland. Whether this is simply a coincidence, it is impossible to say. Grand Lodge MS. 1 represents a substantial elaboration of the medieval legendary history of masonry as presented in Regius and Cooke. For example, it extends, in a very unlikely way, the story of St Alban's connection with masonry. It claims that England lacked any charge of masonry until St Alban's time, when the King of England, who was a pagan, built a wall around the town that is now called St Albans. The manuscript states that St Alban was a worthy knight and a steward of the king's household who governed the realm and the town walls, 'and loved Massons well'. Grand Lodge MS. 1 claims that St Alban ordained that the masons should receive 2s 6d per week for their work and 3d a day for food and drink. He is also supposed to have given them a charter authorising them to hold a general council.

According to the manuscript, after the time of St Alban came divers wars until the reign of Athelstan. Grand Lodge MS 1. adds two components to the story of Athelstan and his son as found in Cooke, namely that the son's name was Edwin and that he held an assembly of the masons at York. Moreover, Grand Lodge MS. 1 gives a detailed description of Edwin's alleged proceedings at York. Again, these appear to be designed to improve the narrative consistency and credibility of the story, and to enhance the authority of the supposed charges. The author of the Cooke manuscript had claimed that the various charges promulgated by Nimrod, David, Solomon, Euclid, King Charles of France and so on had survived. Grand Lodge MS. 1 accounts for the lack of any manuscripts of these charges by stating that Edwin in the assembly at York had subsumed them all into his own charges.

The first datable appearance of the York legend in its fullest form, with Athelstan's son identified as Edwin and his assembly of masons placed in York, thus occurs in 1583. However, there is evidence of an intermediary text between Cooke and Grand Lodge MS. 1. A group of manuscripts, including for example the William Watson manuscript, copied in York in 1687,[28] apparently preserve an earlier state of the text than Grand Lodge MS. 1. They retain the spurious references to medieval authorities such as the *Polychronicon* and Isidore of Seville which are a feature of the Cooke manuscript, but are expunged in Grand Lodge MS. 1. William Watson and the other manuscripts present the story of St Alban and the York Legend in

much the same form as Grand Lodge MS. 1, but add an additional claim that the charges had been seen and approved by King Henry VI and his council. These manuscripts also make the surprising and wrong claim that Edwin succeeded Athelstan as King. The garbled information about Edwin in this text indicates that the manuscript is not, as it claims, a reliable copy of a fifteenth century document. It seems rather that the reference to Henry VI was introduced to counter any suggestion that meetings of stonemasons had been outlawed by parliament.

The York legend thus appears in its full form sometime between 1450 and 1583. The spurious introduction of Henry VI indicates that it emerged sometime after 1471, and probably sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century. This suggests an evident context for its emergence. From the middle of the sixteenth century, there was renewed pressure for increased rates of pay for building workers. While in southern England wages for building workers were allowed to rise, in northern England more vigorous attempts were made to control wages. In his recent book on building workers in the north of England, *Men at Work*, Douglas Woodward has described how the Council in the North put pressure on local authorities in towns such as Hull, Beverley, Chester and York to prevent wages to building workers exceeding the statutory levels.[29] In York, matters came to a head in 1552 when building workers refused to obey the city council's ordinance that they should work for 6d a day and went on strike. The leaders submitted an eloquent plea that 'all things are so dear and out of the way that we are not able to work for that wage unless we should be forced and constrained to be run out of the city or else our wives and children to go on begging for ever.[30] The city council refused to accept these pleas, and the leaders of the strike were imprisoned. These protests were echoed across the north of England. In 1560, the Council in the North wrote to the mayor and aldermen in Hull expressing its concern that 'we be informed that there is much disorder within our town of Kingston upon Hull by labourers, artificers and other workmen against out laws and statutes'.[31] By contrast, in southern England, the Privy Council allowed building workers to receive much higher wages. As Woodward puts it, 'It is clear that the government adopted a two-pronged strategy, attempting to enforce a rigid policy in the north (insisting upon the implementation of the maxima of 1514), but experimenting with a more conciliatory and flexible approach in the south and midlands'.[32]

The mid sixteenth-century elaboration of the York legend, with its identification of Athelstan's son as Edwin and the place of assembly specified as York, is evidently a reflection of these attempts to enforce more rigorously labour legislation in the north of England. Most of the surviving seventeenth-century English copies of the Old Charges can be linked with northern England and a number derive from York. It is obvious why York would have been chosen as the seat of the assembly, and the old legend that the minster was founded by the Northumberland King called Edwin made this a natural choice of name for Athelstan's son. But perhaps

the most telling detail are the wages which these versions of the Old Charges specify as having been set by St Alban, namely 2s 6d a week for work and 3d a day for food and drink. Assuming a six day week, this works out as 5d a day for work and 3d for refreshment. In 1552, the York strikers specified the customary rates as 5d a day with food and drink and 8d a day without. In other words, the wages said to have been customary in Grand Lodge MS. 1, the William Watson manuscript and elsewhere are at more or less the same level demanded in 1552.

The labour disputes of the mid sixteenth century led eventually to a major overhaul of the system for regulating wages with the 1563 Statute of Artificers, which gave local JPs the responsibility for determining wage assessments. In York, this power was vested in the mayor and aldermen, who immediately raised the rates payable, establishing a maximum rate of 10d a day 'without meat' for the freemason or master carpenter in charge of works with at least three men working under them.[33] Although this settled the labour disputes, copies of the Old Charges, repeating the legendary history in the form which had emerged at York in the middle of the sixteenth century in the terms, nevertheless continued to circulate. Why was this? A detailed explanation requires much closer examination of the individual manuscripts, and this is a major desideratum of future research, but it is evident that, as was the case with Elias Ashmole in 1646, copies of the Old Charges were used when individuals were initiated into ad hoc gatherings of stonemasons. Moreover, the case of Ashmole is not exceptional, and he was just one of many non-working stonemasons who were initiated into such lodges in the course of the seventeenth century. For example, Edward Thompson (d. 1701), who copied the William Watson Manuscript in 1687, was a merchant who served as Lord Mayor of York in 1688 and was MP for the city in 1688 and 1700.

If we see the emergence of the Old Charges as linked to agitation by building workers for better wages in the middle of the sixteenth century, who are these alderman and other well-to-do townsfolk becoming involved in associations of freemasons during the seventeenth century? At one level, of course, this may reflect the influence of developments in Scotland, where, in order to bolster funds and membership, masons' lodges were admitting non-masons from other crafts who had an interest in the craft and skills of the masons. The example of individuals such as Moray doubtless encouraged members of the English intelligentsia to take in interest in the stonemasons' history and organisations. It is likely, however, that more local considerations were chiefly responsible for men like Edward Thompson becoming freemasons. Although the system of wage regulation introduced by the Statute of Artificers had taken most of the heat out of the situation, there was, as Woodward points out, a quickening of interest in wage regulation in the middle of the seventeenth century, and in both York and Chester there were further attempts to set wage levels below the market rate.[34] Significantly, both these towns were to have lodges with a significant non-operative membership shortly afterwards.

Clearly, it was judicious for the stonemasons to encourage local JPs, who controlled their wages, to be aware of the legendary history of their craft and their claims that St Alban had said that they should be well-paid and that Anglo-Saxon kings had authorised them to meet together. A good way of doing this was for stonemasons to encourage city councillors and other prominent townsfolk to join their lodges and to make the legendary history a prominent part of the proceedings, and it seems that this is precisely what happened. The fact that wages remained at the heart of the York legend is reflected in the way that later copies of the Old Charges increase the wage level allegedly set by St Albans to 3s 6d a week, reflecting wage inflation during the seventeenth century.

The lead on agitating for better wages for building workers had been taken in the sixteenth century by the north, but the system of assessment established in 1563 applied across the whole country, and from 1630 references occur in the records of the London Company of Freemasons to a body known as the Acception.[35] This was clearly a distinct and elite group within the company, the names of whose members were recorded on boards displayed in the company's hall. Again, non-working masons such as Ashmole paid handsomely to join this group, which paraded separately under its own banner. The Acception owned at least one copy of the Old Charges, and it seems to have functioned both as an elite social gathering and as a means of increasing awareness of the special craft claims of the masons among the city's elite and elsewhere. The Acception died out shortly after the London company was formally incorporated in 1677. The extent to which the demise of the Acception was related to changes consequent upon this incorporation or whether it was due to James II's attacks on the rights of city companies is not clear.[36] It is striking that at the time of its incorporation, the name of the company was charged from the Company of Freemasons to the Company of Masons. It is tempting to assume, with Conder, that the revival which took place in 1717 with the formation of a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was in effect a revival of the Acception.

In the meantime, the York legend was becoming subject to critical scrutiny. In his 1686 *Natural History of Staffordshire* Robert Plot, who had access to a text of the Old Charges similar to the William Watson manuscript, subjected the York legend to merciless criticism, pointing out for example that there was no evidence that Athelstan had any children, let alone a son called Edwin.[37] Plot declared that there was only one possible way of salvaging the legend. He noted that there was a story that Athelstan had a brother called Edwin, who was supposed to have plotted against the King and to have drowned in 933 while making his escape on a ship.[38] However, Plot pointed out, it was highly unlikely that such a prince, forced into exile by Athelstan, would have obtained a charter from the king or held an assembly at York: 'Who how unlikely to learn their manners; to get them a Charter; or call them together at York let the reader judg [sic.]'. The immediate reaction of copyists of the Old Charges was to assume that there

was a mistake. Some attempted clumsily to remove any reference to Edwin in the text and to suggest that Athelstan summoned the York assembly.[39] Others altered the text to state that Edwin was Athelstan's brother.[40]

James Anderson, in attempting to synthesise and complete the legendary histories of the Old Charges for the first *Book of Constitutions* published by the Grand Lodge in London in 1723, was aware of Plot's criticisms and treated the York legend very warily. He did not mention the assembly in his account of Athelstan's reign, but instead inserted under his entry for Edward IV (1461–1470, 1471–1483) an extract from a copy of the Old Charges supposedly compiled in Edward's reign in which Edwin is described as Athelstan's son.[41] In this way, Anderson recorded the story, but distanced himself from it. By the time Anderson came to issue an expanded and revised version of his history of masonry in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions* in 1738, he felt more confident about the York legend. It may be that his work on the royal genealogies had convinced him that the Edwin of the legend should indeed be identified with Athelstan's brother but, whatever Anderson's reasoning, he moved the York legend into his entry for Athelstan, thus more directly endorsing it.[42]

In doing so, Anderson amended his extract from the Old Charges to state that Edwin was the King's brother, although he noted that he is 'call'd in some copies his son'. Anderson had then to deal with Plot's objection of the supposed circumstances of Edwin's death. He did this in three ways. First, he claimed that the York assembly was held at the beginning of Athelstan's reign, when Edwin was more likely to have been in royal favour. However, in doing so, Anderson assigned to the assembly an impossibly early date of 926, which predates by a year Athelstan's acquisition of York following the death of the Viking King of York, Sihtric Cáech in June 927. In choosing this date, Anderson was probably trying to work out the earliest feasible date at which such an assembly could have been held in York but was hampered by his reliance on the imprecise statements of Latin chronicles. Second, Anderson drew attention to the fact that William of Malmesbury (*c.*1090–*c.*1143), the main English chronicle source for the death of Edwin, emphasised that his information was drawn from a popular ballad and therefore not necessarily reliable. Finally, Anderson draws attention to the suggestion in Henry of Huntingdon, and to the suggestion by Henry that Athelstan was angered by Edwin's death.

It was thus Anderson who, trying desperately to reconcile the available evidence, added in 1738 the last component to the York legend by proposing a date for Edwin's assembly of 926. Ironically, Plot's criticism of the legend, by pointing out that while Athelstan did not have a son called Edwin, he did have a brother of that name, seems to have helped to breathe new life into it. The identification of the Edwin of the masonic legend with the prince who died in 933 became accepted from this point. In his 1756 revision of the *Book of Constitutions*, the hack writer John Entick incorporated without acknowledgement a long footnote from the entry on Athelstan in the *Biographia Britannica* reviewing the various chronicle

discussions of the death of the king's brother.[43] This footnote was also reprinted, this time with acknowledgement, in the 1775 edition of William Preston's popular and influential guide to Freemasonry, *Illustrations of Masonry*.[44]

The development of the York legend thus spread over a period of about three hundred years from *circa* 1430 to 1738. However, in tracing the gradual articulation of the legend, we can also get an enormous insight into the various factors which ultimately resulted in the first meeting of the English Grand Lodge in the Goose and Gridiron in 1717. Above all, in tracing the development of the York legend we can see how the organisations formed by stonemasons changed substantially in character over this long period of time. Nor did these changes stop after 1717. The body which met in 1717 was still very difference from modern Freemasonry. The infusion of scientific and philosophical interest which the new Grand Lodge received soon after its formation from men like Desaguliers again utterly transformed its character. It was to change radically again in the period of the French Revolution and again in the second half of the nineteenth century. Freemasonry as we have it today irrevocably bears the hallmark of all these historical processes. This is another reason why the obsessive search for the 'idol' of the origins of Freemasonry and that, if we could find that point, we would immediately understand its inner truth. There is no such point. Freemasonry is part of history, and like all institutions it changes in time. It is that process of constant flux and change that we must study.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. Prescott, 'Freemasonry and the Problem of Britain', Inaugural Lecture of the Centre for Research into Freemasonry, University of Sheffield, 2001: http://freemasonry.dept.shef.ac.uk/?q=papers_4 (accessed 21 August 2006).
2. 'William Schaw', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
3. Ed. J. Cannon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), entry for 'Freemasonry'
4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. See also D. Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, Grand Lodge of Scotland, 2001), pp. 3–11.
5. Desaguliers visited Edinburgh in 1721. Stevenson has recently drawn attention to a poem addressed on this occasion to Desaguliers by Allan Ramsay: *First Freemasons, op. cit.*, pp. 209–10.
6. See also D. Stevenson, 'James Anderson: Man and Mason' in *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic. Essays concerning the Craft in the British Isles, Europe, the United States, and Mexico*, ed. R. William Weisberger, Wallace McLeod and S. Brent Morris (Boulder and New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 199–242.
7. See the discussion of Stevenson's work by members of Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076 in D. Stevenson, 'Confessions of a Cowan: a Non Mason and Early Masonic History', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 107 (1994), pp. 53–84.
8. Stevenson, *First freemasons, op.cit.*, pp. 102–4.
9. The Regius manuscript is London, British Library, Royal MS. 17 A.I and the Cooke manuscript is British Library Additional MS. 23198. The standard edition of these manuscripts is D. Knoop, G. P. Jones and D. Hamer, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938). On the dating and history of these manuscripts, see also A. Prescott, 'Some Literary Contexts of the Regius and Cooke Manuscripts' in

Freemasonry in Music and Literature, ed. T. Stewart, Canonbury Papers 2 (London: Canonbury Masonic Research Centre, 2005), pp. 1–36.

[10] The most useful starting point for investigating these manuscripts remains W. J. Hughan, *The Old Charges of the British Freemasons*, 2nd ed. (London: George Kenning, 1895). See also H. Poole's list of Old Charge MSS. in volume 1 of his 1951 revision of *Gould's History of Freemasonry*; W. McLeod, 'Additions to the List of Old Charges', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 96 (1983), pp. 98–110; and W. McLeod, *The Old Charges, with an appendix reconstituting the standard original version*, The Prestonian Lecture for 1986 (London: privately printed, 1986), also published in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorium* 99 (1986), pp. 120–30.

[11] Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–25, *First Freemasons*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–91.

[12] For example, the Christmas number of *The Freemason* for 1892 celebrated the festive season by announcing Hughan's discovery of the Dumfries Kilwinning MSS.

[13] London, National Archives, E 101/198/6.

[14] 'Het Reglement van de steinmetzen in Maasstricht (AD 1400)', *Thoth* 56 (2005), pp. 3–71. I am very grateful indeed to Jan Snoek for kindly providing a photocopy of this important publication, which proved to be completely unobtainable in the United Kingdom. This document does not relate the the textual tradition I describe, although it is a very important discovery.

[15] On the datings of the Landsdowne and Regius MSS., see further Prescott, *op. cit.*

[16] For reviews of previous masonic scholarship on the York Legend, see A. Horne, *The York Legend in the Old Charges* (London: A. Lewis, 1978) and N. B. Cryer, *York Mysteries Revealed* (Hersham: Lewis Masonic, 2006)

[17] The following is based on Prescott, *op. cit.*

[18] A. McIntosh, M. I. Samuels and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen: Aderdeen University Press, 1986), volume 1, pp. 115, 233–5, and volume 2, pp. 424–38.

[19] S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 169.

[20] London, National Archives, PROB 11/2B f. 108. I owe this reference to Professor Sheila Lindenbaum.

[21] C. Given-Wilson, 'The Problem of Labour in the Context of English Government, c.1350–1450', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Bothwell, P. Goldberg and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval, 2000), pp. 85–100; D. Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 181–3; S. Penn and C. Dyer, 'Wages and Earnings in Late Medieval England: Evidence from the Enforcement of the Labour Laws', *Economic History Review* 2nd series, 43 (1990), pp. 356–76; and L. R. Poos, 'The Social Context of Statute of Labourers' Enforcement', *Law and History Review* 1 (1983), pp. 27–52.

[22] For example, 24 masons are mentioned in prosecutions under the labour legislation in Oxford between 1390 and 1394, one of the largest occupational groups in these prosecutions: H. E. Salter, *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, volume 2, Oxford Historical Society 73 (1920), pp. 1–127.

[23] D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 183. The original petition of the commons against the assemblies of masons is London, National Archives, SC 8/24/1196.

[24] *Woodward, Men at Work, op. cit.*, p. 181.

[25] *Woodward, Men at Work, op. cit.*, p. 182.

[26] *Woodward, Men at Work, op. cit.*, p. 182–191; D. Woodward, 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers: the Genesis of Labour Policy, 1558–1563', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 33 (1980), pp. 32–44.

[27] A facsimile, transcript and description of the manuscript by G. W. Speth is *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* 4 part 1 (1892). For a recent authoritative description of the

manuscript, see P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888–1600 in London Libraries* (London: British Library, 2003).

[28] This manuscript is now in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London. A facsimile, transcript and description of the manuscript by G. W. Speth and C. C. Howard is *Quatuor Colonatorum Antigrapha* 3 part 4 (1891).

[29] Woodward, *Men at Work, op. cit.*, pp. 182–91; 'Background to the Statute of Artificers', *op. cit.*

[30] D. Woodward, 'Wage Regulation in Mid-Tudor York', *The York Historian* 3 (1980), pp. 7–9.

[31] Woodward, *Men at Work, op. cit.*, p. 184.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, p.185.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 188–90.

[35] M. D. J. Scanian, 'The Mystery of the Acception 1630–1723. A Fatal Flaw', *Heredom* 11 (2003), pp. 55–112; E. Conder, *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons* (London: Swan Sonnenschien, 1894).

[36] On this issue, see now M. Knights, 'A City Revolution: the Remodelling of the London City Companies in the 1680s', *English Historical Review* 112 (1997), pp. 1141–78. The context described by Knights seems essential for understanding the background to the emergence of the first Grand Lodge in 1717.

[37] Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford: at the Theater, 1686), pp. 316–7.

[38] The death of Edwin is reported in MS. E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. For a discussion of this incident and the legend which accured around the death of Edwin, see *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Eyre Methuen and Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 346–7, and *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), pp. 137–8.

[39] 'Ye science of Masonry was much decayed, untill the Raigne of Kinge Athelston, (which some call Aldeston) who brought the land into peace and rest from the Insulting Danes. He began many Abbeys, Monasterys and other Religious houses, as alsoe Castles and other fortresses for the defence of his Realme. *He loved Masons more then his Father*, he greatly studied Goemetry and sent into many lands for men expert in the Science…And the Kinge himselfe caused a generall assembly of all Masons in his Realme at York…': London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, Grand Lodge MS. 2, from the facsimile by G. W. Speth in *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* 4 part 2 (1892). Emphasis added. Similar clumsy excisions of Edwin can be found in London, British Library, Harley MS 1942, reproduced in *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* 2 part 3 (1890), and in the version printed by J. Roberts as *The Old Consititutions belonging to the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons· taken from a manuscript wrote above five hundred years since.* (London: J. Roberts, 1722).

[40] For example, the Inigo Jones MS.: *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* 6 (1895).

[41] J. Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, & c. of the most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity* (London: William Hunter for John Senex and John Hooke, 1723), pp. 31–2.

[42] J. Anderson, *The New Book of Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (London: Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1738), pp. 63–4.

[43] J. Entick, *The Consitutions of the Antient and Honourable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (London: Brother Scott), 1756, pp. 85–7; *Biographia Britannica: or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages.* Volume 1 (London: W. Innys et al., 1747), pp. 63–4, note G.

[44] W. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Wilkie, 1775), p. 201.

ALCOHOL AND MASONIC CONVIVIALITY

W.Bro. R. Leek, P.P.D.G.D.C.

Several years ago, a notice announcing the erasure of Temperance Lodge of Felicity No. 3632 in the Province of West Lancashire aroused my curiosity; was this one of those lodges whose Brethren are, or were, opposed to the consumption of alcohol at meetings, and if so, how were such lodges faring in today's world? A consultation of the archives of this lodge revealed that the founders were teetotallers and that, prominent amongst them, one has been a founder of the Salvation Army in 1878. My curiosity about Temperance lodges whetted, I wrote to The Assistant Librarian (User Services) at The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, Great Queen Street, (Mr Martin Cherry) who replied that '*apart from a short list in Mendoza's* Serendipity: *Harry Mendoza (1995), there is not a* (complete) *list of temperance lodges or lodges that were originally temperance lodges*'. Since then, I have conducted research into over thirty such lodges in various parts of England and, in this short paper, some of the information gleaned is presented and some conclusions drawn.

A feature of the nineteenth century, beginning in the 1830s, was the emergence of groups of working men in the rapidly-growing industrial areas who committed themselves to drink alcohol only in moderation, that is *temperately*, and who formed what became known as Temperance Societies. These societies were fostered, in particular, by the owners of industrial enterprises who preferred to employ people of abstemious habits on work involving the new steam-driven machinery. Because the commitment to drink alcohol in moderation lacked precision and was associated with much backsliding, the societies that grew and flourished were those that adopted a more stringent condition for membership: that of a taking *a pledge of total abstinence*. Thus it was that the title 'Temperance' came to mean, in the popular mind, Total Abstinence rather than Moderation. Someone who took the pledge would be given a certificate to that effect by the Temperance Society which might be shown to a prospective employer. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Temperance Movement had become very influential in the country at large and Masonic lodges began to be founded by Brethren who were avowedly opposed to the consumption of alcohol at meetings.

In this research, towns in various parts of England were selected, with the aim of discovering the first Temperance lodge to be founded in each; the archives of these lodges often led to daughter and grand-daughter lodges, themselves founded on Temperance principles, whose histories could be studied. For example, the first such lodge to be founded in Liverpool was the Lodge of Prudence No. 2114, consecrated in 1886. There were twenty-one Founders drawn from eleven lodges, six of which were quite new, having been consecrated since 1872; they came from many diverse walks of life; the WM was a Fish Merchant, the SW a Mineral

Water Manufacturer and the JW a Wholesale Jeweller. Four initiations were conducted at the first regular meeting and forty Brethren were nominated as Joining Members. The Summons carried the statement 'This Lodge having been founded on Temperance Principles, no intoxicants will be permitted at refreshments. Visitors and members are expected to adhere to this rule'. In 1906, the Bye-Laws were up-dated to include the Clause 'No alcoholic liquor shall be introduced at any function in connection with this Lodge'. The end of the Great War was followed by a rise in membership to a peak, in 1922, of nearly two hundred. Only milk, minerals and water were available at the Festive Board but, by 1960, it was accepted that some Brethren were imbibing outside the period of the meal itself. This situation continued up to the demise of the Lodge in 2006 when Prudence Lodge was merged with three non-Temperance lodges, all suffering from declining membership.

The eagerness of Liverpool Brethren for a lodge conducted according to Temperance Principles had been mirrored only two years previously by the foundation of the first Temperance lodge in Manchester, Wolseley Lodge No. 1993, which had grown to a membership of one hundred by 1886. The Founders were honoured in obtaining the consent of Lord Wolseley for the Lodge to be named after him and also by his attendance at the ceremony of Consecration on the 28th of March, 1883. Field Marshall Viscount Garnet Joseph Wolseley 1883–1913 had been initiated into Military Lodge No. 728, Dublin, in 1851 while serving with the 90th Regiment, and he was Master of that Lodge in 1893 and 1894 while Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. (Incidentally, Earl Ferrers, Sewallis Edward, 10th Provincial Grand Master for Leicestershire and Rutland (1873–1912), was a brother officer in the same regiment as Wolseley and was initiated into the same lodge.) Lord Wolseley, recently returned from crushing the rebellion of Arabi Pasha in Egypt, was given a hero's welcome by the people on his way in an open carriage to the Memorial Hall where four hundred Brethren attended. Ten Candidates were proposed for Initiation and sixty-one Brethren for Joining, many of whom, said the Provincial Grand Master in his address, 'were connected with Temperance and Teetotallism, two very essential matters for the amelioration of Society'. In 1993, the Centenary of the lodge was celebrated and Temperance principles were observed at the social board but, by 2002, declining membership led to a merger of Wolseley Lodge with Minnehaha Lodge No. 2363, a non-Temperance lodge whose name and number the combined lodge retains. The last Secretary of Wolseley lodge writes to me: 'We were a Temperance lodge from the outset, but for some reason members were allowed to drink cider with the meal. Nobody knows how this came about, or when, and nobody questioned it either, but it was always a source of amusement amongst visiting Brethren. That, and the fact that *we* were always first to the bar!'

A feature of the lodges founded on Temperance Principles was that they kept in touch, forming groups and attending each other's meetings; redolent of the Kindred Lodges Association we have today for Freemasons

engaged in Youth Work. For instance, at the Consecration Festive Board of Wolseley Lodge, replies to the toast to the Visitors were given by two Brethren who were members of the oldest Temperance lodge in England, namely Temperance Lodge No. 739, warranted in 1858 and meeting at Birmingham, an account of whose history is beyond the scope of this short paper; sadly, this venerable lodge has been erased, holding their last meeting in October 2004. In London, the Mother Temperance Lodge was the Lodge of King Solomon No. 2029, founded in 1884, which gave rise to a family of lodges that belonged to The Federation of Temperance Masonic Lodges, formed in 1912; by the 1990s there were only two teetotallers left in The Lodge of King Solomon, one being a Salvation Army man, and, this venerable lodge was also erased in October 2004. Sometimes Temperance lodges were in amity because they had been founded by Brethren of the same religious persuasion, for example, the Epworth Lodges founded by Methodists in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Belfast, Dublin, Adelaide, Melbourne and Perth.

The way in which lodge Bye-laws and customs relating to the consumption of alcohol have changed over the years may be illustrated by giving an outline of the experience of one of these, say Liverpool Epworth Lodge No. 5381 whose Warrant was granted on the 3rd of August, 1932. The Founders were prominent in the Masonic life of West Lancashire and, in their Petition for the lodge, they stated that: 'their strong links with Methodism led them to adopt the values and standards of that Denomination in framing the Bye Laws of the Lodge; these forbid, at any meeting in connection with the Lodge, the serving of alcohol, or holding or participating in games of chance'. These Bye-laws were strictly adhered to until, at a `Lodge meeting held in November 1992, a resolution was passed that 'no alcoholic refreshment may be served at any meeting in connection with the Lodge, *except when non-Masons are present*'. This change led to the resignation from the Lodge of a number of Brethren but it meant that, in future, the consumption of alcoholic drinks would be allowed on social occasions, such as Ladies' Nights. A further change to the Bye-laws was approved at a Lodge meeting held in October 2000, to the effect that drinks of an alcoholic nature are now permitted, at the Worshipful Master's discretion, at the Installation Festive Board, and on this occasion, the change was not followed by any resignations but was approved in relative harmony.

In conclusion, it may be said that the influence of the Temperance Movement and the fervour for total abstinence from the consumption of alcoholic beverages, which became strongly felt in the country at large, spilled over into the Craft with the foundation of Temperance lodges. In recent years, many of these lodges have made rules relating to alcohol less stringent or have discarded them altogether but the unwritten understanding remains that the Brethren who wish to drink will do so temperately. The period which I happened to choose to undertake this research has turned out to be one when some of the oldest lodges have merged with others or

have been erased; it is my aim to preserve for posterity information on this subject before the Brethren of those lodges, with their memories of past times, disperse.

In reality, the wheel has turned full circle and Masonic conviviality has resumed the unfettered course it had before the Temperance Movement erupted, but whereas, in the old days, after a good night out, your horse would take you home, nowadays legislation about drinking-and-driving has become a commanding influence on our social life.

19TH CENTURY SURVEYS OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT

W.Bro. D. A. Peacock, P.P.S.G.W.

In common with many Freemasons, as time went by I became interested in the recorded history of the Temple Mount and the various Temples erected on the site. My interest was further stimulated when, during a visit to Israel, my hosts packed me off from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem on a day trip. This enabled me to see many of the sites of interest in Jerusalem and also Bethlehem.

This short visit radically realigned my conception of the geography of the region. In my childhood I had listened intently to the Bible stories at Sunday School and read other stories of the Arab world in later life. This had conditioned me to believe that the region around Jerusalem was a flat desert and mostly hot all year. As I was soon to find in travelling from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem this is most definitely not the case. The City of Jerusalem sits high upon a ridge and there are areas surrounding it, which are higher still, Indeed our first stop was on Mount Scopus where we could look down on the Temple Mount and the Golden Dome (Dome of the Rock) and the old city and appreciate how hilly the whole area is.

That initial view stimulated me to research such information as I could find on the topography and recorded history of the area. Because this area is sacred to three of the world's major religions, it is not surprising that the concept of major excavation and exploration on the Temple Mount itself is very much a sensitive issue. While the Israeli authorities now control the city they have left the control of the Temple Mount itself to the Islamic religious authorities and as a consequence no archaeological work has been permitted on the Mount itself.

However, there was a period in history when scientific survey was possible. This occurred during the Turkish occupation and when the City was under Turkish Government. The authorities then allowed a party of British Army Royal Engineers to make a full survey of Jerusalem and the surrounds to aid in improving the sanitary conditions in the City. An article describing the findings was published in 1886 entitled 'The Ordinance (sic) Survey of Jerusalem' by Captain Charles Wilson. Sometime previously, in 1884, another more general survey of the area was completed. Sir Charles Warren and Captain Condor published an article describing this survey, entitled 'The Survey of Western Palestine'.

These articles give us a good picture of the Temple Mount as it then appeared. The first article published referred to more ancient records and tried to refer the masonry still standing to those recorded by earlier writers. One of the early records was that of the unknown 'Pilgrim of Bordeaux' who was in the city in the year 333 A.D. while Constantine's church was being built. This pilgrim stated: 'There is also here a crypt, in which Solomon used to torture demons; and here is the corner of an exceedingly high tower where our Lord ascended, and the tempter said to

Him, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence"; and the Lord said to him, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but Him only shall thou serve." There is the great Stone of the corner, of which it is said, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner." And under the pinnacle of the same tower are very many cells, and here was Solomon's palace. There also stands the cell in which he sat and wrote the (Book of) Wisdom, and this chamber is covered with a single stone. There are also large subterranean reservoirs for water and pools constructed with great labour.'

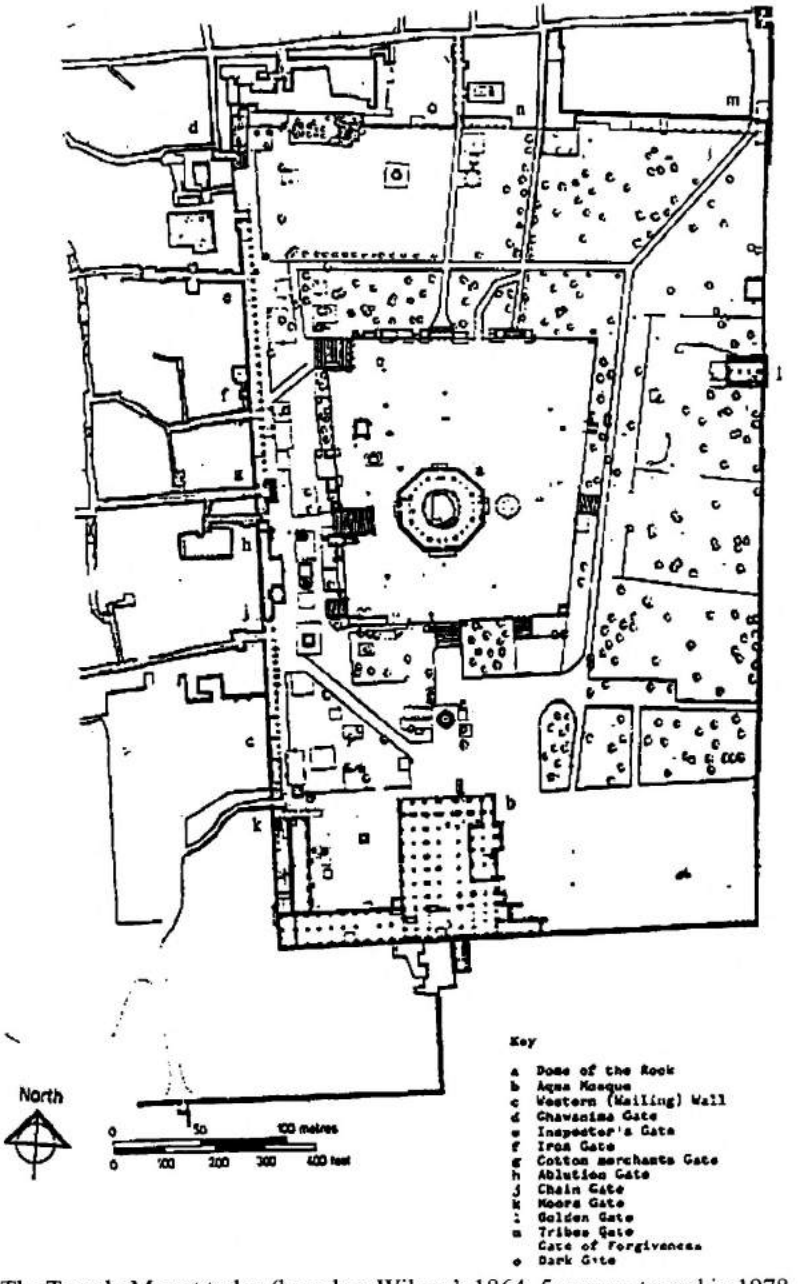
The writers of the article on the survey record a footnote to this paragraph, as follows. 'Ancient window in east wall at south-east angle, roofed, as described, with a single stone, and large enough to be called a cell.' Presumably this describes the cell in which Solomon wrote about Wisdom.

The other article, the detailed survey by the Royal Engineers, describes the topography of Jerusalem and points out that there are two spurs of high ground; one of which, to the west, is occupied by the City and was the Mount Zion of the Bible; the other more to the east is Mount Moriah on which the Temple formerly stood and on which the Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock now stands. When King David came to Jerusalem he had to defeat the Jebusites and then created his city on Mount Zion.

It is obviously not possible to touch on many of the features found by the surveyors but in this short talk I hope to introduce some of the features that may be of interest to us as Freemasons. It should be noted that these surveys are still seen as most important works and used by many scholars in their researches on the Temple Mount in general and in trying to locate the site of the First Temple in particular. Captain Wilson subsequently had a distinguished career and became a Major General.

His article points out that many of the early topographic features had been obliterated due to the accumulation of rubbish over the centuries. The author states that there was no less than forty feet of rubbish in two valleys adjacent to the Haram-es-Sherif (Temple Mount). The Haram itself occupies no less than thirty-five acres and in comparison the City of Jerusalem in 1886 was two hundred and nine and a half acres. The plan of the Temple Mount prepared by Captain Wilson was subsequently redrawn. The description of the Haram-es-Sherif is as follows.

A large quadrilateral enclosure of thirty-five acres and nearly one mile in circuit. The northern side being one thousand and forty two feet long the eastern, one thousand five hundred and thirty feet, the southern nine hundred and twenty two feet and the western one thousand six hundred and one feet long. The Dome of the Rock stands a little to the west of the centre of the enclosure and is erected over the Sakhra, which is a portion of the natural rock, the summit of Mount Moriah. The highest point of the Sakhra is four feet nine and a half inches above the marble floor of the Mosque and is two thousand four hundred and forty feet above sea level. Beneath the Sakhra is a cave which is some nine feet high and twenty-two and a half feet square. There is a hole cut through from the upper surface of the rock



The Temple Mount today (based on Wilson's 1864–5 survey, traced in 1978 and updated 1987).

into the chamber and from the chamber another hole beneath which leads to a drain in the Valley of Kedron. This was supposed to have been made for the purpose of carrying off the blood of the animals sacrificed on the rock when it was the altar of burnt offerings to the Lord.

The Mosque as seen today was restored by Sulciman in the middle of the sixteenth century from the building originally erected by Melik-Ibn-Menvan in A.D. 688 to 691 to commemorate the place where Mahomet ascended to heaven on his steed.

When the Crusaders took the City of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099 they renamed this Mosque the Temple of the Lord and the other major Mosque in the Haram, the El Aqsa Mosque, they renamed the Palace of Solomon and this was where King Baldwin I (1100–1118) founded the order of Knights Templar. Following the recapture of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Christians the Mosques again reverted to their original names.

In historical times the other large feature on the Haram-es-Sherif was the fortress, which stood at the north-west of the enclosure called the Antonia Tower. This was at the most vulnerable part of the wall and the only practical way to storm the Hill. The sieges of the Haram conducted by Pompey in B.C. 63, Herod in B.C. 38 and Titus in A.D. 70 all had to be directed at this point in view of the steep ravines on every other side.

In his detailed description of the wall surrounding the Haram, Captain Wilson remarks thus:

Shortly before reaching the offset which marks the position of the corner tower (at the south-east angle), two stones, forming the springing of an arch, and extending over a length of eighteen feet, are seen, and immediately above them there has been at some period a window to admit light to the vaults within, which is now closed with modern masonry, leaving a small chamber in the thickness of the walls.

It appears that the features referred to by the 'Pilgrim of Bordeaux' over fifteen hundred years before were still visible to some extent.

The arch he believed to be from the ruins of the tower.

Captain Wilson goes on to describe a small mosque in the southeast of the Haram in which is shown the Cradle of Jesus. This Mosque is described as being of recent date but on the eastern side the springing of a large heavy arch can be seen. He believed it to be of the same date as that of the wall outside, the southeastern corner, and probably formed part of the covering arch of a chamber in the tower. The height to the ground below the walls is about eighty feet at this point.

The walls themselves were of a substantial nature and near the north-eastern corner Captain Wilson describes one stone no less than twenty-three feet eight inches long and four feet deep. He also remarks on a marginal draft five and a quarter inches wide, giving the masonry a very bold, and at the same time a very peculiar character.

Captain Wilson surmised, from a careful examination of all of the walls, that none of the structure was likely to have been of the original Temple of Solomon but that the stones were likely to have been re-used. He came to

this conclusion because the quality of workmanship in squaring and setting the stones was not of the standard to be seen in other ancient structures in the region.

Near to this point one could gain entrance to the subterranean vaults called Solomon's stables by the Crusaders and Al Masjed-al-Adim (the old mosque) by Moslems. The entrance was through a hole broken in the crown of one of the arches between the Al Aksa Mosque and the Cradle of Jesus at the south-eastern corner. These vaults did appear to have been used by the Crusaders to stable their horses and it has been widely speculated that this was the area in which the Templars were excavating during their stay in Jerusalem.

Captain Wilson also describes another feature, which I believe we should take careful note of, namely the building north of the Golden Gateway, the main gate of the east wall, called Solomon's Chair. This he says was treated with particular sanctity and his party were not allowed to enter. However, the doors were opened and a good view was had of the interior. The building was small and appeared to be of modern date and appeared to be visited by the Moslems but once a year at the festival of Bairam, which concludes Ramadan.

The article also gives details of many cisterns let into the Haram, some of which were undoubtedly for the purpose of containing water but others may have had other uses. In all Captain Wilson recorded twenty cisterns, the deepest of which was over sixty-two feet deep. Some of the cisterns were of a curious shape and connected which water conduits but others appear to have no connection. In some of the cisterns passages lead off to chambers or to doors. One is led to understand that the whole area under the Mount is riddled with tunnels and conduits.

This is reinforced by a discovery made in the northwestern corner of the Haram area. Here a tunnel was found leading from a small street to the north of the Via Dolorosa. This led through the kitchen of a convent. At the southern end there was a passage leading towards the Haram but this could not be explored due to standing water. Captain Wilson surmised that this might have been used to bring in water from the north of the Haram and also as a passageway for troops.

This tunnel, named the Hasmonean Channel, was rediscovered in 1987 and connected to a modern tunnel constructed alongside the western wall but outside the boundaries of the Haram. It now connects to a doorway in the Via Dolorosa. Complex negotiations preceded the opening of the tunnel. In exchange for cooperation on the tunnel exit, in a January 1996 agreement the Israeli government gave the Waqf permission to renovate Solomon's Stables, an area of underground passages underneath the southern end of the Temple Mount, as a mosque for Ramadan prayers. The rubble removed and dumped from the renovation of Solomon's Stables has been carefully examined by a team of Israeli archaeologists and has yielded an arrowhead from the Babylonian period possibly from the time of destruction of the First Temple.

These selected details show that there are ample grounds to believe that there are subterranean passages and chambers yet to be discovered in the Temple Mount. It also points out some intriguing details such as the position of Solomon's Chair at the northeastern part of the Haram. The position of the tower at the southeastern part of the Haram on the presumed site of Solomon's Palace and the references to the stone rejected by the builders also strike a chord.

I would recommend a careful study of these two documents.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SECOND OR FELLOW-CRAFTS' DEGREE

W.Bro. A. Simpson, P.P.J.G.W.

It is true to say that the Second degree ceremony in Freemasonry is not generally regarded with the same enthusiasm as those of initiation and raising, being thought of as a necessary, but not very colourful stage between the First and Third degrees. I am sure that many of you have heard the remark, "It's only a passing!".

I hope to prove this evening that such an attitude is completely unjustified. To the candidate, his initiation, being his first step in his masonic life, is of primary importance, as is indeed his raising to the sublime degree of a Master Mason, but what preparation is he given for his fellow-crafts degree, which has its special place and purpose in his progress; and does it contain much that is interesting and uplifting for the sincere brother who wishes to advance further his masonic knowledge?

At this stage it would be as well to refresh our memories regarding the origin of the Second degree. In the first place there was one fundamental difference between the old 'operative' fellow or fellow-of-the-craft, and the 'speculative' fellow-craft, in that the former had taken a big step, both as a man and a mason, when he ceased to be an apprentice. He was now a fully qualified artisan, entitled to work as a 'master', whenever the opportunity presented itself.

In 'speculative' Freemasonry in the Eighteenth century, once the Second degree had been conferred on an entered apprentice, he had all the qualifications needed to become a master of his lodge and indeed also an officer of high rank in the order. Even today in our English lodges, the necessary preparation of the Master-elect is conducted in the Second degree, which should leave us in no doubt that originally the Fellow-craft's degree was one of considerable importance.

Lack of positive records prevent total accuracy but it would seem that the Second degree was first introduced about 1720 and the Third degree about two or three year later. The person responsible for all this was Dr Desagulier, an acknowledged ritualist, and who in 1719 became the Third grand master.

We can begin now to consider the general design and purpose of the Second degree, the mid-way of our craft masonry, and the relationship it bears to the degree which precede and follow it.

It is only to be expected that the attention of the candidate should be directed to what has gone before, and that he must be reminded of the former 'step' he has taken, and in particular its connection with what he is about to do, as indicated by the words in the prayer at the beginning of the ceremony, "That the work begun in thy name be continued to thy glory, and be evermore established in us by obedience to thy divine precepts"; A definite link with, and a confirmation of, the teachings contained in the

initiation ceremony. Again, in the obligation which follows, the candidate solemnly binds himself, "to maintain the principles inculcated in the First degree." It must be remembered that when he took his obligation at his initiation he was in total ignorance of our tenets and teachings. But when being 'passed', after his period of apprenticeship, he should no longer be in ignorance of those principles and is therefore quite properly called to confirm and elaborate on his former obligation. Furthermore, in the address in the south east corner of the lodge, it is explained to him that freemasonry is a progressive science, and having had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the principles of moral truth and virtue, he is then permitted to extend his researches into the more hidden paths of masonic science. All these instances prove once again that the Second degree is linked to and a confirmation of, his initiation, and this should be emphatically impressed upon him.

The working tools of the First degree, the twenty-four inch gauge, the common gravel, and the chisel, are well suited to the entered apprentice with his inexperience and lack of knowledge. His work, like that of his operative counterpart, is to measure stones and roughly prepare them for the hands of the more expert craftsmen, *he completes nothing* and so turns out no finished work. But in the Second degree, having passed the test of the square and proved his proficiency, he is entrusted with the square, the level and the plumb rule, in order that he may produce some finished work for the use in the projected building, and ensure that his work is placed both level and upright. He has become a trusted and responsible craftsman working among his fellows; A fellow-of-the-craft.

In the explanation of the Second degree tracing board the fellow-craft is first directed to study the two great pillars which stood at the porchway entrance of King Solomon's temple, the names of which are well known to you.

The names given to these two pillars, as described in the Holy Bible, (The second book of Chronicles Ch. 3, v 17) gives no indication that they were named after either of the personalities referred to in our rituals. Boaz was certainly the great grandfather of David and therefore the great-great grandfather of King Solomon, and so we might surmise that *one* pillar was named after *him*, but what of Jachin? There is a reference to *an* assistant high priest of that name in the sacred writings which *might* indicate that one of the pillars was named after such a person. There is, however, a much more reasonable and realistic explanation. A study of these two names reveals that they are both 'compound' words of two syllables. The Hebrew word "Boaz" is divided into Bo, meaning In it or him. AZ, meaning Strength; and "Jachin" into Jah, meaning God; and Chin, meaning To establish, all of which is interpreted as "God will establish his house of Israel in strength". It is inevitable that in the Holy Bible, we find slightly differing descriptions as to the height, overall dimensions and ornamentation of these pillars, since the written records were made some

time after the actual events and then by different scribes and at different times.

Be that as it may, the differences are not such that we cannot form a mental picture of their size and appearance. A height of 17 1/2 to 18 cubits would be between 31ft and 32ft, plus the chapters of just over 8ft making a total height of 40ft or thereabouts, and they were about 21ft in circumference. We read also that they were formed hollow (to serve as archives for masonry). This is fairly obvious, they would have been formed hollow then, as they would be now, and cast in sections, because solid pillars of that size would not only have resulted in colossal weight, but think of the problems of moving and rearing them up. As for the tradition for the storing of records, even if these existed, it would have been difficult in pillars of that height. If we accept that there were such records, it would have been far more likely they would have been enclosed in caskets and placed in cavities prepared for that purpose in the plinths or foundations on the pillars, a not uncommon practice in some buildings to this day.

Before turning to the password of the Second degree, I would like to refer to two incidents which occurred in that part of the world, where a phonetic password was used, yet another case of history repeating itself. In 1818 a battalion of Turkish troops in the land of Gilead was surrounded and disarmed by the formidable and warlike Druses. They were about to slay their prisoners, when one of the captives, a soldier from Damascus, asked for mercy and protection for the Syrians amongst them, being children of the same soil. To find out who were Syrians, a test word was employed, which was "Gamel" (hard 'G'), meaning a camel. The Syrians could not pronounce this, but called it "Jemel", so they were spared and the Turks were slain. The second instance occurred even more recently during the First World War, when Field Marshal, Viscount Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby (1861–1936) finally defeated the Turks. Many groups of fugitives including Arabs, Syrians and Turks attempted to cross over the fords of the river Jordan to make their escape. These fords were guarded by our Arab Allies under Col. T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935) (Lawrence of Arabia). The fugitives were given the test word "Bozzle", meaning onion. The Turks could not pronounce this, but said "Bossel", which disclosed their nationality and like the Ephramites of old, cost them their lives.

To return to the subject, the password S----TH denoting plenty, is depicted by an ear of corn, near to a fall of water. It is probably shown in this way because the original Hebrew word has a double meaning of "an ear of corn" and also "a stream of water". The English translation of the word is, "a flowing stream of water", and since wherever in the east there is a flowing stream, there also you will usually find vegetation with food and water for both man and beast. It is easy, therefore, to see how the combination of the two meanings can denote "plenty".

What is Freemasonry? We ask the candidate, and wonder with how much comprehension does he reply, "A system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols". Surely one of the classic examples of this

is to be found in the explanation of the Second degree tracing board. From it we learn that after our ancient brethren had given the password, they passed up a winding staircase, consisting of three, five and seven steps which severally indicate how many rule a lodge; how many hold a lodge; and how many make it perfect; and the number of years taken in the building of King Solomon's temple, the recital of the noble orders of architecture, and the number of the liberal arts and sciences.

We now come to the subject of the 'Middle Chamber' into which the craftsmen went to receive their wages. It can hardly be believed that the workmen actually went into the privileged part of the building for this purpose. Let us remember how carefully this temple, which was to be consecrated to the honour and glory of God was erected. Even in its construction the sanctity was preserved by there being "no sound of metal tool heard throughout the building", and that the stones, prepared many miles away, were put together with wooden mauls and other tools made expressly for that purpose. Can we then seriously accept that any part of it was allowed to be used as a pay office? I think not, could it be that the early compilers of our ritual were confused in their interpretation of the Holy Bible.

In the first book of Kings, chapter 6, verses 5, 6 and 8, it clearly states that there were three chambers built against the wall on the right side of the temple, and that they measured respectively, 5,6 and 7 cubits, that is:- 9ft, 10ft 9inch and 12ft 6inch in breadth, the length thereof not being given. If they were what is known today as 'Site offices', what would be more natural than one of them, the middle one, was used as a pay office, the approaches to it being guarded to prevent any unqualified person gaining admission.

As fellow-crafts we must work in fellowship with the master, and under his guidance and all-seeing observation, we are to serve him unselfishly; loving our neighbour as ourselves, and at the same time working upon the rough ashlars of our own personalities, in order that we may prepare perfect stones with which to build to *his* glory a superstructure perfect in its parts, and honourable to the builder.

Let us remember that wherever we are, and whatever we do, he is with us and his all-seeing eye observes us, and while we continue to act in conformity with the principles of the craft, let us not fail to discharge our duty to him with fervency and zeal.

'AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?'

W.Bro. M. A. Robinson, P.P.J.G.W.

'Am I my brother's keeper?' thus did Cain reply in verse 9 Chapter 4 of the book of Genesis. With these few words the Bible tells of the advent of human conflict.

The question to be asked in a wider sense should be, who is my brother?

As freemasons this must be any man who has been initiated into the Craft, and if so how is this relationship affected by conflict in times of war, and to what extent has the involvement of freemasons in the military promoted the tenets of the craft?

To answer these questions I have looked at human conflict over the two hundred years of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when wars were fought across the world from China in the East to America in the west. We shall see that in many of the conflicts Brother Masons fought on opposing sides.

Freemasons were first recorded as serving in the military during the seventeenth century. In 1634 Sir Anthony Alexander, master of Works and Master Gunner to King Charles I (1625 1649), was one of three gentlemen admitted in the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), now No. 1 under the Grand Lodge of Scotland. These Lodges were wholly operative. In 1646 at Warrington in Lancashire, Elias Ashmole, said to have been serving as a royalist captain, and Colonel Henry Mainwaring, a parliamentarian, were initiated into what seems to have been a speculative lodge. 16th Oct 1646, Ashmole's diary 'I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Col. Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire.' From this we learn that soldiers were among those who sought entry into what had been the exclusive preserve of builders. Sailors also aspired to become freemasons. In 1713 just before the formation of the first Grand Lodge, Vice-Admiral Robert Fairfax was made a freemason at York.

In 1717 the Premier Grand Lodge of England was formed, and among the early lodges constituted under its direct or indirect authority were many created at the petition of brethren in the services. The first of these was at Gibraltar in 1728; and throughout the life of the Premier Grand Lodge, until it became a part of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813, many lodges were formed and warranted in every country to which British servicemen were being sent. Many Lodges which are flourishing today were originally formed under British warrants for sailors and soldiers.

The mention of British rather than English warrants represents the involvement of the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland.

True Military Lodges were Warranted from 1732 when Masonic Lodge No. 11 was Warranted to the 1st Regiment of Foot by the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

From that day on Warrants were issued by:

The Premier Grand Lodge (until 1813)
The Ancients Grand Lodge (until 1813)
The United Grand Lodge (from 1813)
The Grand Lodge of Ireland
The Grand Lodge of Scotland.
In some cases by a Provincial Grand Lodge.

It is very difficult to draw up a list of the many hundreds of travelling Lodges that were constituted under the various Grand Lodges, as many were lost or erased for many different reasons.

The 28th of Foot (Gloucestershire) was erased by the Grand Lodge of Ireland when it sold its warrant in Plymouth.

Another Irish warrant belonging to Lodge No. 36 was sold, when a woman in the town sold its warrant to a Lodge in the 36th Foot (Worcestershire), how the lady came by it we will never know, but surprisingly the Grand Lodge confirmed the transaction, and the Lodge met for another seventy-seven years.

The membership of Military Lodges appears from records to have been spread across all ranks, and in order to understand this it is necessary to know how the British army was made up. In the eighteenth century the Militia was a local force which bore the name of the county in which it was raised and trained and was administered under the county Lieutenancy. Its officers were drawn locally from those with the requisite property qualifications. Its rank and file, however, soon became an army of substitutes, as those balloted men who could afford it took advantage of the option of hiring another to serve in their place did so. The Militia's formal legal existence was not continuous, and a new Militia was created in 1757 during the Seven Years War with France. There were many difficulties in raising the Militia, including rioting by the poor and middle classes, and more serious in the long term was the reluctance of the county gentry to undertake the laborious task of raising the new force, and acting as its officers. It was only after an invasion scare in 1759 that the new Militia was brought into being. Due to all these problems the Government considered from time to time the possibility of using volunteers to add to the number of the Militia.

The new Militia Act of 1757 empowered parishes to offer volunteers as Militia substitutes. The sole reward for volunteering being exemption from the Militia ballot.

The start of the American Rebellion with the surrender of a British army at Saratoga (1777), and the fact that Britain's continental enemies started to join in, forced the Government to the Statute Book, with the 1778 Militia Act which offered volunteers the choice of either being incorporated into other companies, or to be formed into a distinct company. A further Act of Parliament in 1779 suspended the compulsory ballot in

favour of raising volunteers who were to form additional companies to the existing Militia regiments.

It was a time of great national threat with the French fleet cruising the Channel, and a risk of invasion in Ireland, and brushing aside the British Government's reluctance to arm the Irish, a large Volunteer army emerged comprising of as many as forty-thousand men. This army proved prophetic for the future of the Volunteer in Britain, and in 1782 Lord Shelburne's Government passed an Act 'for the encouragement and disciplining of such corps or companies of men as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their towns or coasts, or for general defence of the Kingdom during the present war'. Concurrently a plan was circulated for consideration of the principal towns, proposing that each might raise a battalion of infantry. Reception of the plan was very mixed, some thinking it was dangerous to arm the urban poor, others wanting to strengthen the Militia. The sudden collapse (1783) of Shelburne's Government at the end of the war slowed down the plans, but with Britain's next trial of strength close at hand the final emergence of a distinct British Volunteer Force was a certainty.

Take a closer look at the formation of one of these volunteer corps in Leicestershire. We find in 1794, when there was a distinct menace from a French invasion, and the spread of their revolutionary ideas, the 'respectable inhabitants' in Leicester, Melton Mowbray and elsewhere came forward to join the Volunteers. As the threat of war with France loomed nearer both rich and poor were urged to recognise a common danger in the insatiable Napoleon Bonaparte. These part-time soldiers were strictly amateurs, and at times this showed, as with the case of the Melton Mowbray Volunteers, who on Sunday the 6th May 1804 were at their usual exercise in the town square. During the firing drill Lieut. Samuel Caldecott, who was in command, could not remember the correct words and soon threw his men into confusion to the delight of the onlookers who laughed and made fun of the Volunteers. There was more confusion when the men refused to be commanded by Lieut. Caldecott, and finally another officer Lieut. William Hill dismissed them. The behaviour of the Melton men was hardly inspiring, and there was total agreement in London with the view of the Duke of Rutland that the incident was 'a crime of too dangerous a tendency to pass unnoticed'. The Melton Company was disbanded. The Duke of Wellington who was Initiated into Lodge 494 in Trim was many times to refer to the volunteers as the 'scum of the earth'. As to why they volunteered he is quoted as saying 'People talk of their enlisting from their fine military feeling-all stuff-no such thing. Some of our men enlist from having got bastard children, some for minor offences, many more for drink; but you can hardly conceive such a set brought together, and it really is wonderful that we should have made them the fine fellows they are.' Wellington tried very hard to improve the conditions under which his men served and lived, and when he used the term 'Scum of the earth' he was not being vindictive but descriptive' stating the hard

sociological facts as he saw them. Against this background of a volunteer army which expanded the British Empire to the four corners of the Earth, and defended it for over one hundred years, a network of Masonic Lodges was built up across all Regiments.

The 17th of foot was one of these regiments; later to become the Royal Leicestershire Regiment. Known as the Tigers; a nickname given to the Regiment when on the 25th of June 1825 King George IV granted the bearing on the colours of the Regiment the figure of the ROYAL TIGER with the word HINDOOSTAN. Throughout its Masonic history the Regiment held a number of warrants. The third Warrant was unique, because having lost their previous Warrant No. 169 in battle during the American War of Independence, they were granted another Warrant of Unity Lodge No. 18 by a hastily formed Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, the previous Provincial Grand Lodge having left the City.

The next year the Regiment was garrisoned at Stony Point located on the Hudson River. The Americans stormed the Fort and the 17th were made prisoners of war. General Washington decided not to hold the fort, and ordered that all the baggage of the British be collected, and among this was found the Warrant issued in Pennsylvania. The Warrant and the Regalia were turned over to General Samuel H. Parsons a member of 'American Union Lodge'. Brother Parsons sent these items to the 17th Regiment of Foot with the following letter. It was addressed to the Master, Wardens of Lodge Unity No. 18.

> *'Brethren: When the ambition of monarchs or jarring interest of contending States, call forth their subjects to war, as masons we are disarmed of that resentment which stimulates to undistinguished desolation; and, however our political sentiments may impel us in the public dispute, we are still Brethren, and (our professional duty apart) ought to promote the happiness and advance the weal of each other. Accept therefore, at the hands of a Brother, the Constitution of Lodge Unity, No. 18, to be held in the 17th British Regiment, which your late misfortunes have put in my power to restore to you.*
> *I am your Brother and obedient servant*
> *Samuel H. Parsons.'*

Later the Regiment was exchanged and was stationed in Virginia.

Let us now move to Europe where the French Revolution had removed the Monarchy and Aristocracy, to replace it by a country ruled by one of the world's greatest military leaders Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).

During much of the eighteenth century interest in Freemasonry had grown both in England and France, and there is much evidence to prove that Freemasons were involved in the nation-wide movement that brought the French its new leadership. In England the first Grand Lodge had been formed in 1717, by four Lodges in London at the Goose and Gridion Alehouse in St Paul's Churchyard. By the end of the eighteenth century

there were two Grand Lodges in England, and in 1813 they United to become the United Grand Lodge of England that we know today.

On 1st February 1793 France declared war on Britain and the Netherlands. This war continued for nine years until a Peace Treaty was signed in March 1802 at Amiens. Peace was only to last for a little over a year when Bonaparte violated all the peace treaty terms, and Britain declared war on France, and once again Brother met Brother in battle both on land and sea. At the Battle of Trafalgar, the Franco-Spanish Fleet was crushed by the smaller British Fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, who lost his life due to the marksmanship of a french sharpshooter in the rigging of the French ship alongside. There has never been any real evidence that this was the case, as at the time the British ship was being racked by fire from the French ship, and Lord Nelson could have been hit by a stray ball. However, in the narrative of the Adventures of a French Sergeant Robert Guillimard, written by himself, he states that he shot Lord Nelson. The narrative says 'On the poop of the English vessel was an officer covered with orders, and with only one arm. From what I had heard of Nelson, I had no doubt that it was he. As I had received no orders to go down, and saw myself forgotten in the tops, I thought it my duty to fire on the poop of the English vessel which I saw quite exposed and close to me. All at once I saw great confusion on board the Victory, the men crowded round the officer whom I had taken for Nelson. He had just fallen, and was taken below, covered with a cloak. The agitation shewn at this moment left me no doubt that I had judged rightly, and that it really was the English Admiral. At any rate, from the moment in which he received his wound, and from the position of the wound itself, I could not doubt for a moment that I was the author: and I have ever been fully convinced of it'.

There is some doubt as to the authenticity of the work of Robert Guillemard; some suggest that it may have been written by several writers some time after the events, in the middle of the 19th century. The men in the Redoutable's tops were certainly aiming to kill Nelson if he was identified, but even at close range with all the smoke and the fact that the platform from which the sniper had to fire would have been rolling about making it very difficult to get an accurate shot. Robert Guillemard's story in further put to the test by the evidence of Second Lieutenant Lewis Roteley, who led twenty fresh marines to the deck just afterwards. He reports. 'The marines became exasperated. I was now in command, and the first order I gave was to clear the mizzen top, when every musket was levelled at the top, and in five minutes not a man was left alive in it. Some Frenchman has vaunted that he shot Nelson and survived the battle, and I have heard a book has been published so stating, but it must be romance. I know the man was shot in five minutes after Nelson fell.'

After the action Guillemard says in his memories that he became secretary to the French Admiral Villeneuve, and was taken into captivity with him, he also accompanied him on his return to France and saw him assassinated at Rennes. The official report at the time states that Villeneuve

committed suicide, but from the six stab wounds in his chest it seems more likely that one of Napoleon's many agents dispatched him; the note by the body to his wife was never delivered. Guillemard then joined the Army and served under the command of Marshal Brune (1763–1815), a Freemason and Grand Officer.

At the siege of Stralsund in 1807 he distinguished himself, and during this period Robert Guillemard says that he was made a Freemason. He says in his narrative 'In recompense of my conduct in the action on the 6th August, I had been proposed to the Masonic Lodge of the regiment, and my reception was fixed for the day of St Napoleon'.

At a later stage of his military life Guillemard tells of a meeting with an uncle who had been a prisoner of war on the Island of Malta. He says in his narrative 'they were destitute of any kind of amusement, yet they nevertheless succeeded in finding several means of killing time. The principal of these was the institution of a Masonic Lodge, which was entitled 'Les Amis en Captivite'. They had received a great many members, and had given frequent dinners; and were preparing to give a brilliant fete to some English Freemasons they had become acquainted with at La Valetta', but he goes on to say that the plans were frustrated by the population of the Island who were intent on setting fire to the Hall in which the Brethren were to meet. However, the English Governor intervened and forbade the meeting. The mob burned down the hall and destroyed all the furniture. Guillemard says that his uncle, after enduring such treatment for a long time succeeded in leaving the Island.

As the war continued in Europe many Frenchmen found themselves prisoners of war. Several thousand French officers were brought to England, and many of these were Freemasons under the authority of the Grand Orient Of France. As Freemasons, members of the British Craft seem to have done their utmost to alleviate the distress of these French Brethren. Many old minute books record sums of money subscribed for their relief, and upon one occasion the Grand Lodge of England voted a substantial amount for the benefit of a French naval commander, a prisoner of war on parole at Launceston.

Many of these French prisoners formed Lodges in towns across England. In Ashby-de-la-Zouch there were two hundred prisoners, and of these formed a Masonic Lodge which they called 'Des Vrais Amis de l'Ordre' (True Friends of the Order). Over the years some of the officers escaped, for they were allowed to walk freely on parole one mile in any direction outside of the town. The Leicestershire Chronicle, Sept, 1812 carried a story 'Lately a sergeant and corporal, belonging to part of the First Devon Militia, stationed at Hinckley in this county, were paid by the agent at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the sum of twenty guineas, for arresting two French prisoners at Lutterworth, who had broken their parole at Ashby-de-la-Zouch'. As these French Officers were on their honour not to escape we may consider that honour meant very little to these individuals.

In Portsmouth Harbour, the Castle at Portchester was used continuously

to house between seven to eight thousand prisoners over the years that it was in operation. The only evidence of the existence of a Masonic Lodge at Portchester is contained in The Memoires of Philippe Gille dated 1808 in which he gives a very interesting account of life in Portchester.

The following is a free translation from passages in the book.

'A Society, known for several centuries by the name of Freemasons, was established in the prison. The commandant had permitted the members of this association to meet, for the celebration of their mysteries, in a vault which was secluded, and they were always looking out for suitable persons for initiation. No doubt there were many who deserved admission to this worshipful Order, but still there were grounds for complaint that the Lodge was not sufficiently careful in its acceptance of candidates. I myself wished to join this Society, of which I had formed the highest opinion, but the slenderness of my resources compelled me to postpone that step until a more opportune time.

Later on, considering the time more suitable, I approached MM.de Pavetti and de Vaxoncourt, who promised me their assistance. My hopes were soon realised, and I was Initiated into the Masonic mysteries on June 24th 1812, and in due course received the degree of Master in the new Lodge at Portchester, for which M. Pavetti had received 'letters patent' from the Masonic Lodge at Odiham (Hants)'.

With the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 the war with France ceased and Europe was at peace. French prisoners were sent home, and Philippe Gille describes a very happy homeward voyage, thanks largely to the English doctor on the ship, who finding that Gille was a Freemason, had him treated with distinction, and even offered to help him with a loan of money.

By the time that Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838 military policy had changed and it was considered that the close association of officers with men was undesirable, and that secret societies amongst the men may become centres of sedition. However, some of the Travelling Lodges continued to work under other Constitutions.

There is considerable photographic evidence to indicate that Freemasons' Lodges met in the field during the later part of the nineteenth century in remote places such as the African Bush, and in the early part of the twentieth century we find further evidence of Lodge meetings taking place in prisoner of war camps during the Great War of 1914–1918. Freemasonry was still strong in Germany, but secret gatherings were forbidden by the camp authorities, therefore all meetings had to take place without the knowledge of the camp guards. There is evidence, however, that some Lodges must have been founded and worked with the full knowledge of the authorities. In 1915 Commodore Wilford Henderson, RN, a Grand Officer of the United Grand Lodge of England gave great assistance in the founding of the Gastvrijheid Lodge No. 3970, which now meets at London Masonic Centre, Clerkenwell Green. He somehow was able to negotiate with the Grand Orient of the Netherlands and the United Grand

Lodge of England, and thus ensure the long term success of the Lodge. This Lodge in turn assisted in the formation of a second Lodge of prisoners in 1918. The William van Oranje Lodge, now No. 3976 on the Register of the United Grand Lodge, and meets at Freemasons' Hall, London.

Throughout the period of internment the Lodge meetings were undiscovered as did the existence of Freemasons in the camp. Maybe we should ask the question: Did Freemasons among the camp authorities turn a blind eye?

Throughout the rest of the twentieth century there were a number of Travelling Lodges, under the Irish Constitution, attached to Regiments fighting during the Second World War. One such Lodge, which had been granted a Warrant of Confirmation from the United Grand Lodge of England, was attached to the Royal Scots, and while serving in Hong Kong it surrendered to the Japanese. The Lodge took great care to hide all its possessions, and after the war managed to recover them all, but on returning to England they were informed by the Grand Lodge that because they had not met for a number of years they would have to surrender their Warrant. The Brethren of the Lodge tried in vain to get the Scots or the Irish to take them under their Constitution.

It was finally decided that if the Lodge was to continue to operate they would have to have a fixed location, and London was agreed upon. Their Warrant was returned to them, also a new Warrant was issued to them by The Grand Lodge bearing the old number. Another example is the famous Lodge of Unity, Peace and Concord which received its Warrant in 1808, and is now Numbered 316 on the Roll of The United Grand Lodge of England, having at one time travelled as a Military Lodge from North America in the West to India in the East, it now has a permanent home at Mark Masons' Hall, London.

W.Brother Sidney Brown, who later became Lord Mayor of Leicester, and Provincial Grand Secretary of the Province of Leicestershire and Rutland, was taken prisoner in France in 1940, and held in Oflag VII (Tittmoning), Oflag VIB (Warburg), VIIB (Eichstatt) where the ceremony of Raising was added in 1941. He tells how he and a number of Past Masters completed from memory the Emulation Ritual as far as the ceremony of 'passing' to be used by the Lodges of Instruction between 1940 to 1945.

The ritual was copied out in pen and ink by W.Brother Sidney and kept in strict security, due to the fact that the Nazi government had made their attitude to Freemasonry very clear. Hitler had banned Freemasonry in 1934, and their destruction of the Masonic temples in the Channel Islands illustrates just how strict security had to be in the camps. However, W.Brother Sidney goes on to tell how 'a member of the London Rifle Brigade had succeeded in retaining, in spite of searches, his pocket Emulation ritual, and the Installation Ceremony was copied from this'. That ritual signed by a number of brethren is on view in the Grand Lodge

Museum, London. The handwritten ritual of Sidney Brown is kept in the Library and Museum at Freemasons' Hall, Leicester.

There are many other examples during the Second World War both in Europe and the Far East to show how the bonds of Freemasonry helped many men to survive under extreme hardship.

The spread of Speculative Freemasonry clearly owes much to the work of all the Brethren of Military Lodges, which fought each other on the battlefields of the world. Although these Brethren fought for their countries their fraternal companionship transcended the conflicts, and is illustrated by the compassion they showed to each other.

In a modern world where we all live and work, on the battlefield of international terrorism, Freemasonry has a very important roll in its teachings of tolerance and understanding amongst all races and creeds.

As a Freemason the answer must be: 'I am my Brother's keeper'.

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THE EYE IN MASONRY AS A SYMBOL AND IN OTHER CONTEXTS

W.Bro. J. M. Cappin, P.P.G.D.D.C.

The eye has been used symbolically since ancient times. Early engravings of the Assyrians show kings and gods looking up towards a representation of the Sun as an eye with wings, perhaps the sun's rays being perceived as lines of feathers on wings. The eye of the Egyptian falcon god Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, who was also the sun god Ra, was a symbol of wisdom, health and prosperity. The heiroglyph for Osiris is a throne and an eye.

The concept of the all-seeing eye represents the guardian character of the Deity, and thus the Deity itself. Various Biblical quotations are offered in support of this symbol. From Proverbs ch.15 v.3 we have "The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good." and Psalm 33v.18: "Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him." Thus it represents his omnipresence and guardianship of the Universe.

The eye may be represented surrounded by a triangle, which in itself is a symbol of ancient origin for the deity. In Christianity, it represents a triune God, and examples of this are to be seen in the Twelfth century Church of San Pablo in Tarragona, Spain, (SK) and the Seventeenth century Fisherman's Church at Traunkirchen, Austria where there is an eye within a triangle and radiating lines around it (glory), over the altar, near the ceiling. There is also one in the doorway of the Church of St. Florian's Monastery, near Linz. (BC), and also on the tower of Aachen Catherdral (WEP). In 1698, a book was published in Amsterdam titled Dialogus de Templo Salominis, Tabernaculum Spiritus by Balthasar Kopke.(LIB) This is a Latin Biblical and Christian spiritual exegesis, rather than a description of King Solomon's Temple, but its frontispiece shows a cross with each of the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton in each limb and a central All-seeing Eye, and a Sun and Moon, all circumscribed by the quotation, " Sine Me Nihil Potest Facere".

It appears also in an alchemical context. A book appeared in 1650 titled Chymical Collections with a frontispiece with many symbols, almost like a tracing board, and this included an eye emerging from a cloud. In a chemist's shop in Vienna, there is a sample of ironwork decoration in which there is an eye within a triangle flanked by two angels, dating to about 1720. (BJ RA)

It is of interest that the family home of his future wife, Constanze Weber, in which Wolfgang Mozart went to live in 1781, was called Zum Auge Gottes... In God's Eye. There does not seem any Masonic connection here, as I cannot find evidence of her father Fridolin Weber having been a mason, and Mozart was not initiated until 1784.

In 1614, Sir Walter Raleigh published anonymously, his History of the World, and the frontispiece shows and eye within the cloud labelled Providentia overlooking a globe of the world. (EIP) (UNCL) (CF).

The eye is frequently seen in Masonic art, but it is thus not a specifically Masonic symbol. The early Eighteenth century witnessed a burgeoning and prolific spread of ideas, scientific, political, spiritual and religious, and it was inevitable that Freemasonry would have absorbed concepts from a variety of sources. William Preston wrote in 1772 that "although our thoughts, words and actions may be hidden from the eyes of Man, the All-Seeing Eye, whom the Sun, Moon and Stars obey, and under whose watchful care even the comets perform their stupendous revolutions, pervades the inmost recesses of the human heart, and will reward us according to our merit", This quotation reappeared in Thomas Smith Webb's Freemasons' Monitor in 1797, in which he adapted Preston's rituals for the USA.

The concept of the "All-Seeing Eye" has been adopted by masonry as one of the symbols for the Deity and Providence, but only briefly appears as such within the ritual itself, and is not mentioned in the Old Charges. It does not feature in Colin Dyer's book of "Symbolism in Craft Freemasonry" (1983), and only slightly mentioned in Alex Horne's Sources of Masonic Symbolism (1981) without any substantial discussion. It frequently appears in Masonic art, and must be distinguished from the whole face, which is often employed to depict the sun. As already mentioned, it can be found enclosed in a triangle, or hexalpha (Shield of David), emerging from the clouds, or in isolation. It may be a simple outline, or include the eyelids, and may also be surrounded by radiating lines symbolic of light or divine power ("glory" or "radiant eye"). These images of the eye embellish all types of Masonic artefacts, but are also to be found associated with non-masonic fraternities. e.g. the UGL Museum contains an apron of the Odd Fellows Society showing two linked men with an all-seeing eye above, which is also portrayed on an Odd Fellows sash and medal, and a Rechabite Temperance Society Apron in the Leicestershire and Rutland Provincial Museum.

Indeed, the occasion of this talk stimulated me to take a journey of discovery around the Leicestershire and Rutland Provincial museum containing a wide variety of masonic art, of which I will describe some examples together with some from other sources.

The Leicester collection includes a rare enamel Battersea jewel of 1758 with a simple eye at the top above a sun, many masonic emblems and the quotation "Sit lux et lux fuit", (Let there be light, and there was light). Amongst several silver jewels is one of 1761 with an All-Seeing eye above a square and compasses with the motto "Live on the square" on the square, and two Latin mottoes surrounding the jewel, with the Sun and Moon, the Eye over the letter G, Noah's Ark and a heavy maul. The Leicester Thorpe collection contains a silver jewel of 1765, surmounted by an eye over a square and compasses on the VSL and a skull and cross bones and circumscribed with Amor. Iustitia, Virtute, et Silentio. Another is dated 1772, of a Daniel Patterson, showing a radiant eye without triangle, and also one with Arms of the Grand Lodge Antients. There are six early Nineteenth

century enamelled applique French jewels, probably made by prisoners of war, of which five have eyes emerging from the clouds, apparently a reasonably common feature of these French jewels.

Early aprons were simple, but as the Eighteenth century progressed, highly decorated aprons became more common. The Provincial Museum contains an apron of about 1798, property of the Knights of Malta Lodge No. 50, prepared from the "Hinckley Plate", with an eye in a triangle. There are two Antients' Grand Lodge aprons by Robert Newman. On one is engraved an eye with prominent radiation and cherubim; the other a triangle containing an eye surrounded by the quotation, "Let there be light, and there was light". Another early Nineteenth century apron by Slack shows many emblems including pillars, an arch, and a triangle with eye and radiation, as well as the statement, "Regulate your conduct for the eye of Providence is upon you".

The French continued to decorate their aprons late into the Nineteenth century with eyes and masonic emblems, after the Grand Lodge of England had simplified and standardised its designs following the Union in 1813.

In the Library of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, one can view the Apron understood to have been presented to George Washington by the Marquis de Lafayette in August 1784, which had been embroidered by his wife, that has a striking example of the all-seeing eye with glory, and incorporating the seven stars and also the Sun and Moon all under the dome of heaven. It is filled with masonic symbols, four pillars, square pavement, coffin and acacia, pentalpha, Noah's Ark, and curiously, on the flap a roundal with a central beehive surrounded by HTWSSTKS.

In the United Grand Lodge of England Museum is a copy of the Moira apron, associated with the Moira Lodge of Honour (now No. 329 Bristol) from 1813 to 1815, which had a pattern printed as a copy of a painting by Hobday, and shows a large all-seeing eye surrounded by six smaller eyes and Biblical and other figures. (BJ) Others towards the end of the Eighteenth century demonstrated an eye, radiant, or in a triangle on the flap itself.

The Leicestershire and Rutland Museum has numerous certificates with amongst many others one of a Bro.Ephraim Howard dated August 26, 1764 of Joppa Lodge, Maryland showing a radiant eye within a large G, square and compasses, sun and moon. Illustrations of an eye emerging from the clouds appear on certificates from the Grand Lodge of Ireland (1880) and Scotland (1900). There are also numerous examples of Staffordshire, Leeds and other pottery with non-radiating eyes and masonic symbols, a plate 1805 of the Knights of Malta Lodge No. 120 with an eye and the quotation "Thou, God seeist me", a Japanese lacquered box with an eye and masonic symbols, and eyes on firing glasses, and even a $25 Jamaican stamp celebrating the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Jamaica.

Between 1812 and 1821, the Grand Lodge of Ireland issued a series of

"Eye" Certificates with a radiant eye over three pillars, the central being the Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite on either side.(JR)

In December 1813, the Articles of Union were signed by the Grand Masters of the Antient and Moderns Grand Lodges, the Dukes of Kent and Sussex. These were bound in a book magnificently encased in black velvet, with a large central radiating all-seeing eye embroidered in gold on the front, a symbol of God witnessing and guarding that significant compact.

The jewel of the Grand Master and Pro- Grand Master is characterised by an All-seeing eye between the arms of the compass.

The eye appears in association with other degrees. In the UGLE museum are examples of Royal Arch aprons, one of 1790 with a radiant eye inside a triangle over an arch beneath which are the three principals and sojourners. Medals and certificates also are headed with eyes. The radiant eye characterises the jewel of a Second Principal as well as that of the Overseer in the Mark Degree of which there is an early example in the Thorpe collection and as one of the Sibley Royal Ark Marine jewels in the United Grand Lodge. In the Mark degree, the Floor cloth of the Lodge No. 205 of Lord Donegall's Regiment (numbered The 35th Regiment of Foot in 1751) of 1749 is surmounted by a radiant eye above an arch on which is inscribed, "Our wondrous arch is yonder vaulted sky, our mighty K stone the all-seeing eye". (JAG) Old Mark tracing boards including the Rosenthal of (1871) show simple eyes in an arch, and the modern official board has a radiant eye within the keystone of the arch. (AR).

Other objects with eyes in the Museum are a wooden star, an oval metal object. Of particular interest is a piece of wood with a large eye cut from the ceiling of the Bull's Head Inn in Great Claybrooke (now the "Pig in Muck") near Lutterworth, from a room which had a "spy-trap" in its door. I cannot trace any lodge having met there, so this must have perhaps been visited by some other fraternal organisation.

Across the world, in a stained glass window of the Tokyo Masonic Building is a prominent All-seeing Eye in triangle, with a ring of clouds and radiation surmounting a square and compasses, pillars and other masonic symbols.

Finally I'm sure that you have all noted that all the Lodge rooms in Leicester have a letter G with a central "All-Seeing Eye", a symbol of the Grand Geometrician of the Universe. Thus the Lord is recognised in masonic art as perpetually overseeing us.

It is difficult to pinpoint when the All-Seeing eye was adopted by Freemasonry. It does not appear in the Old Charges, or in any early exposures of the Craft and the Royal Arch. Early Freemasonry was influenced by Christianity, although theological discussion was discouraged in lodge. The Mark floor-cloth of 1749 already mentioned is an example of its artistic application in Masonry.

Much misunderstanding has been deliberately provoked by anti-masonic authors claiming that the eye in the apex of the pyramid which appears on the United States Great Seal and 1$ dollar note is evidence of a masonic

conspiracy to rule the U.S.A. An eye in a pyramid is not the same as an eye in a triangle, and the Great Seal antedates the common use of this figure masonically in the U.S.A. The pyramid represents strength and durability, and the eye, the advantageous intervention of Providence in the fortunes of America. Furthermore, the officer, Charles Thomson who approved the final design of the Seal was not a mason. (EIP)

I would now like to discuss references to "eyes" in the ritual and elsewhere.

The only reference to the "All-Seeing Eye" in the Craft ritual (English, Irish, and Scottish) is in the prayer of the Second Degree Closing where "wherever we are and whatever we do, He is with us, His All-Seeing Eye observes us". This is present in all rituals from the Nineteenth century. It is therefore relevant that also in that "extension of the Second Degree", the Mark Degree, God is referred to as the Great Overseer of the Universe guarding and observing us, and symbolised in the Mark Tracing Board Lecture as the All-Seeing Eye.

For our earliest sources, we are dependent on manuscripts and printed exposures, which by their nature cannot totally be relied on for complete authenticity, especially the latter. Nevertheless, variable and inaccurate as many may be, certain elements of consistency enable us to trace patterns of information, and to consider details.

I found three early references to the use of the eyes as a means for masons to recognise each other. In the Sloane Manuscript of c. 1700, probably Scottish in origin, is stated "Another is by twisting their eyes to the east, and twisting their mouth to the west. "In the printed pamphlet, The Grand Mystery of Free Masons Discovered, under "Signes to know a true mason", we find "Stroke 2 of your forefingers over your eyelids 3 times". (EMC) In the Briscoe pamphlet (1724), there is a dictionary of "Private signs to be "us'd among the free-masons". "To rub the right Eye with either hand signifies Member must come to his House that makes the sign, by Seven of the Clock next morning: and to rub the Left Eye with either Hand, signifies that he must go to the same place at Dinner Time". (EMP)

It is difficult to date the origin of the act of blindfolding or "hoodwinking" the candidate, as part of the rite de passage of bringing him from his previous state of darkness to a state of knowledge.

In the Old Charges and the early manuscripts e.g. The Edinburgh Register House, Chetwode Crawley, Sloane and others up to 1730, no mention is made of an initiate being blindfolded. Indeed, of the twenty five texts in Knoop, Jones and Hamer's Early Masonic catechisms, only the letter in the Flying Post of April 1723 known as "A Mason's Examination" and the description of the candidate in the Graham M.S. of 1726 as "poor and penyless blind and ignorant", refer to this. (EMC) In the "Mason's Examination", the candidate is led to the Master and "After this, he swears to reveal no secrets of the Worshipful Fraternity, on pain of having his throat cut, and having a double portion of Hell and Damnation hereafter. Then he is blindfolded and the ceremony of ... performed. After which, he

is to behold a thousand different postures and grimaces, all of which he must exactly imitate...", so the author implies that he is uncovered by this stage. What the ceremony is, we do not know. The procedure and order is similar to several other exposures that do not mention covering the eyes. In Samuel Prichard's pamphlet Masonry Dissected of 1730, the catechism mentions that the initiate is admitted by the J.W. who "carried me up to the N.E. part of the lodge and deliver'd me to the S.W.", ... who ... "presented me and shew'd me how to walk up (by three steps) to the Master. This suggests a visible demonstration, and nothing subsequently implies blindfolding.(EMC) Perhaps there may have been either variations in ritual, or that this is just inaccurate reporting.

The early French Exposures from about 1740 offer our first definite descriptions of blindfolding the initiate. (EFE) Since French masonry was derived from English practice, these form a bridge between those exposures already mentioned and the English exposures of around 1760. In the first of these, the 1737 anonymous "Reception d, un Frey - Macon", the candidate is conducted by his Sponsor into a dark room or Chamber of Meditation where he identifies himself and offers himself as a candidate, is deprived of metal, right knee made bare, left foot slipshod and eyes bandaged. He is left to meditate for about an hour, and with three knocks is introduced into the Reception Chamber where he is frightened by different explosive devices, and after three perambulations is led to the Grand Master. The Master asks him whether he feels the calling, and on an affirmative reply says "Let him see the light. He has been deprived of it long enough". His eyes are uncovered and he finds himself surrounded by the well-known ring of swords, and then, having had his breast bared, with compass to breast he pronounces his Obligation or oath. Le Secret des Franc-Macons 1742 by the Abbe Perau amongst other exposures details a similar ceremony, with occasional differences including that there were nine perambulations in some lodges.

A similar ceremony to this point is described in the popular English exposure Jachin and Boaz (1st Ed. 1762), confusingly claiming in the later editions to reflect the ritual of both the Moderns and the Ancient Grand Lodges, and the narrative also has the candidate being uncovered prior to his taking the Obligation. This appears unchanged in all the twenty six editions up to 1831. However, the catechism that follows describes the initate being hoodwinked until after the Obligation. The pamphlet Shibboleth of 1765 appears to be written by a mason of the Moderns' Grand Lodge. Its narrative also indicates the initate being blindfolded from his preparation in a room adjoining the lodge, entering after three knocks, and being conducted around the lodge three times before being presented to the Master who asks if he comes of his own choice. With an affirmative reply, the Master says "let there be light" and the J.W. removes the hoodwink before the Obligation, yet again the catechism has the uncovering after the Obligation. The description of the ceremony in Three Distinct Knocks of 1760 is clearly that of an Ancient Lodge ceremony and most resembles our

current ritual, and again has the initiate hoodwinked from preparation until after the Obligation. It is therefore difficult to be sure whether there was a difference in blindfolding practice between the Ancients and Moderns, or that again there were variations in both, and these exposures tend to borrow from other sources (e.g. J&B from the French).(EME). Both Jachin and Boaz Hiram, the Master Key (1764) described a handkerchief for covering the eyes.(H)

The reasons for hoodwinking are given variously in these early documents. The French exposure "Le Macon Demasque" (The Mason Unmasked) of 1751 indicates the "The Eyes of a Candidate are blindfolded to remind him of the blindness of men, who have happiness within their grasp, who can attain it, & who do not see it".

Three Distinct Knocks and J and B answer "That my heart might conceal, before my eyes did discover".

Also...

"As I was in Darkness in that time, I should keep all the world in Darkness".

There is only a slight change in two of the answers to the Question "Why were you hoodwinked?" in our present First Degree Lecture:-

That in case I had refused to go through any of the ceremonies required in making a Mason, I might have been led out without discovering its form.

As I was received into Masonry in a state of darkness, it was to remind me to keep the world so, with respect to our Masonic mysteries (unless they came legally by them as I was then about to do). (Finally, almost the identical words) That my heart might conceive before my eyes should discover. Elsewhere, there were occasional variations in the practice of hoodwinking. In the 1770's, in Croatia, the Draskovic Oberservance (DO_) was followed. In its first Degree, which combined Entered Apprentice and Fellowcraft, the candidate was prepared, given a paper to study, then hoodwinked and after a series of addresses by the Master, took his obligation (kneeling with three fingers of the right hand on the Master's sword). His eyes were then uncovered and he was surrounded by the ring of swords. The Master continues with a speech threatening the consequences of treason. The Candidate is again hoodwinked. The Master then more calmly promises the support of the brethren if he keeps his faith, and afterwards he is again uncovered, the Master touching his shoulder with his sword and giving the grip of an Entered Apprentice.

Present Scottish Craft Ritual varies between lodges, but that issued by William Harvey has the candidate partially hoodwinked i.e. one eye covered, for the Second Degree ceremony. (HAR) Perhaps it is analogous to the covering of one point of the compasses in that degree. In other Scottish rituals such as the 'Standard", the hoodwink is only used for Initiation.

The eyes themselves are rarely mentioned in the Craft ritual, more by implication in the sense of sight, and perception of the Light that symbolically represents Masonry. In three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz (J and B), (and Shibbolleth is comparable) the catechism runs:

Q. What are the five senses?
A. Hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling.
Q. What use are they, Brother?
A. Hearing is to hear the word, seeing is to see the sign, Feeling is to feel the Gripe, that I may know a Bro. as well in the dark as in the light.

William Preston discusses the sense of sight in his Second Degree Lectures, as found in his Syllabus Books of after 1780. To explain seeing, he states "The rays of light, which administer to the sense, are the most astonishing parts of inanimate creation, and render the eye, with all its appurtenances, the masterpiece of nature. The structure of the eye evinces the admirable contrivance of nature for performing its various motions, and clearly demonstrates the infinite power of a supreme Creator." He names the essential senses as hearing, seeing, and feeling, indicating they are essential "Because without the use of these senses, the sns., ts. and wds. would not answer the purposes for which they were originally intended". (CD)

Finally a few words about loss of vision and eye loss relating to masonic membership. Masons actively support both blind brethren and non-brethren, but at the beginning did not permit their entry into the Craft. Following the Old Charges, which go back to the 1400's the Premier Grand Lodge, insisted on the wholeness of the candidate. "A perfect youth, without maim or defect in his body." This also appears to have related to vision, and other countries followed England's lead. The Grand Lodge of Kentucky of 1808 insisted that each candidate should be of 'sufficient natural endowments and have the senses of a man", a phrase which we find in many North American constitutions of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. However, Mississippi accepted a blind man in 1867.

England has tended to be more flexible, and in 1875 without specifying blindness emphasised the importance of candidates' ability to understand the ceremonies, rather than bodily perfection.

Towards the end of World War I, with the return of many disabled soldiers, many Grand Lodges began to question the need for bodily perfection. Many Grand Lodges altered their regulations. In 1918 the London lodge Lux in Tenebris No. 3856 (Light in Darkness) was founded for blind candidates and their carers. The written ritual (available in Braille) remained unchanged, but ad hoc modifications have been accepted to compensate for the initiates' inability to see. In 1928 the New Zealand Grand Lodge was, however, still rejecting blind candidates. Its Grand Master said the ritual could not be altered to adapt for a candidate's inability to perceive "material light" by contrast to "spiritual light". For some time, this policy has now been changed to welcome the visually handicapped. Some prominent Grand Lodge officers were blind at their initiation, e.g. Sir John Wall, who was president of the R.N.I.B. Scotland had to wait until after 1980 for the totally blind to be eligible, and Ireland only recently abolished the need for a dispensation from its Grand Lodge.

Missouri still rejects candidates who are substantially blind, requiring the initiate to be able to see the proceedings in the degrees. Alaska and North Carolina currently require that "He should have the senses of a man, especially those of hearing, seeing, and feeling"

We appreciate that it is more important to appreciate the Spiritual Light of Masonry rather than to see the often dissembling world. The eye has therefore been relegated to a lesser role in the conceptual world of Freemasonry than the ear.

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EME ACF Jackson English Masonic Exposures (1986) Lewis Masonic.
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ADDRESS AT THE FREEMASONS' CAROL SERVICE, 11 DECEMBER 2005

W.Bro Rev. Canon M. Wilson, P.A.G. Chap.

First of all I want to take you all back to 1192 and ask you to see in your own hearts and minds whether anything has changed. 1192 is the year in which the German dramatist and theologian, Gotthold Lessing, placed his characters in his play "Nathan the Wise", first published in 1779. In 1779 this play was seen as so dangerous that it was banned twice: very definitely when it was first produced, the Church took exception. That was the first ban. Then one hundred and sixty years later, the Nazis banned it. Though in different periods of history and society, these, bans were not surprising due to the prevailing intolerance of both times. You see, the story of "Nathan the Wise" is about a Jew who proves to be cleverer, kinder and, shock of all shocks, deservedly wealthier than the Christian and the Muslim.

In the play, Nathan the Jew's advice is sought by the Muslim ruler Saladin who wishes to know whose religion is the truest. Nathan responds by telling a parable. The moral of which is that, regardless of religion, a human being must simply possess "gentleness, tolerance, charity and a deep humility before the love of God". As in 1779 and in Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s, and as in defined religious circles today, this wisdom would seem at one and the same time to offer comfort and yet unease. For the time of the Crusade, for the time of a dominant Christian Church, for the era of burgeoning Islam, it does not answer the original question: "whose religion is the truest?" so that one wins and the others lose. At this point in the play, a magnificent Christian Knight Templar, dubbed as "so gallant and so full of hate" comes along. His arrival raises the stakes to push Nathan's point along. He happens to be passing by a house fire and heroically rescues Nathan's adopted daughter. But on discovering she is the daughter of a Jew, he says he wishes he had not bothered. The denouement of this roller coaster of feelings, emotions and deep embarrassments brought to the surface is soap opera before its time. The Christian Knight, against all indoctrination, cultural conditioning and ethnic identity, falls in love with Nathan's daughter. The play ends with a group hug. This has been a quarrel where everybody wins.

And here we are near Christmas 2005. Newspapers are castigating the odd infant school head teacher for allegedly emphasising festivals of light instead of highlighting the incarnation and birth of Jesus Christ. The spectre of a West Midlands Council's attempt to rename Christmas "Winterval" is being rekindled.

The year 2006 to 2007 is for all Christian people in the Diocese of Leicester "Celebrate 80" eighty years since the reconstitution of the Saxon Episcopal See of Leicester. The eightieth Anniversary of the hallowing of this Church of St. Martin as Leicester Cathedral. There will be a "Big Day

Out" in Abbey Park for the whole Diocese, a special Pageant highlighting the Christian story of Leicester and Leicestershire. Special leaflets and badges are already in circulation. What has changed in our City and County in those eighty years?

In 1926 and 1927, Freemasons of Leicestershire and Rutland contributed much to the re-establishment of the Diocese of Leicester and the enhancing of facilities in this church building to start it off as Leicester Cathedral. This support came our way again with the more recent establishment of the Cathedral Centre and its growing outreach to the community. Does Nathan's wisdom that, regardless of religion, a human being must simply possess "gentleness, tolerance, charity and a deep humility before the love of God" go far enough to satisfy the Almighty and those who govern today's religions?

At the recent (compulsory) Leicester Diocesan Clergy Conference, the Bishop of Sheffield quoted the wisdom of a Mother Superior of our own day. The priority is to give attention to "the worship of God, the pain of the world, and the penitence of the Church". Put in this light, "whose religion is the truest?" is not the main issue.

When it comes, every blessing at Christmas. May Christ mean the whole world to you!

THE OFFICE OF STEWARD DEREK BUSWELL LODGE OF PROVINCIAL GRAND STEWARDS NO. 9705

W.Bro Rev. Canon M. Wilson, P.A.G. Chap.

I penned this oration for you having dined on two fish cakes and a portion of tarte au citron before it passed its sell-by date. Your banner displays the cornucopia (the "horn of plenty"), emblematical of feasting and drinking in style and abundance.

Feasting is not fashionable today. Fast food outlets, sandwiches and coffee "to go", diets that desire the mildly anorexic. Somewhat against the tide of this trend, the craft encourages feasting, not with a desire towards gluttony but to make a statement from ancient times: eating a meal together is an important and integral part of what it means to be human. There are glimmers of hope in wider society. For instance the smallest and newest probationer chorister at Leicester Cathedral was telling me with great enthusiasm about his little brother's recent "Ready, steady, cook!" birthday party. Very brave parents! Their highlight was chocolate kebabs, however they maybe constructed and eaten.

From the past, a Roman wall painting at Pompeii shows a vignette from a banquet. A slave removes a guest's sandals whilst another proffers him a drink. Another guest, the worse for drink, is helped away. A first century satire, "Cena Trimalchionis", from the "Satyricon" of Pretonius, besides describing some grotesquely unsuitable behaviour as a warm up for the banqueting appetite, details the menu as follows.

> *In the entree dish stood a donkey of corinthian bronze, bearing a pannier, which contained white olives on one side and black on the other ... little bridges which has been soldered on spanned the dishes; they contained dormice dipped in honey and sprinkled with poppy-seed. There were also hot sausages lying on a silver grill, and underneath were plums and pomegranate seeds.*

The grand dinner party was a defining event in first-century Roman society. Trimalchio is one of the aspiring classes, a freedman, out to impress his guests by the sheer opulence of his hospitality. By this time special clothes had to be worn and the feast took place in that part of the day dedicated to "otium" (leisure) following "negotium" (business). Here is, by inference, the rhythm of those coming from labour to refreshment and from refreshment to labour that profit and pleasure may be the result.

The Roman "convivium' was much a defining occasion then as the Victorian dinner party was centuries later. The necessary act of eating and drinking became something more significant, a social event. In every age guidelines were devised and accepted as to how the gathering should conduct itself. Dining together has always been considered a mark of civilisation compared with the savagery of the lone scavenger, a means of cementing social unity (for members of the Craft, within the lodge), of

marking group distinctions (as evinced in regular and improving membership), of giving honour to a superior (as to the Master of the Lodge).

So Stewards are appointed as serving men, but relational equals, in the midst of the social conventions and hospitable skills that constitute a Festive Board.

Just as the working prior to the Festive Board displays and hones interactive skills and mutual dependence within a hierarchy of equal brothers, so the same awarenesses should be characterise the society of Free and Accepted Masons at their Festive Board. This means conviviality rather than behavioural excess, enjoyment rather than indulgence, knowing the difference between abundance and excess, and above all things, the spirit of generosity in giving and receiving socially as well as gastronomically.

My father used to recite a little poem for no reason at all:

I eat my peas with honey.
I've done it all my life.
It makes the peas taste funny,
But it keeps them on the knife.

The etiquette guru of the 1890s "Madge", wrote "Very few persons continue to eat cheese in the old-fashioned way by carrying it to the mouth with a knife". In Charles Day's Etiquette and Usages of Society" eating anything with the knife was declared "glaringly vulgar". Stewards, rightly viewed and properly treated, are the enablers of those sharing a meal. Eating together, in whatever context, has always been a complex social mechanism for uniting and distinguishing people. Stewards are called to acquire those skills that give honour to all appropriately so that all that feast derive the utmost from the grand design of our being happy and communicating happiness.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

(June 25th 1860)

The Library Committee appointed jointly by the two local Lodges have to report that since their duties commenced a few weeks ago, they have been engaged in collecting the dispersed books forming the nucleus of the intended Library which have been presented by the John of Gaunt Lodge;' in soliciting donations of Masonic works from the members; and in arranging as to the place of deposit for the Library.

They have, at the least possible expense, had shelves placed in one of the recesses at the Western end of the supper room, which will afford sufficient space for the collection for some time to come and at the same time without difficulty allow for future extension.

The Committee feel gratified in being able to report that the Library now consists of 80 volumes and 26 pamphlets – of which 33 volumes and 3 pamphlets have been contributed by the John of Gaunt Lodge, no 766; ten volumes by St John's Lodge no 348, including 6 volumes of rare and curious French Masonic works recently purchased out of the grant made by the Lodge 9 volumes and 4 pamphlets by the Revd Dr Oliver have been presented by the learned author on being elected an honorary member of St John's Lodge, together with the original manuscripts of 13 Masonic Songs written for and presented to the worthy brethren of St John's Lodge, Leicester in 1797, by his father the Revd Samuel Oliver, when a member of the Lodge – and the following donations have been made by resident brethren –

Bro Kelly D.P.G.M.	13 volumes and 18 pamphlets
Bro Brewin, WM No 766	9 volumes
Bro Crawford P.M. No 348	2 volumes
Bro Nedham S.W. 348	2 volumes and 1 pamphlet
and by Dr Hopkins	His 3 lectures on Freemasonry

Whilst several other brethren, including Bros Martin, Marris, and Spencer, have intimated their intention of presenting various Masonic works in their possession.

The Committee regret the state that although every effort has been made to prevent this result several volumes of books and numbers of the Freemasons' Magazine belonging to the John of Gaunt Lodge are still missing and also the 1st volume of Dr Olivier's Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, and they suggest that the effect of another earnest request the brethren look among their books for those missing, be tried, after which they recommend that the Lodge should endeavour to complete the series by purchase and have the volumes bound and also that the Lodge should follow the example set by St John's Lodge by voting a few pounds annually for the extension of the Library, but that having regard to their heavy

necessary expenditure at the present time the grant should not commence until next year. They also recommend that a copy of the Freemasons' Magazine should be taken jointly by the two Lodges for the use of the members, but not to leave the building.

They will be prepared on a future occasion to recommend to the Lodges such regulations for the circulation of the books and to give to the brethren every possible freedom in the use of the Library and at the same time prevent such a dispersion of the books as has taken place in connection with the John of Gaunt Lodge owing to the want of an effective supervision and registration.

On behalf of the committee
William Kelly
Chairman

Masonic Letters & Summonses 1812–1869
Letters & Personal Collection of Lodge Summonses of R.W. William Kelly P.G.M. F.R. Hist. E. (June 25th 1860)

LODGE TRANSACTIONS

Surplus copies of the Lodge Transactions are available for disposal as follows:

Years
1928/29 to 1930/31
1932/33
1934/35
1942/43 to 1961/62
1963/64 to 1967/68
1969/70 to 1970/71
1972/73 onwards

at £5.00 per yearly issue – inc. postage

Cheques for copies of Lodge Transactions to be made payable to 'The Lodge of Research No. 2429'.

NOTE ON TRANSACTIONS

Each year we try to include in Transactions, in addition to the three addresses at the regular meetings, articles on topics of general masonic interest; and from time to time we have been able to add the title of Miscellanea, a section dealing with answers to questions submitted by the Brethren, short news items, and so on.

It will be appreciated that the continuation of this policy depends on the good will and enthusiasm of the members of the Lodge and of the Correspondence Circle, and we appeal for the co-operation of the Brethren in helping us to create a pool of material for future consideration.

While we cannot promise to publish every contribution, we have no doubt that any effort in this direction must add to a Brother's delight in engaging in lines of masonic research for which our Lodge was established, and possibly provide both pleasure and instruction for his fellow-members.

THE 17th REGIMENT OF FOOT
THE 17th or LEICESTERSHIRE REGIMENT

The Lodge of Research No. 2429 and the Provincial Library and Museum have a continuous research project into Masonic activity in the Regiment.

The Editor, on behalf of the above, would like to be informed of the whereabouts of any original material either for purchasing, photographing, or copying. Any gifts would also be gratefully received.

MEMBERS OF THE LODGE

Brown, A.F., P.M. 6514, P.M.
Stops, T.G.N., P.G.Supt.Wks., P.M. 4088
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Leek, R., P.M. 7832, 8429, 9071
Herbert, A.D., P.M. 8729
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Peacock, D.A., P.M. 50
Wilson, M., Rev. Canon, P.A.G.Ch., P.M. 7841
Robinson, M.A., P.M. 3078
Sharpe, D.M., P.M. 1007, 8312
Hughes, D.J., P.M. 2201, 7801

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R.W.Bro. G.M. Cooper, P.Prov. Grand Master for Lincolnshire
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W.Bro. W.M. Williams	1893
W.Bro. E. Holmes	1894
W.Bro. W.H. Staynes	1895
W.Bro. S.S. Partridge	1896
W.Bro. R. Pratt	1897
W.Bro. F.W. Billson	1898
W.Bro. Rev. H.S. Biggs	1899
W.Bro. Rev. H.J. Mason	1900
W.Bro. J.J. Knowles	1901
W.Bro. H. Howe	1902
W.Bro. G. Neighbour	1903
W.Bro. R.B. Starkey	1904
W.Bro. L. Staines	1905
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W.Bro. J.R. Frears	1907
W.Bro. H.J. Grace	1908
W.Bro. G.D. Potts	1909
W.Bro. G. Bonner	1910
W.Bro. G. Bonner	1911
W.Bro. Rev. C.T. Moore	1912
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W.Bro. F.H Doughty	1920
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W.Bro. J.H. Hawthorn	1923
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W.Bro. N.K. Lee	1925
W.Bro. A.H. Hind	1926
W.Bro. C.S. Bigg	1927
W.Bro. Rev. E.R.J. Biggs	1928
W.Bro. H. Hyde	1929
W.Bro. H.D.M. Barnett	1930
W.Bro. M.D.R Richardson	1931
W.Bro. W.H. Riley	1932
W.Bro. G.B. Ellwood	1933
W.Bro. A.J.S. Cannon	1934
W.Bro. A.L Macleod	1935
W.Bro. W.H. Cotton	1936
W.Bro. W.R. Bridger	1937
W.Bro. J.T. Cooper	1938
W.Bro. G.E. Phipps	1939

W.Bro. F.G. Fleeman	1940
W.Bro. E.H. Stork	1941
W.Bro. J.C. Burton	1942
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W.Bro. G.W. Wilkes	1944
R.W.Bro. Sir John Corah	1945
W.Bro. P.M. Webster	1946
W.Bro. S.F. Herbert	1947
W.Bro. W. Tomlinson	1948
W.Bro. A.T. Shorthose-Smith	1949
W.Bro. W.H. Wood	1950
W.Bro. F.W. Heaton	1951
W.Bro. C.C.H. Binns	1952
W.Bro. C.E. Haines	1953
W.Bro. E. Murray	1954
W.Bro. A.G. Kilner	1955
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W.Bro. J. Lees Smith	1958
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R.W.Bro. C.B.S. Morley	1961
W.Bro. G.H. Fox	1962
W.Bro. H. Carr	1963
V.W.Bro. W.G. Fox	1964
W.Bro. E. Muddimer	1965
W.Bro. T.W. Haird	1966
W.Bro. W.H. Russell	1968
W.Bro. E. Thomas	1969
W.Bro. O. Farrant	1970
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W.Bro. C.E. Neale	1972
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W.Bro. L.J. King	1974
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W.Bro. W. Steele	1976
W.Bro. T.M.Ll. Walters	1977
W.Bro. Rev. Canon J.R.H. Prophet	1978
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W.Bro. J.E.R. Tompkin	1980
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W.Bro. L. Starmer	1983
W.Bro. S. Brown	1984
W.Bro. F.A. Stafford	1985
W.Bro. N.B. Ashcroft	1986
W.Bro. D.A. Buswell	1987
W.Bro. J. Sturges	1988
W.Bro. F.W. Warburton	1989
W.Bro. G.V. Clark	1990
W.Bro. R.M. McCrory	1991
W.Bro. R.T. Jacques	1992
W.Bro. A.R. Butler	1993
W.Bro. W.V. Dean	1994
W.Bro. J.A. Ridge	1995
W.Bro. A.N. Newman	1996
W.Bro. K.G. Mason	1997
W.Bro. D.L. Wykes	1998
W.Bro. W.J.S. Booton	1999
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