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R.W.Bro. W.H.J.Mayers was the first District G.M.
of the District Grand Lodge of Carpentaria



The International Lecturer invited by the ANZMRC for 2007 Bro. James Daniel of Cornwall England, arrived in Cairns from Perth on 3 October. After some two days in Cairns meeting and talking with some distinguished members in the District of Carpentaria, he delivered the lecture chosen by the Lodge from his 'repertoire' and included in the book printed on the special occasion of his visit to Australia and New Zealand.

For those who attended the lecture at the Minnie St Centre, this issue of the Lectern is devoted to the full content of his script in the book of Lectures available at the Office of the District Grand Secretary for \$30.00 and will be a 'must read' for them. Also other Chapter members will gain a great deal from it.

PURE —AND ACCEPTED — MASONRY

By James Daniel

Introduction

Under the Articles of Union of 1813 it was¹

declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more; W. those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. But this Article is not intended to prevent any Lodge or Chapter from holding a meeting in any of the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry, according to the constitutions of the said Order.

In 1853, however, any mention of 'the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry' was omitted when this article was for the first time included in the Constitutions of the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, an indication that during the preceding forty years the relationship between 'pure Ancient Masonry' and other branches of Freemasonry had undergone a further significant change. Yet in a letter dated 21 December 1910 the Grand Secretary of the Craft, himself a member of the thirty-third degree, wrote to the Grand Secretary General of the Ancient and Accepted Rite.²

The Order of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, although Masonic in character, does not adopt or imitate the formula used by the Craft, or assume authority to confer the three degrees, of which the Articles of Union declare pure Ancient Masonry consists. Moreover, the Order of the Ancient and Accepted Rite is a body which comprises among its members not only the M.W. Grand Master who is the Grand Patron, but very many other distinguished members of the Craft, and the Board sincerely trusts that the fraternal and cordial relations which have always existed between the two Bodies may never be impaired.

This paper attempts to explain the changes of Masonic climate in this country which occurred between the Articles of Union (1813) and Letchworth's letter of 1910. Some of the questions to which at least partial answers will be provided are:

- (a) who during this time were the key players in the development of Orders and degrees beyond 'pure Ancient Masonry' (which I shall term 'extra-Craft')?
- (b) were there lodges, chapters or encampments where they tended to congregate?
- (c) who guided Grand Lodge towards accepting extra-Craft bodies? and
- (d) what is the relevance of the period 1843-1901 to Freemasonry in England today?

ENGLISH FREEMASONRY IN 1843

The Duke of Sussex and the Extra-Craft Degrees

To the Duke of Sussex (Grand Master 1813-43) English Freemasonry owes the stability of the first thirty years of the United Grand Lodge of England. The Union had not been painless. Among the casualties in both constituent Grand Lodges were those whose Masonry had previously included degrees which under the

Articles of Union were no longer to be regarded as part of 'pure Ancient Masonry', and those who regretted the universalisation of the united Craft. The provision in the Articles of Union for the continued working of 'the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry' may have been included to satisfy one of the commissioners, Waller Rodwell Wright Grand Master of the Knights Templar, (1807-12), or to ensure that the Knights Templar were also protected under the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799. Its failure to define the degrees it covered would not have calmed the fears of those who saw part of their Masonic experience being marginalised. Indeed, from Sussex's attitude it was clear that these extra-Craft degrees were no longer officially approved or encouraged. The Duke's personal opinion of the extra-Craft degrees is unknown but, by accepting the office of Grand Master of the Knights Templar and a patent for the formation of a Supreme Council and then ensuring that little or nothing happened on either front during his lifetime, he avoided being seen to support or oppose them and thus perpetuating one cause of the conflict which the Union had resolved. Sussex concentrated the energy of the new Grand Lodge during its formative years on 'pure Ancient Masonry' and away from what some no doubt regarded as superfluous knobs and excrescences. He may also have been concerned to protect Grand Lodge from being absorbed into or subjected to any of the so-called higher degrees (which he knew had happened, for example, in South America), particularly as these degrees were often associated with France, a country with which England was still at war in 1813 and whose internal upheavals the ruling powers of England were glad to have avoided.

Sussex, as Grand Master of the Knights Templar, appointed William Henry White as the Grand Chancellor of the Order (1813). White, Grand Secretary of Grand Lodge (1813-56), was concerned that the recently united and purified Craft should not misunderstand his attitude towards the Knights Templar, an attitude which he claimed to share with Sussex and later with Lord Zetland, the Duke's successor as Grand Master of the Craft. White wrote to the Provincial Grand Master for Frankfurt in 1821:

As to the other Degrees of Chivalry ... the Grand Master adds for explanation that the noticing of those degrees by the Grand Lodge of England was rather a matter of toleration to the Fraternity at large, than a measure of recognition.³

and, in a letter dated 24 September 1846 to EComp Stark of Humber Chapter (RA) No 65, White wrote as Grand Scribe E :⁴

I am obliged by your letter of yesterday and should not have troubled you with a reply except for the purpose of removing from your mind an impression which I think you entertain that in consequence of my being a Knight Templar and holding an office in the Grand Conclave of that order, I recognize The Knight Templars as a Masonic Degree. Such I assure you is not the fact. I like yourself hold that The Royal Arch is the Summit of Masonry, such is the opinion of our present M.VV. Grand Master, and was the opinion of our late Royal Grand Master, The Duke of Sussex, although His Royal Highness was for many years The Grand Master of The Knights Templars, but H.R.H. felt that in occupying that Post, he had better means of assisting to regulate the order, and to prevent its being mixed up as a part of Masonry, as it is very much in France and some other Countries.

But if Sussex had hoped to suffocate the extra-Craft degrees that were being practised at the time of the Union, or to stop the creation or import of yet more, he failed. A few encampments of Knights Templar continued to meet after 1813. The records of two London encampments for the period 1831 to the death of Sussex show that the Order was attractive to several prominent and influential members of the Craft and to some who would achieve distinction in the next decade, and these we must now consider.

Two Tenacious Encampments

In 1831 the Cross of Christ Encampment (now the Preceptory of St George) welcomed as a joining member 'Sir Knight Robert Thomas Crucefix, Past Standard Bearer of the Grand Conclave, Edinburgh' and in 1832 conferred on him 'the honours of Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra'. Crucefix served as Eminent Commander of the Encampment on several occasions, and was elected an honorary member in 1849. During 1837/38, his first year as its ruler, he initiated moves to coordinate the efforts of the other London encampments to arrange a meeting of the Grand Conclave at which they could discuss 'the state of affairs in relation to the Order', a campaign which he then fought until its objective was reached three years after the death of Sussex.⁵

Crucefix (1797-1850), MD (St Andrew's), MRCS (St Bartholomew's), was already well-known as an agitator for the improvement of the Craft.⁶ Initiated in Burlington Lodge, he joined the Bank of England Lodge and Peace and Harmony Lodge in 1830/31 and was exalted in the Naval and Military Royal Arch Chapter in Edinburgh (1830). A Grand Steward, an active member of the Grand Stewards' Lodge (1832) and of the Board of General Purposes (1832/37), he was appointed Junior Grand Deacon in the Craft and Grand

Standard Bearer of Supreme Grand Chapter in 1836. Yet as founder (in 1834) and editor of the *Freemasons Quarterly Review*⁷ he became a thorn in the side of those who controlled Grand Lodge, especially Sussex, White, Alexander Dobie (President of the Board of General Purposes 1842-48, Grand Registrar 1846-56) and Rowland Alston, MP (Provincial Grand Master, Essex, 1836-65, President of the Board 1849-53), and in 1840 he narrowly escaped expulsion from the Craft. Crucefix used his periodical to promote his defiant campaigns in favour of Dr George Oliver⁸ (the most prominent Masonic writer of the day, but sacked as Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Lincolnshire in 1842), more open government of the Craft, the Asylum for Aged and Decayed Freemasons, and the Christian Masonic orders. These campaigns did not endear him to his rulers in the Craft but found considerable support elsewhere.

Richard Lea Wilson and Henry Beaumont Leeson had been installed as Knights Templar in the Cross of Christ Encampment and had received the Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra degrees by early 1843, by which time William Tucker of Taunton Royal Arch Chapter had been proposed as a candidate for installation. Wilson, Leeson and Tucker were soon to join Crucefix as original members of the Supreme Council.

Richard Wilson (1807?-61), like Crucefix, joined the Burlington and Peace and Harmony Lodges (1833), became a Grand Steward (1834) and joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge. He was exalted in Fidelity Chapter and in 1841 became Provincial Senior Grand Warden of Surrey.

Henry Leeson (1803-72), MD, FRCP, FRS, lectured in forensic medicine at St Thomas's Hospital. Initiated in St Mary's Lodge, he joined the Prince of Wales's Lodge in 1839, two years after Zetland had been its Master, becoming its Deputy Master and Master in 1849 and 1854 respectively. He was made a Grand Steward in 1842.

William Tucker (1815-55), described as a magistrate at his initiation in 1842 in the Lodge of Unanimity and Sincerity in Taunton, became Provincial Grand Registrar of Somerset the next year. Master of his lodge in 1844, he was appointed Senior Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge and was the provincial ruler of the Craft, Royal Arch and Knights Templar in Dorset in 1846.

The Early Encampment of England⁹ proved equally attractive during the late 1830s and early 1840s and enjoyed a close relationship with the Cross of Christ Encampment. In 1838 Richard Wilson (already mentioned), who had joined it from Cross of Christ, announced that the Grand Master of the Order had authorised the Early Encampment to change its name to Faith and Fidelity and had attached it to the Chapter of Fidelity. In early 1839 Wilson was thanked by its other members for his services in the revival of this Encampment when dormant'.¹⁰ (Leeson must have joined Faith and Fidelity from Cross of Christ in the same year, for in 1839 he was accorded a similar vote of thanks.)

Within five years, five other Royal Arch companions had been installed in or joined Faith and Fidelity who, Re Crucefix, Wilson and Leeson, would later play active parts in the development of extra-Craft degrees: Henry and John Udall, John Cox, Davyd Nash and Henry Emly. A brief examination of their pedigrees will throw up some more interesting connections.

Henry Udall (1808-74), a barrister of Essex Court, The Temple, was initiated¹¹ in Westminster and Keystone Lodge in 1835 (Master 1838 and 1839, Secretary 1841-50). He received the Malta, Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra degrees in Faith and Fidelity Encampment (Eminent Commander, 1840) and then became the first Treasurer of the Supreme Council in 1845/6. His letter of support for the deposed Dr Oliver was published in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*.

Henry's brother, John Udall, was initiated in the same lodge (Master 1840 and 1841, Treasurer 1841-50) before being exalted into the Royal Arch (1836), probably in Fidelity Chapter. He joined Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge (1839)—and the Grand Stewards' Lodge¹² in 1840 (Master, 1844). Appointed Junior Grand Deacon in 1849, he participated in the proceedings of Grand Lodge for many years. In the Order of the Temple John Udall followed his brother into Faith and Fidelity, taking the additional degrees in 1840 and becoming Commander in 1844.

John Astell D(eacon?) Cox (d 1878) was initiated in the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge in 1838 (Master 1845) and then joined Westminster and Keystone in 1841 (Master 1843 and 1847/8). Appointed Grand Steward in 1843, he joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge in 1844 (Master 1850). Like Wilson he served as a Provincial Grand Warden in Surrey. Cox became a Member of the Supreme Council in 1846 and Grand Registrar of the Grand Conclave of Knights Templar (1848-60).

Davyd W Nash (1810-76), a surgeon and barrister,¹³ was initiated in the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality at Bristol in 1832 (Deputy Provincial Grand Master 1854) and was already Grand Chancellor of Baldwin Encampment when he joined Faith and Fidelity in 1842. He joined the Udalls and Cox in Westminster and Keystone Lodge in 1843 (Master 1846) and Crucefix, Leeson, H. Udall, Cox., Wilson and Tucker on the Supreme Council in 1846.

Henry Emly (d 1856), a barrister of New Square, Lincoln's Inn,¹⁴ was initiated in St. Mary's Lodge No 76 (now No 63) and exalted in the Prince of Wales's Chapter. Leeson installed him as a Knight Templar in Faith and Fidelity on 31 May 1842 when the Udalls, Wilson, Cox and Nash were present, and conferred the Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra degrees on him in June. Emly joined St Alban's Lodge (Master 1847 and 1848) and then became a Grand Steward in 1845, joining the Grand Stewards' Lodge in the same year (Master 1851 and 1852). He too was elected to the Supreme Council in 1846, before becoming Grand Almoner (1847-50) and Grand Chancellor (1851-55) of the Grand Conclave.

The tenacity and success of these two London encampments, Cross of Christ and Faith and Fidelity, demonstrate the continuing support among senior Freemasons for the 'degrees of the Orders of Chivalry'. Elsewhere at least two Provincial Grand Masters were active Knights Templar: Alston of Essex (already mentioned), who had been installed in Cross of Christ in 1832, and Colonel Charles Kemeys-Tynte of Somerset (1820-60) who became Grand Master of the Order of the Temple (1846-55). Others just below them were following suit. One cannot be dogmatic about the roots of this determination to preserve what Bridge¹⁵ called part and parcel of the Ancient working, but surely the way English Freemasonry was soon to develop must have been influenced by the personality and status of these senior members of the Craft, the reluctance in some quarters to accept the suppression of the extra-Craft degrees and the deChristianisation of the Craft. Other factors may well have been the influence of certain aspects of Irish Freemasonry, the growth of international travel, the juxtaposition of English, Irish and Scottish lodges and Royal Arch chapters in shared territories overseas and the increasingly wide dissemination in England of accurate and authoritative information about Freemasonry at home and abroad. A few examples must suffice here.

A Supreme Council had been founded in Ireland in 1824. Other extra-Craft degrees were relatively well developed there and English visitors to Irish civilian and military lodges would have met members of them. Colonel Francis Burdett (1813-92), for example, was initiated in an Irish military lodge in India (1837), and was then appointed the representative of the Grand Lodge of Ireland near that of England (1868). He became the first provincial ruler of the Craft (1869) and the Mark (1870) in Middlesex, an honorary vice-president of the Rosicrucian Society of England (1871) and a member of the thirty-third degree under the English Supreme, Council (1879). To attend a Royal Arch chapter under the Scottish constitution, English companions required the Mark degree which their own Grand Lodge did not recognise as part of pure Ancient Masonry. The popular Freemasons Quarterly Review carried frequent articles on the extra-Craft activities in Ireland, Scotland and on the continent.

From 1843 to 1856

The depression that followed the death of Sussex in early 1843 was quickly followed by the fronts that had been developing ever since the Union, and by the time these had passed, a marked change of climate had occurred. Sussex's death, the subsequent resignation of Lord Salisbury as Deputy Grand Master and the installation of Lord Zetland as Grand Master in 1844 probably encouraged those Masons still active beyond the Craft to hope for a less autocratic ruler, a more tolerant and less defensive attitude towards the extra-Craft degrees and a reorganisation of what Sussex had called 'the Fraternity at large'.¹⁶ While some of these may have been seeking power denied them in the Craft, others desired freedom of choice and wanted Grand Lodge to accept their chosen bodies beyond the Craft even if it could not recognise them. Certainly Crucefix, Oliver and their supporters thought they were working for the good of Freemasonry in general and promoting a daily advancement in Masonic knowledge.

Their hopes were not immediately or fully realised. Zetland, who was to rule for twenty-six years, was still advised by White, Dobie and Alston for at least his first ten years. He remained generally faithful to his former Grand Master's voice, stayed suspicious of publicity and bore the scars of Grand Lodge's earlier difficulties with Oliver and Crucefix. He did not stray beyond pure Antient Masonry but continued its consolidation by following his royal predecessor's design. Yet the agitators for reform achieved a few notable successes.

Developments in the Knights Templar

While Grand Secretary White, as Grand Chancellor, continued to resist the encampments' increasingly pressing demands to summon a meeting of the Grand Conclave, the Order continued to develop. Between 1832 and 1857 more than twenty-five encampments were founded or revived.¹⁷ In the Cross of Christ Encampment, Companions William Tucker (already mentioned), George Augustus Vernon and William Gray Clarke (of St George's Chapter) were installed as Knights Templar in 1843-45. (Clarke also received the superior degrees there before succeeding White as Grand Secretary-of the Craft in 1857.)

Lieutenant-Colonel George Augustus Vernon (1811-96) of the Coldstream Guards was initiated in the Lodge of Friendship in Gibraltar (1837) and exalted in its Calpean Chapter (1838). He was installed as Provincial Grand Master of Staffordshire in 1853 by his elder brother, Henry Charles Vernon, who had himself been placed in similar office in Worcestershire in 1850 by William Tucker, then ruling over Dorset. G A Vernon joined the Supreme Council in 1853 (Lieutenant Grand Commander 1856-60) and became Deputy Grand Master in Grand Conclave (1862-7). Henry Vernon (Senior Grand Warden in 1848) became Provincial Grand Commander (KT) for Worcestershire in 1858 and followed his brother onto the Supreme Council (1860-70).

In early 1846 Grand Conclave eventually met (for the first time in forty years) and elected Colonel Kerneys-Tynte as Grand Master. Kemeys-Tynte, himself a provincial ruler of the Craft, appointed the following senior members of the Craft to Grand office: Alston; B B Cabbell, MP (ProvGM, Norfolk 1854-74); Crucefix; Leeson; W Stuart (ProvGM, Hertfordshire 1844-73); Edward Vernon, 4th Lord Suffield (ProvGM, Norfolk 1845-54); W Tucker (ProvGM, Dorset 1846-53) and, perhaps surprisingly, W H White (Grand Secretary) as Grand Chancellor (until 1847).

The Formation of the Supreme Council

By 1846, some members of the Cross of Christ and the Faith and Fidelity Encampments and a few other like-minded Knights Templar were already taking rather longer steps beyond the confines of 'pure Ancient Masonry'. In 1846 Crucefix, now a Past Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, obtained a Patent from the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of America authorising him to form a Supreme Council in England, the Patent being backdated to October 1845. Its first members, Crucefix, Oliver and Henry Udall, elected Leeson and Wilson to join them in April 1846, Nash and Thomas Pryer (a solicitor) in July, and Cox, Emly and Frederic A Winsor (another barrister and member of Cross of Christ) in December.

Several possible reasons have been advanced for the formation of the Supreme Council in 1845/6 and others await further research.¹⁸ We know for example that Crucefix was well informed about the Irish Supreme Council;¹⁹ he had long agitated for better control and development of the extra-Craft degrees and he championed the specifically Christian ones. Perhaps he had become disaffected with the Craft and wanted to form his own branch of Freemasonry. He may have feared that the French or some other Supreme Council would have authorised one of its 33° members to form a similar jurisdiction in England, even one that was universal rather than Christian. Oliver, though less active in the Knights Templar than most of his colleagues on the Supreme Council, continued to proclaim his views that the Craft remained essentially Christian despite the removal of Christian references and that the Christian degrees beyond the Craft were the culmination of Masonry.²⁰

Another more pragmatic reason is suggested in the minutes of the meeting of Faith and Fidelity Encampment on 31 January 1846,²¹ which Henry Udall, Cox, Emly and Nash attended as members and William Tucker as a visitor. Udall, as President of the Council (that is, as chairman of the encampment's committee) reported its decision that, 'because of the many inconveniences which necessarily result from the practice of imposing so many onerous and important duties [conferring the Templar, Malta, Mediterranean Pass, Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra degrees], unaided by a regular staff of officers appointed for each separate degree', the work should be divided between three new bodies under what was henceforth to be known as the 'Council of the Conclave of Faith and Fidelity'. Seconded by Nash, the secretary of the committee, Udall then proposed that the conclave 'do consist of three separate degrees': a College of Knights Kadosh and Ne Plus Ultra, a Sovereign Chapter of Princes Rose Croix, and a Knight Templar Encampment. The motion was passed and Udall was elected Grand Superintendent of the Conclave and President of the Council (with Nash as Grand Chancellor and Registrar, and Emly as Grand Treasurer), Wilson the President of the College of Knights, and Leeson the Sovereign of the Rose Croix Chapter. Separate by-laws, fees and dates of meetings were agreed for the three bodies, and Udall, Wilson and Upson were charged 'to take such measures, as they may deem necessary for the consolidating and establishing of those Degrees respectively'. Thereafter there is no

further mention in the minutes of the encampment of meetings to confer any degrees other than those of the Temple, Mediterranean Pass and Malta. Udall and four other members, soon to be colleagues on the nascent Supreme Council, had at a stroke and without the authority of the Grand Conclave separated the Rose Croix and Ne Plus Ultra degrees from the direct control of the encampment.

The Reaction of Grand Lodge

On 3 September 1846 Nash, the first Grand Secretary General of the Supreme Council, wrote to White:²²

I am commanded to inform you, as Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England, Grand Scribe E of the Supreme Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, and Grand Chancellor of the Order of Masonic Knights Templar of England and Wales, that a Supreme Council of the Soy, Grd. Inspectors General of the 33rd and last degree for England and Wales, has been regularly formed organized and assembled in the East of London, and has been for some time in active operation.

By an announcement made by the parent American Supreme Council in the Boston Freemasons' Monthly Magazine²³ White was also informed that Crucefix was the first Sovereign Grand Commander, Oliver his lieutenant and that the other offices had been filled by Bros H Udall, Leeson, Wilson, Pryer and Nash. The Patent issued to Crucefix²⁴ was addressed, inter alia, to 'Free and Accepted Masons of all degrees Ancient and Modern'. It included in the list of degrees of the rite 'Grand Elect Knight KH and 'Sovereign Prince Rose Croix of H-R-D-M', and 'all our aforesaid Illustrious Princes' were commanded 'to receive and acknowledge obey and submit to our said most Illustrious Brother Robert Thomas Crucefix in all his aforesaid eminent Degrees'.

Grand Lodge does not seem to have acknowledged Nash's letter introducing the Supreme Council, and this apparent silence suggests that the new arrival was neither welcome nor accepted. White, as Grand Chancellor of the Knights Templar, is unlikely to have taken kindly to the Supreme Council's claim to the Kadosh and Rose Croix degrees, or, as Grand Secretary of Grand Lodge, to have welcomed the additional prominence of Crucefix and Oliver. A letter dated 10 September 1853 from George Vernon (previously mentioned) to White²⁵ is more revealing. Vernon, just appointed Provincial Grand Master of Staffordshire but unable to be installed until White sent him his patent, sensed that the rulers of the Craft were suspicious of his recent election to the Supreme Council, and wrote:

I much regret that I could not have the pleasure of meeting you at Grand Lodge on Wed. last, when I could have given you viva voce answers to the questions which you propose to me on the part of the MWG Master, in your letter of the 9th inst. You observe: 'It is stated that you area member of the Council what is called the 33rd degree, and that the members of that Council insist [?], that they have as such, a right to establish lodges, and initiate masons, without further authority; and further that they have not only a right but are expected as a matter of duty, to wear their distinguishing jewels, in all masonic meetings.' You further state that 'If these statements be correct, they are completely at variance with the laws of Grand Lodge' — in which I perfectly agree with you, and you also add 'that the Grand Master is disposed to think that there must be some error in them' — I have great satisfaction in confirming his Lordship's opinion as expressed in the last sentence, and my answer to the two statements will clearly show that the superior degrees do not, in any way, interfere with, or militate against the laws and Regulations of Grand Lodge. I am a member of the Council of the 33rd degree, but I never heard it stated that they had the right to initiate masons without any other authority. The idea is to me preposterous. We admit as candidates for what we term the superior degrees, those only who have been initiated, passed and raised, in regularly warranted lodges ... I never wear myself, nor will allow to be worn, decorations except those allowed by the Book of Constitutions, under the head of Regalia Page 115 — orders conferred by Her Majesty excepted ... I have never taken any degree, nor will I continue to belong to any masonic body, which invalidates or disputes the Authority of the MWGMaster over the Craft and RA degrees of Freemasonry. The very fact of my accepting from the hands of the MWGMaster the high honour which he has been good enough to propose to confer upon me should have been a proof, and sufficient warrant of my loyalty and submission to him, on all points connected with the Grand Lodge over which he rules; and I cannot but feel some astonishment, that the character which my Brother, the RWPGdMaster for Worcestershire, bears, and deserves, as a zealous, strict, and conscientious Craftsman, should not have been sufficient guarantee, that any Bro. whom he might bring to the notice of the MWGMaster as worthy of distinction, would maintain and uphold in every way in his power the authority of our Grand Master, and the integrity and purity of the Craft degrees of Freemasonry.

This rebuttal was successful, but Vernon's escape may have made even more certain the dismissal of another provincial ruler and fellow member of the Supreme Council.

Tucker's Dismissal Revisited

RWBro William Tucker was dismissed as Provincial Grand Master and Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch for Dorset in November 1853 for breaching the Craft Constitutions in two respects. According to the report of the annual meeting of the Province of Dorset on 18 August 1853, published in the September 1853 editions of the Freemasons Quarterly Review, he had not only worn 'his full robes as a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd Degree' but had strongly promoted the higher degrees as an extract from his address shows:

It is most seriously to be regretted that, at the Union in 1813, the Articles of Union should have declared that pure Antient Masonry consists of three Degrees and no more ... This to a great extent cuts us off from Continental, and I must say, even from Scotch and Irish Masonry; for although permission is there [in the Articles] given to work the higher Orders, still they are not, as in Ireland, Scotland, France, Prussia, and America, incorporated and made a part and portion of the Order ... To all young Masons ... I do most strongly recommend an advancing course. I recommend them to take the higher Degrees, for on the Continent, and in Scotland and Ireland, they will find a greater respect paid to these Degrees than to any other; I have succeeded in establishing a Rosea Crux Chapter at Weymouth. Many of my Masonic friends belong to it, and I hope to see it every year increase more and more ... The Red Cross Degree, and others of the higher grade, are pure Masonry, as I will endeavour to show you [here follows a history of the Ancient and Accepted Rite] ... During this period ... Freemasonry was flourishing in all its branches on the continent and in America and ... was re-established in this country in October 1814 [with the founding of the Supreme Council] .. We, the Supreme Grand Council of Sovs.Ins.Generals of the 33rd Degree, work silently and slowly, but surely. We uphold in every way the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of England ... we solemnly renounce the slightest interference with any of the Degrees under the Grand Lodge, Chapter, or Knight Templar Conclave; we merely take up Masonry where it has been let drop in England.²⁶

The manner of Tucker's dismissal was as follows.²⁷ Zetland read the report in the periodical and, referring to the wearing of the 33^o robes, wrote to his Grand Secretary on 12 October 1853:

This appears to be a direct violation of the Law and I should wish to have your opinion before proceeding. I am inclined to think it a most serious offence and doubt whether anything short of suspending him can atone for it.

White replied that he had been astonished by the report but was more concerned about Tucker's speech than his dress:

He states that the Council of Sub [sic] Inspector General of the 33 Deg. 'work silently and slowly', but surely I fear that there is some danger from this stealthy mode and it will require to be carefully watched.

Tucker did not deny the charges, but apologised if he had in any way offended, and promised not to mix anything again with the Craft or Arch. This reply not proving satisfactory, White consulted Dobie and Alston, respectively the Grand Registrar and the President of the Board of General Purposes. Alston's letter to White dated 30 October 1853 is remarkable:

[Tucker's] zeal and activity only render him more dangerous. I have long foreseen that a contest, on the pretensions of the 33rd, was inevitable. And it must be far better to fight the Battle now, than when they have proceeded further, and got firmer hold. I feel very sure that many, if not the majority of those who join them, do so in perfect ignorance of the objectives, which in a masonic sense, exist against them. It is not then easy to imagine a more favourable opportunity, forelightening the Brethren, than the punishment of a Brother, holding nearly the highest Masonic rank, and whose services to the Craft are admitted, when he allows his love for those high degrees to induce a breach of the Constitutions. I cannot see how the Grand Master can continue in office a Brother who admits that he has deliberately violated the obligation taken on his admission to that office ... an enforced resignation will not have so wholesome an effect as a formal removal, and could not be announced with such good effect in Grand Lodge ... We must always in case of need sacrifice an individual to the Order. I have no doubt, indeed I hope that Brother Tucker's punishment in whatever mode it may be inflicted will stir up an ebullition of wrath among the August Sovereigns. And then I think there will be little difficulty in curbing them for our time at least ... In brief I am sorry for Tucker, but I think that the event [is] the best thing that has happened to Masonry for a long time. We have been obliged to scotch a growing danger, without any means to guard against or suppress it — now the fire has blazed it will easily be put out ... I believe Tucker's professions of loyalty, as far as his own intentions go — but a certain place is said to be paved with good intentions -- but I do not give equal credit to the professions even, of all his Sovereign Brethren.

Zetland then approved the letter of dismissal which was sent to Tucker on 10 November 1853.

Such was the support for Tucker that some even dared to criticise in Grand Lodge the disciplinary, action that had been taken against him. But the short sharp shock it delivered was indeed a timely and appropriate warning to those tempted to 'mix up with their Masonic habiliments the insignia of any order unconnected with symbolical Masonry'²⁸ or to promote any such order as being superior to the Craft. In dismissing Tucker the Grand Master had fired a warning shot across the bows of a group of senior members of the Craft whom he and his officers saw as a serious threat to their authority.

Though the appointment of Tucker as Grand Secretary General of the Supreme Council almost immediately after his dismissal as a provincial ruler in the Craft could not have helped the Supreme Council's communications with Grand Lodge, other changes of personnel did. Crucefix died in 1850 and Oliver handed over to Leeson as Sovereign Grand Commander the following year. Alston retired from the Presidency of the Board of General Purposes in 1853, Dobie as Grand Registrar (since 1846) and the Board's President (from 1854) in 1856 and White as Grand Secretary in the same year. Under their successors, relations between Grand Lodge and the extra-Craft degrees and orders began to improve, but not before the birth of another sovereign body in England.

The Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England and Wales²⁹

In 1851 the London Bon Accord Lodge of Mark Masters was formed in London under a warrant issued by the Bon Accord Royal Arch Chapter No 70 (Scottish Constitution) of Aberdeen. The six members of the English Craft who were its founders included a Grand Steward of 1850-51 (William Evans), three members of the Royal York Chapter No 7 and two members of the Chapter of Fidelity. At its consecration on 19 September 1851 six brethren were advanced, including Michael Costa (Grand Organist of the Craft and Royal Arch 1851-53), his brother Raphael Costa (who like him had just been installed in Cross of Christ)³¹ and John Newton Tomkins (or Tomkyns) FRCS (First Grand Expert in Grand Conclave 1851-52). Lord Leigh (Provincial Grand Master, Warwickshire, 1852-1905) was advanced at an emergency meeting on 9 July 1853 and, in less than two years, was elected Master. Membership of the lodge is said to have reached 120 in 1855 and its success to have revived interest in the degree in England. Pressure to have the Mark either recognised by the United Grand Lodge or brought under the control of an English sovereign body increased when in 1855 the Scottish Grand Chapter condemned the members of the London Bon Accord Mark Lodge as being practitioners of illegal, irregular and spurious Masonry. A committee of Grand Chapter reported to Lord Zetland:³¹

Circumstances having occurred, more immediately amongst Lodges in the Canadas and Nova Scotia, some of them holding Warrants from the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, in reference to what is termed the Mark Masons degree, which is much practised in America, and which circumstances have led to unpleasant feeling amongst the parties, the Board of General Purposes of the Grand Lodge has deemed it advisable to appoint a small Committee to consider the subject, in conjunction with a Committee of the Grand Chapter ... with a view of communicating to the M.W. Grand Master their opinion, whether the said Mark Masons Degree may be deemed part of Ancient Free Masonry.

The joint Committee, chaired by Dobie (President of the Board), reported back to the Board on 22 January 1856 that in their opinion:³²

the Mark Masons Degree, so called, does not form a portion of the Royal Arch Degree; and that it is not essential to Craft Masonry but they are of the opinion that there is nothing objectionable in such Degree, nor anything which militated against the Universality of Masonry; and that it might be considered as forming a graceful addition to the Fellow Crafts Degree.

Zetland approved the report. On 5 March 1856 the Board reported to Grand Lodge that the degree was not at variance with the Ancient Landmarks and Grand Lodge passed the proposition that 'The degree of Mark Mason is not at variance with Craft Masonry and it should be added thereto, under proper regulations'. Although the Board drew up the regulations in May 1856, some influential Masons were already having second thoughts. Perhaps some feared that if the Board's proposals were implemented the Mark would lose its identity. Others, like J Henderson (Past President and Past Grand Registrar), saw the recognition of the Mark degree as contrary to the Articles of Union. Whatever the reasons, Henderson's motion that the part of the minutes of 5 March 1856 relating to the Mark degree should not be confirmed was carried by a large majority when Grand Lodge met on 4 June 1856. Thereafter, English Mark Masons began to move quickly.

Responding to a summons dated 14 June 1856, the officers of the London Bon Accord Lodge met on 23 June, founded the Grand Lodge of Mark Masters [sic] and installed Lord Leigh as its first Grand Master. The names of the other members of Bon Accord who were appointed to Grand office or to the Mark's General Board that day show the interest in this extra-Craft degree among senior members of the Craft: Lord

Methuen (1818-91, Provincial Grand Master for Wiltshire); Colonel Henry Bowyer, Richard J Spiers and the Revd George Raymond Portal (the Provincial Grand Master, his Deputy, and a Past Senior Grand Warden respectively of the Province of Oxfordshire); Samuel Rawson (Provincial Grand Master, China, 1847-58, and a member of Cross of Christ); Benjamin A Kent (Provincial Grand Master for South Australia, 1854-60, who had been admitted to Cross of Christ a few days earlier by Emly); John Hervey (the Senior Grand Deacon in 1854 and later, 1868-80, to be Grand Secretary of the Craft); and others, including William Bramston Beach (who will be mentioned again). Some of the key figures in the rebirth of the Mark degree were also members of a recently-revived London Craft lodge which was to become increasingly influential.

Westminster and Keystone Lodge

This lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, London, and several of its members (the Udalls, Cox and Nash) had been prominent in the renaissance of the Grand Conclave and the formation of the Supreme Council. By the end of 1854, the only members of the lodge were two members of the Supreme Council. (H Udall and Cox) and a Past Grand Deacon (J Udall); all three were Past Grand Stewards and members of Faith and Fidelity. Godding states that the lodge had failed to make the transition it started in 1836 from 'a steady and sober lodge of Westminster tradesmen' to 'a more brilliant and showy gathering of professional men'. Godding continues:³³

It happened that about this time certain Brethren of the Province of Oxfordshire were proposing to found a Lodge in London for the benefit of such of their members as had to come to reside in the Metropolis ... Their proposals naturally came before the Grand Secretary, and he, having the affairs of the Westminster and Keystone Lodge on his hands at the time, communicated the subject to our Brother [John] Udall.

The terms of the take-over were amicably agreed and at the meeting of the lodge on 16 February 1855 the Udalls and Cox elected fourteen Oxfordshire Masons as joining members, including: the Revd George Raymond Portal (Past Master, Apollo University Lodge), William Wither Bramston Beach (Master of Apollo University Lodge and a Past Provincial Grand Warden), the Earl of Lincoln (Provincial Grand Secretary), the Hon William Warren Vernon (Apollo), and Henry Bowyer (Apollo, Provincial Grand Master).

Portal had been elected to Faith and Fidelity in 1849; he was later to become Grand Master of the Mark (1869-72) and President of its General Board (1866-69, 1872-89). The Rt Hon W W Bramston Beach, MP, preceded Portal as Grand Master of the Mark (1866-68). Lord Lincoln (by then the 5th Duke of Newcastle) became the provincial ruler for Nottinghamshire (1865-79) in both the Craft and the Order of the Temple. Vernon, also a Member of Parliament, was yet another of the renowned Vernon/Harcourt/Bowyer family. Henry Bowyer was elected to Supreme Council and appointed to the charge of the Knight Templar Province in 1858.

The membership of the lodge rose from three to thirty-seven during the year, and to seventy by the end of 1856, with 'a proportionately expanding increase during several years to follow ... the quality of its members was as remarkable as their quantity'.³⁴ Often the majority of members present were Grand Officers, and the lodge even had to decide 'how far the hour of Lodge meetings could be altered to suit the convenience of brethren who were members of the House of Commons'.³⁵

Summary and Forecast

Thus by 1857 the Knights Templar had been resuscitated and the Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge of Mark Masters established. Although Grand Lodge had removed any mention of the orders of chivalry from the Book of Constitutions since 1853 (the year of Tucker's dismissal) and had confirmed its determination not to accept as 'pure Ancient Masonry' anything beyond the three Craft degrees and the Royal Arch, the extra-Craft degrees were attracting ever more Freemasons. To the reasons already suggested for the popularity of these degrees must now be added the general mood of insubordination towards and dissatisfaction with Grand Lodge during Whites time as Grand Secretary, and the growing self-confidence of the classes which were gradually eroding the power of the aristocracy, and which were especially impatient of any incompetence in their rulers. The next fifteen or twenty years would see a transformation of the Craft and of the extra-Craft degrees and of their relationships. Some of the players and units responsible for this dramatic change were already in place in 1856, but some, perhaps the most important, were still waiting in the wings.

From 1856 to 1874

For English Freemasonry in general the most important initiation during this crucial period of eighteen years was undoubtedly that of HRH Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. For an understanding of the context of that

event we must first consider some of the other great lights of the time, especially the Lords Carnarvon, Skelmersdale, Valletort and Limerick, and other ministers and officials of the Royal Households.

Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, 4th Earl of Carnarvon (1831-90)

On 5 February 1856 Lord Carnarvon was initiated in Westminster and Keystone Lodge. Of the six candidates entered in that year, three became Deputy Grand Master: Carnarvon (1870-74); Lord Valletort, later the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, (1891-96) and his successor Earl Amherst (1896-99). Carnarvon went on to become the Pro Grand Master under the Prince of Wales. Carnarvon and George Portal (see above) were friends and it is likely that the latter was responsible for the introduction of Carnarvon to Freemasonry in 1856. Two years earlier, at the age of 22, Carnarvon had been invited by Lord Aberdeen to move the address in the House of Lords in reply to the Queen's Speech. Although this was to be Carnarvon's maiden speech he did not accept the invitation until he had received ample assurance that he was free to oppose any or all the details of the Reform Bill. He then spoke of 'the Greater Britain ... whose foundation on a world-wide confederacy it afterwards became his special mission to promote'.³⁶ This independence and breadth of thought stood him in good stead when, during only his first year in the lodge—but already its Senior Warden—he attended Grand Lodge and, with Portal, challenged the views of those on the dais on such matters as the right of colonial Masons to have a voice in the appointment of their Provincial Grand Masters. Carnarvon soon became one of the leaders of the faction in favour of granting a greater degree of self-government to the English lodges in Canada (while retaining their allegiance to the UGLE) and of reforming the administration of Grand Lodge. His agitation for reform did not however deter the rulers of the Craft from attending his installation as Master of Westminster and Keystone in May 1857—indeed, there can rarely have been such a galaxy of Masonic stars assembled for such an occasion in a private lodge. The Grand Master and his deputy, Lord Panmure (the Secretary of State for War, with whom Carnarvon had already crossed swords in Grand Lodge) attended, together with twelve Provincial Grand Masters (including Cabbell, Dobie, Bowyer and Kent). Among the other Grand Officers were William Gray Clarke, the new Grand Secretary, his predecessor W. H. White, and his eventual successor, John Hervey. While still in his first Craft chair, Carnarvon became the Mark's second Deputy Grand Master (1857-60) and then succeeded Leigh as its second Grand Master (1860-63). In 1858 he was elected to the Board of General Purposes of the Craft.

Carnarvon's work for what he termed the Masonic kingdom mirrored and complemented his considerable contributions to the nation and the empire, first as Colonial Secretary and then as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. By 1871, then aged 40, he was already a Past Grand Master of the Mark, a member of the Supreme Council, a Past Great Seneschal of the Knights Templar, Second Grand Principal in the Royal Arch and the Deputy Grand Master of the Craft. His unique combination of personal gifts, public office and Masonic qualifications made him one of the most important figures in the development of Freemasonry in the second half of the nineteenth century. But before we look at his contribution to Freemasonry in the terms of this paper a few more of the key players need to be identified.

Lord Skelmersdale (1837-98), 1st Earl of Latham

Lord Skelmersdale was initiated in Apollo University Lodge in 1856, graduated like Carnarvon from Christ Church and joined Westminster and Keystone Lodge the next year (Secretary 1858, Junior Warden 1859). He was to become Senior Grand Warden (1863), Great Seneschal in the Order of the Temple (1866), ruler of the Craft and Royal Arch in West Lancashire (from 1872 and 1873 respectively until 1898), Deputy Grand Master of the Craft (1874-91) and the Mark (1876-78), a member of the Supreme Council (1876) and its Sovereign Grand Commander from 1877 until his death in 1898, Grand Master of the Mark (1878-81) and Pro Grand Master and Pro First Grand Principal (1891-98). Lord-in-Waiting (1866-68), Conservative Chief Whip in the House of Lords from 1870 to 1885, and Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard (1874-80), he was Queen Victoria's 'courtly and resourceful' Lord Chamberlain from 1885 to 1892 and a close friend of the Prince of Wales.³⁷ In the Royal Households, and in the Conservative governments of the period, Skelmersdale had other senior Masons among his colleagues, in particular the Lords Mount Edgecumbe and Limerick.

Viscount Valletort (1832-1917), 4th Earl of Mount Edgecumbe

Lord Valletort graduated from Oxford in 1855 and was initiated in Westminster and Keystone Lodge in December 1856, becoming its Secretary in 1857. An early friend of the Prince of Wales, he became one of his first equerries in 1858, and, as Lord Mount Edgecumbe, Lord of the Bedchamber in his first household (1863), a Privy Counselor, Lord Chamberlain (1879-80) and then Lord Steward (1885-92). The Provincial

Grand Master for Cornwall (1872-1917), he also served as Deputy Grand Master and 2nd Grand Principal (1891-95).

Viscount Glentworth (1840-96), 3rd Earl of Limerick (1866)

Lord Glentworth was initiated in Malta in the Lodge of St Patrick and St John (Irish Constitution) in 1861 and exalted in Leinster Royal Arch Chapter No 387 IC the same year. He joined Henry Vernon's Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality in 1863 and became Provincial Grand Master of the English Craft Province of Bristol (1866-88), Grand Prior of the Order of the Temple in 1867 (Eminent Commander of Faith and Fidelity Encampment in 1870), Deputy Grand Master and Grand Master of the Mark in 1872-75 and 1875-78 respectively, 33° under the English Supreme Council in 1876 and a member thereof from 1883 to 1896, and Grand Scribe Nehemiah in Supreme Grand Chapter in 1885. In the Queen's Household he too served (under Lord Lathom, the former Lord Skelmersdale) as Lord-in-Waiting (1886-89) and as Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard (1889-92 and 1895-6).

Masons in Government

Though it was not until the Conservative administrations after 1874 that the numbers of the Craft occupying senior government positions became quite remarkable by the standards of today or of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, some powerful figures other than Carnarvon had already distinguished themselves:

- Farrel- Herschell (1837-99), later 1st Baron Herschell, Minister of the Mint (1850-52), a barrister in Lincoln's Inn (1860), Liberal MP for Durham (1874-85), Solicitor General (1860-65) and Lord Chancellor (1886 and 1892-95); Senior Grand Warden (1886).
- James, 2nd Marquess of Salisbury, a Cabinet minister in 1852 and 1858-59 (first as Lord Privy Seal and then as Lord President of the Council); Deputy Grand Master (1840-44).
- Fox, Lord Panmure, 11th Earl of Dalhousie (1860), Palmerston's Secretary for War (1855-58); Deputy Grand Master (1857-61).
- George Frederick Samuel, Earl de Grey and Ripon 1st Marquess of Ripon (1871), Secretary for War (1863-66) and India (1866), and Lord President (1868-73) in the Liberal governments of the time; Deputy Grand Master (1861-70), and Grand Master (1870-74).

Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (King Edward VII, 1901) (1841-1910)

Ministers, courtiers, friends and relatives (such as the Prince of Prussia, who attended Grand Lodge in 1857) who were Freemasons may have encouraged the Prince of Wales to join the Craft in spite of his mother's apparent objections.

'I quite agree,' the Prince wrote to his mother on 25 December 1868, 'that secret societies as a rule are to be deprecated; but I can assure you that this has unpolitical signification. More than that I cannot say, and I feel convinced that I shall have many opportunities of doing great good in my new capacity'.³⁸

The precise circumstances which had led to the Prince of Wales being initiated four days earlier, not in England but in Stockholm and by the King of Sweden, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, still await explanation.³⁹ We must however note that under the Swedish system the future Grand Master of the English Craft was initiated into a Christian Grand Lodge and immediately received all ten degrees of the Swedish Rite including the Swedish equivalents of the Royal Arch, Knight Templar, and all thirty-three degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

Continuing Problems with the Extra-Craft Degrees

The Knights Templar—whose Grand Conclave included Provincial and District Grand Masters of the Craft and Lord Carnarvon were annoyed in 1862 by the restrictions placed on their use of Freemasons' Hall for their meetings. In 1862 Grand Secretary Clarke was reported to Grand Conclave as having stated 'in a very uncourteous manner that he declined to recognise the Masonic Knights Templars, and ... to permit the use of the Temple in any other way than offered and ... that he did prohibit [the use of the Library and adjoining rooms] to the Grand Conclave'. The Grand Conclave transferred its meetings to Bedford Square. An attempt in late 1869 to obtain Grand Lodge's permission to use the Grand Temple for a forthcoming meeting of the Grand Conclave which the Prince of Wales was to attend also failed, this time on the grounds that in April 1869 Zetland had dedicated the new buildings to the use of 'pure Ancient Masonry'. In January 1870 the Board of General Purposes nevertheless decided that the Grand Conclave could meet within 'the masonic buildings' but not in the Grand Temple. Carnarvon (about to become Deputy Grand Master) challenged the Board's decision, but in 1870 the Grand Conclave received the Prince of Wales (by then a Past Grand Master of Grand Lodge and an honorary member of Faith and Fidelity Encampment) in Freemasons' Tavern.⁴⁰

At the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge on 7 June 1871, the day after the Mark under its Grand Master Portal had assumed protection of the Royal Ark Mariner degree and had signed a Convention with the Red Cross of Constantine, 'and a month after the Mark had established a Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters, Sir Patrick Colquhoun (PM, Lodge No 447) asked Grand Lodge:

Whether Grand Lodge countenance the Rite of Misraim of 90°, the Rite of Memphis and the Order of Rome and Constantine? And if not, whether it be consistent with the position of a subaltern in the Grand Secretary's Office that he take a lead in these unrecognized degrees?

Although Grand Secretary Hervey was himself at that time a member of the Knights Templar, the Ancient and Accepted Rite, the Mark and the Red Cross of Constantine, Colquhoun's finger was pointed at Hervey's assistant, Robert Wentworth Little, whom the Board of General Purposes later found 'in the time and on the premises of the Craft [to have] in some way used himself in the [un?]recognized [sic] degrees to the extent of performing the whole or a portion of one ceremony, and occasionally receiving fees from, and giving interviews to, members of such degrees'. This led Havers, a Past President of the Board, to censure all those who 'either unwisely or thoughtlessly had taken part in spurious degrees'. Lord Ripon, who had just succeeded Lord Zetland as Grand Master, concluded the debate thus:

I have no doubt that the building is intended solely for the purposes connected with the Degrees of Masonry recognized by this Grand Lodge ... and I shall consequently feel it right to give directions to that effect.

In March 1872 the Board submitted to Grand Lodge:

that ... Grand Lodge has full control ... over the whole Craft, and would undoubtedly exercise such control should any Member ... [be] proved to have taken part in any Degree or Order denounced by Grand Lodge, or inimical to its principles ... [and] that no clerk or other subordinate officer in the employment of Grand Lodge should take a prominent part in any degree or order not recognized by Grand Lodge.

An avowed Knight Templar and member of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, C Hutton Gregory (PGD),- defended these Orders from this perceived indirect attack, saying:

He thought Grand Lodge, knowing how many Masons there were who occupied a high place in the Craft, not only by their social position, but by their Masonic distinction and love of Freemasonry, would hesitate to pass a law which would be a reflection on Freemasonry, and might cause a schism which all would deplore.

Israel Abrahams (PM) declared:

He was not a Knight Templar, and never could be one, but he had the honour to be a Mark Master and a Past Grand Steward of that Order, and he believed it to be their duty, even if they were not Members of those Orders, to protest against the proposed condemnation.

The Board's report was finally received by Grand lodge in 1872, but those present were reminded that by voting for its reception they were not bound to agree with the opinions it expressed, and there the matter rested.

Bridge-Building and Confederation

In 1865 Leeson (now at the head of the Supreme Council) had written to Grand Secretary Clarke:⁴²

I regret Lord Zetland does not occupy the seat I hold ... Abroad they do not understand that a Grand Lodge ... can exist independently of a Supreme Council ... I shall be very glad [if] ... I could similarly associate them [Grand Lodge and Supreme Council] here & should only be too glad to resign my office to Lord Zetland if such were feasible.

This idea failed but in May 1871 the Supreme Council adopted a Tripartite Treaty with the Knights Templar and the Mark. (The commissioners had been Limerick and Colquhoun for Grand Conclave; Portal and Carnarvon for Mark Grand Lodge; and Nathaniel Philips and John Montagu for the Supreme Council.) In the discussion of the Treaty in Grand Conclave, Limerick commented:"

There were ... too many Bodies calling themselves Masonic. If the Craft and Royal Arch would come into the Treaty it would give greater strength to it; but they had gone as far as possible, and it was advisable to limit the number of degrees.

Lord Eliot MP (Provincial Grand Commander, Cornwall, and later the Earl of St Germans) added that he hoped 'that, ere long, all the Masonic Bodies in this Country would be united under one Royal Head'.⁴⁴ In 1872 negotiations with Scotland and Ireland reached such a stage that William Stuart, the English Grand Master, could resign in favour of the Prince of Wales and the Grand Conclave approved the Statutes of the Convent General with Ireland and Scotland, drawn up with a view to the Prince becoming 'Supreme Head of

the confederated bodies' and with the Prince's approval.⁴⁵ In this short-lived confederation we can perhaps detect the hand of Carnarvon, who promoted the confederation of the white-settler colonies with Britain.

Carnarvon's part in a contemporary bridge-building exercise is clearer, though in this case the activity smacks more of empire-building. In October 1871 seven members of the Supreme Council met as petitioners for the proposed Friends in Council Lodge, the purpose of which was to provide the Supreme Council and its friends with an 'opportunity of meeting to discuss not the affairs of the Order but those of the Craft, with the purpose of acting together by a previous exchange of views on such subjects ... with which it is the function of Grand Lodge to deal'.⁴⁶ The petitioners proposed the Deputy Grand Master, Lord Carnarvon, as the first Master of the lodge, he having been elected to the 31st, 32nd and 33rd degrees and to the Supreme Council in February 1871. The petition was addressed in the first instance to the Master of Jerusalem Lodge, C Hutton Gregory (already mentioned, and himself a member of the 31st degree), who on 24 February 1871 had chaired its centenary festival in the presence of the Acting Grand Master (Carnarvon) and of a Past Grand Master on his first visit to an English lodge, the Prince of Wales, both of whom were elected to honorary membership.⁴⁷ (The Prince later joined many lodges, including Apollo University in 1872, becoming its Master in 1873.)

Friends in Council Lodge was consecrated on 3 June 1872. The ceremony was conducted by the Provincial Grand Master for Bristol, Lord Limerick, and the visitors were almost as illustrious a gathering as had been assembled in 1856 for Carnarvon's initiation. Details of this glittering occasion are recorded in the *Freemason* of 8 June 1872, but some of the thirty-three original joining members are listed here to show the close connections that now existed between the rulers in the Craft and the major extra-Craft degrees (* indicating Provincial Grand Masterships):

- W W Bramston Beach, *Hampshire. Provincial Grand Commander, KT; Past GM, Mark
- Shadwell Clerke, Prov Prior, KT, Sussex. (Grand Secretary, 1880-91)
- Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Grand Chancellor, KT
- John Hervey, Grand Secretary; Grand Standard Bearer, KT; 30°
- Sir C. Hutton Gregory, PJGD (1861)
- Revd John Huyshe, *Devon. Past 3rd Grand Principal, RA; Deputy GM, KT
- Lord Leigh, *Warwickshire. Past GM, Mark
- Earl of Limerick, *Bristol. Great Prior, KT; Deputy GM, Mark
- Lord Skelmersdale, *West Lancashire (Nov 1872). Grand Seneschal, KT.

For its first eleven years the lodge met on the Tuesday before each Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, but, in 1883, to neutralise any apprehensions that might arise that the very purpose and intent of the lodge was one which might develop into an oligarchy within Grand Lodge, the dates of the meetings were changed.⁴⁸ Like the Convent General, the Friends in Council Lodge proved either a bridge too far or too many; in 1895 Frank Richardson (Senior Grand Deacon, 1892), Grand Treasurer General of the Supreme Council, 'took the view that the lodge did not serve that purpose for which it had originally been formed, nor ever would or could'.⁴⁹ His view prevailed and the links with the Supreme Council were terminated.

Though overambitious, the plan to confederate the main English Masonic bodies under or in the person of the Prince bore fruit. In 1874 Carnarvon installed the Prince, who was already Grand Master of Knights Templar, as Grand Master of the Craft and, being himself appointed Pro Grand Master, was succeeded as Deputy Grand Master by Skelmersdale. The Prince was elected Grand Patron of the Ancient and Accepted Rite in the same year and in 1886 became the Grand Master of the Mark. As by the end of 1874 the Craft and these extra-Craft degrees had established their separate if complementary identities, and had proved that they could coexist in a spirit of mutual tolerance and acceptance, the need for closer bonds and the opportunities for friction disappeared. Carnarvon, his work largely done, withdrew from the extra-Craft degrees and devoted his remaining Masonic life to his duties as Pro Grand Master,

From 1875 to 1901

Between 1875 and 1901, in the certainty and prosperity of late Victorian England, ever more men of public stature became active in Freemasonry. Their visibility, the high profile of the Masonic charities, a growing membership and regular, sympathetic coverage in the press both reflected and contributed to Freemasonry's enhanced status. The amount of cross-fertilisation between the Craft and the accepted if not recognised extra-Craft degrees is exemplified by the membership of the Supreme Council in 1896: the nine members comprised the Pro Grand Master as Sovereign Grand Commander (the Earl of Lathom, formerly Skelmersdale), two Provincial Grand Masters (the Earl of Euston and Colonel Le Gendre Starkie), the

President of the Board of General Purposes (Richard Loveland), the President of the Board of Benevolence (James Henry Matthews), a Past Grand Chaplain (the Very Revd John Studholme Brownrigg), two Past Grand Deacons (Frank Richardson and Nathaniel George Philips) and a Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (Arthur Cook).

But the growth in the number of the extra-Craft degrees posed problems. Occasionally this was mentioned in Grand Lodge, but essentially it was left to the longer-established extra-Craft orders to handle, led as they now were by very senior members of the Craft. As the Supreme Council had taken control of the Masonic Rose Croix, Kadosh and Ne Plus Ultra degrees, and the Mark under Portal had taken over the administration of the Ark Mariners and the Royal and Select Masters, so in 1880 and 1891 respectively the Mark assumed responsibility for the Allied Masonic Degrees and the Red Cross of Constantine.

One episode near the end of the century epitomises the new climate in which both pure and accepted Masonry then flourished. In 1887, Issacher Zacharie formed a Grand Council of the Order of the Secret Monitor in London and appointed to Grand Rank, inter alia, Shadwell H Clerke (Grand Secretary of the Craft and a member of the Supreme Council), Charles Fitzgerald Matier (Grand Secretary of the Mark 1889-1914), and Judge Frederick A Philbrick (Grand Registrar of the Craft, Great Chancellor of Knights Templar, 32°). At its first festival that same year this Order inducted over thirty candidates, including Lord (later the Earl of) Halsbury, the Lord Chancellor (Senior Grand Warden, 1888), the Earl of Warwick (Deputy Grand Master 1899-1903) and Sir Francis Burdett. Despite this exceptional launch, the Order, now under Warwick, soon ran into difficulties with the Allied Masonic Degrees, whose Grand Master was the Earl of Euston (Provincial Grand Master of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, a member of the Supreme Council and Pro Grand Master of the Mark). Remarkably, the dispute is reported⁵⁰ as having been referred in 1898 to the Pro Grand Master of the Craft, Lord Lathom (Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council since 1877), who in turn appointed the then Grand Registrar of the Craft, John Strachan QC, as arbitrator. Strachan's award was accepted by both Euston and Warwick in September 1898.

The Social Context 1843 4901

Rather than attempt to paint a fuller picture, a few facts, figures and quotations are offered as scene-setters. The population of England and Wales increased from 15.9 million in 1841 to 32.5 million in 1901; over the same period the railway network increased from 2236 to more than 18,500 miles. From the end of Peel's Conservative government in 1846 to the end of Salisbury's third Conservative administration in 1902 there were fourteen changes of government. The Italian insurrection and the French revolutions of 1848 were not copied in England, nor was the American Civil War of 1860-65. Britain did however fight wars in the Crimea (1854-56), China (1856-60) and South Africa and faced the Indian Mutiny in 1857-58. Darwin did not dare to publish his theory of transmutation in 1844 in case it gave 'comfort to radicals, Frenchmen, atheists and others he disapproved of.' In 1848 Queen Victoria had to leave her palace in view of the threatened demonstration by 150,000 Chartists; 85,000 special constables were sworn in, 7000 troops mobilised and public buildings were sandbagged. Yet by 1851 'the storms had passed harmlessly over the British Isles'⁵² and in 1859 Darwin could publish his *Origin of Species* without damaging the establishment of which he was a part. In France the monarchy fell in 1870; in England two years later 13,000 people attended a thanksgiving service in St Paul's Cathedral for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from typhoid fever.⁵³

After a long period of agitation and upheaval, mid-Victorian England presented a rare spectacle — a state of equilibrium ... achieved in the face of the rapid movements of a country in full growth. One fact is obvious, and that is the stability of the society and its power structure, a system strengthened by the sanction accorded both to the hierarchy of the classes and to the system of government .. The perpetuation of a liberal and inegalitarian society became an objective that was shared by all ... Nineteenth-century England is totally incomprehensible if one does not take into account the power of the Bible and its constant presence in men's hearts .. The National Sunday League organized railway excursions at low prices and in 1896 a law authorized the Sunday opening of museums ... England was becoming secularized.

Questions

Why did the extra-Craft degrees and Orders develop so strongly in the second half of the nineteenth century? Were the Freemasons whom they attracted looking for something more esoteric or romantic, or less oligarchic, monolithic and expensive than the 'purified' and ancient Craft? Further research is needed before satisfactory answers can be provided to these important questions, but I hope that this paper has begun to answer those that I posed at the outset.

Conclusion

Between 1856 and 1875 a small group of powerful, enthusiastic, youthful and—in the main—aristocratic Freemasons took control of Grand Lodge and shook it out of the torpor that had set in during its consolidation under Sussex, Zetland, White, Dobie and Alston. Carnarvon, Skelmersdale Portal, Limerick and a handful of others, generally from Oxford and members of the Apollo University and Westminster and Keystone Lodges, also took Control of the major extra-Craft degrees at the time of their renaissance or development and structured a relationship between them and the Craft, forming a loose Masonic confederation based on the complementary principles of tolerance and regularity. In this they were responding to the pressures that Crucefix, Oliver, Leeson and others had articulated over the previous twenty years and to the wishes of the 'Fraternity at large' that sought to maintain pre-Union traditions while remaining faithful to the Craft. The tenacity of a few Knight Templar encampments, the growth of international travel mid the determination of a few individuals to broadcast Masonic intelligence had ensured that a willingness to admit and enjoy Freemasonry as a whole was transmitted to a generation which had the power and ability so to develop and interrelate its several parts that the system they established continues to flourish today.

Reference Notes:

- 1 These are the first and second sentences of Article II of the Act of Union of 1813, as quoted in H Mendoza, 'The Articles of Union and the Orders of Chivalry', (1980) *AQC* 93:59,
- 2 Letter dated 21 December 1910 from the Grand Secretary of the Craft (E Letchworth) to the Grand Secretary General of the Ancient and Accepted Rite (John C F Tower), (Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London; Supreme Council file),
- 3 Draft letter dated 8 June, 1821 from W H White to the Provincial Grand Master for Frankfurt, quoted by Mendoza, op cit, 65.
- 4 Letter dated 24 September 1846 from W H White to EComp Stark of Humber Chapter (RA) No 65, quoted by Mendoza, op cit, 67-68.
- 5 C F Maher, *The Origin and Progress of the Preceptory of St George, 1795-1895*, (London 1910), 77.
- 6 For further information about Crucefix see R S E Sandbach, 'Robert Thomas Crucefix, 1788- 1850,' (1989) *AQC* 102:134-150.
- 7 For further information about the FQR, and the involvement of Crucefix with it, see R S E Sandbach, 'The Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1834-1840. A General Overview and Assessment, (1993) *AQC* 106:1-11.
- 8 For further information about Oliver, see R S E Sandbach, *Priest and Freemason: the Life of George Oliver* (1988).
- 9 G E W Bridge, *Notes on the History of Faith and Fidelity Preceptory No. 26 formerly the Early Grand Encampment of England* (1940).
- 10 Bridge, op cit, 25-29.
- 11 J W S Godding, *A History of the Westminster and Keystone Lodge* (1907), 107.
- 12 C Dyer, *The Grand Stewards and their Lodge* (1985), 28 1,
- 13 The Revd Arnold Whitaker Oxford, *The Origin and Progress of the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted (Scottish) Rite for England, Wales, the Dominions and Dependencies of the British Crown*, (Oxford 1933), 32.
- 14 Bridge, op cit. 224,
- 15 Bridge, op cit. preface (i).
- 16 Draft letter dated 8 June 1821 from W H White to the Provincial Grand Master for Frankfurt, quoted by Mendoza, op cit, 65.
- 17 Frederick Smyth, *Brethren in Chivalry 1791-1991* (London 1991), 142-44.
- 18 Since this article was published (in 1993) John Mandleberg has written two authoritative volumes on the Rite and the English Supreme Council: *Ancient and Accepted* (London 1995), and *Rose Croix Essays* (London 2005).
- 19 See comments by J W Daniel on 'Robert Thomas Crucefix, 1788-1 850', by R S E Sandbach in (1989) 71(*AQC* 102:156. See also several articles in the Freemasons' Quarterly Review between 1842 and 1845.
- 20 For more details of this aspect see R S E Sandbach, *Priest and Freemason: the Life of George Oliver* (1988).
- 21 Bridge, op cit, 50-52.
- 22 Copy on the Supreme Council file in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London.

- 23 *ibid.*
- 24 *ibid.*
- 25 *ibid.*
- 26 The letters about Tucker's dismissal are to be found in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. 'Dorset' file, under 'historical correspondence'
27. See also F J Cooper. 'R.W.Bro. William Tucker', (1970) *AQC* 83:125-135
- 28 George Oliver, commenting on Tucker's dismissal in his additions to the 17th edition of William Preston's *Illustrations of Masomy* (1861 ed.), 463.
- 29 When this section was written (in 1992) I relied on It M Handfield-Jones, *A New and Comprehensive History of the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons ... 1856 to 1968* (1969). The results of later research wits be found in chapter 3, on the Revd Canon G R Portal, and in the brief history of the Mark Grand Lodge as printed in the commemorative brochure issued on its 150th anniversary in 2006.
- 30 See S A Pope, *The Bank of England Lodge ... 1788-1931*. Both the Costa brothers were initiated in this lodge. Raphael was appointed to the 33° in 1874 and made a JGD in 1878. Michael, a Member of the Supreme Council (1868-84), was made a PGW in 1875
- 31 *Proceedings of Supreme Grand Chapter.*
- 32 *Proceedings of United Grand Lodge.*
- 33 Godding, *op cit*, 138
- 34 Godding, *op cit*, 142
- 35 Godding, *op cit*, 143,
- 36 Sir Arthur Hardinge, *The Life of Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, 1831-1890* (Oxford, 1925), 1:79.
- 37 See his obituary in the *Masonic Journal* of December 1898.
- 38 Letter dated 25 December 1868 from the Prince of Wales to his mother: Royal Archives (quoted by Magnus in *King Edwald the Seventh*, 1964)
- 39 The result of subsequent research is included in chapter 2, first published as ... An Intimate and Permanent Tye": Anglo-Swedish Relations 1868-1870', *AQC* 109:96-114.
- 40 I am grateful to the Librarian of Grand Lodge for this information about the attitudes of Carnarvon and the Board towards the use of Freemasons' Hall by the Knights Templar.
- 41 It is interesting to note that the committees set up to negotiate the Convention included W W Bramston Beach (PGM) for the Mark and F Burdett (Grand Senior General), J Hervey (Grand High Chancellor) and R. Wentworth Little (Grand Registrar) for the Red Cross of Constantine.
- 42 Leeson's letters of 25 August and 5 October 1865 to Clarke: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, Supreme Council file.
- 43 Grand Conclave of Knights Templar: *Calendars and Reports*, 1858-1872, 12 May 1871.
- 44 The drafts in the Supreme Council's archives of the Triple Alliance included Grand Lodge and Supreme Grand Chapter but there is no known evidence that their inclusion was more than wishful thinking on the part of the commissioners of the other bodies.
- 45 Grand Conclave of Knights Templar: *Calendars and Reports. 1858-1872*, 13 December 1872.
- 46 Holroyd Ferris Chambers & John Roy Wynter Bee, *The Friends in Council Lodge No. 1383. An Account of the First Hundred Years, 1872-1972*, 7.
- 47 Daily News (1 March 1871), quoted in *The History of Jerusalem Lodge.*
- 48 Chambers and Bee, *op cit*, 11.
- 49 Chambers and Bee, *op cit*, 17.
- 50 R. J. Wilkinson, *History of the Order of the Secret Monitor 1887-1963* (1964).
- 51 *The Economist*, 2 November 1991. 88.
- 52 A Desmond and J Moore, *Darwin* (1991), 391.
- 53, F. Bedarida, *A Social History of England 1851-1990* (2 edit, London 1991), 73.