

## Searching for the Apple Tree: Revisiting the Earliest Years of English Organized Freemasonry

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One virtue of celebrating anniversaries is that it prompts us to reconsider and explore anew the events commemorated.<sup>1</sup> The 800th anniversary of Magna Carta last year led to many fresh discoveries about the provenance and scribes of the surviving engrossments of the 1215 charter,<sup>2</sup> while during the 2016 Shakespeare anniversary a new First Folio has been identified<sup>3</sup> and multi-spectral imaging has been used to redate the drafting of Shakespeare's will.<sup>4</sup> We hope that the tercentenary celebrations of the Grand Lodge will likewise provide an impetus to undertake more research into what Alfred Robbins in his seminal article of 1909 called 'the earliest years of English Organized Freemasonry'.<sup>5</sup>

Robbins's pioneering investigation of the first references to Grand Lodge in newspapers shows how much can be achieved by systematic examination of the primary sources, but sadly too few scholars have followed Robbins's lead. The consensus is still that expressed by Albert Calvert in his bi-centenary book on the Grand Lodge, namely that is doubtful that there will ever be a more circumstantial and authentic account of the early years of Grand Lodge than that provided by James Anderson in the 1738 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.<sup>6</sup> It is our contention that there is scope for much more critical analysis of the surviving sources for Masonic history in England to 1723. Moreover, we propose that, when we return to these sources, a completely different account of the foundation of Grand Lodge emerges to that provided by Anderson. We hope that the tercentenary celebrations, and this conference in particular, will provide a spur for a renewed investigation of the primary sources for the early years of Grand Lodge.

But let us first revisit the canonical text. The story of the formation of the Grand Lodge in London was told for the first time by Anderson in the 1738 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published more than twenty years after the events it purports to record.<sup>7</sup> Anderson describes the accession of George I in September 1714 and the Jacobite rebellion led by the Old Pretender. He states that in 1716, as soon as the rebellion was over, the few lodges in London, feeling that the existing Grand Master Christopher Wren had neglected them, decided 'to cement together under a Grand Master as the Center of Union and Harmony'. Anderson lists the four lodges which met together.<sup>8</sup> First, the lodge at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house in St Paul's Church-Yard. The successor of this lodge is considered to be the modern Lodge of Antiquity No. 2. Second, the lodge at the Crown Ale-house in Parker's Lane near Drury Lane. This lodge fizzled out for lack of members shortly after 1736. Third, the lodge at the Apple Tree Tavern in Charles Street, Covent Garden. The story of the lodge

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was given as the Dr Charles A. Sankey Lecture at Brock University on 20 March 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Many of these discoveries were the work of the Magna Carta Project: <http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk> (accessed 27 July 2016); see also E. Treharne and A. Prescott, 'The Origin and Context of the Salisbury Magna Carta': <http://historyoftexttechnologies.blogspot.co.uk/2015/06/the-origin-and-context-of-salisbury.html> (accessed 27 July 2016).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-35973094> (accessed 27 July 2016).

<sup>4</sup> <http://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/shakespeares-will-new-interpretation/> (accessed 27 July 2016).

<sup>5</sup> A. Robbins, 'The Earliest Years of English Organized Freemasonry', *AQC* 22 (1909), 67-89.

<sup>6</sup> A. F. Calvert, *The Grand Lodge of England 1717-1917* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1917), 1.

<sup>7</sup> James Anderson, *The New Book of Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (London: Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1738), 109-10.

<sup>8</sup> R. F. Gould, *The Four Old Lodges, Founders of Modern Freemasonry, and their Descendants* (London: Spencer's Masonic Depot, 1879). A clear summary of Gould's findings is 'Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge No. 12' in *Collected Essays and Papers relating to Freemasonry* (Belfast and London: William Tait, Spencer & Co., 1913), 183-7.

is complex, but it is assumed to be the ancestor of the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge No. 12. And, fourth, the lodge at the Rummer and Grapes Tavern in Channel Row Westminster, from which is descended the modern Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4.

Anderson states that these four lodges met together at the Apple Tree Tavern in Charles Street. The meeting also included 'some old brothers' who were not apparently members of the four lodges. The chair of the meeting was taken by the oldest Master Mason. Anderson states that the assembly 'constituted themselves a GRAND LODGE pro Tempore in *Due Form*'. As Begemann long ago explained,<sup>9</sup> this sentence is legalistic gobbledygook, necessitated by Anderson's need to demonstrate continuity with earlier Grand Masters. Nevertheless, the outcome of the meeting as described by Anderson was clear. The lodges revived the quarterly communications of the Grand Lodge, agreed to hold an annual assembly and feast, and decided to choose a Grand Master. Anderson then states that on 24 June 1717 an assembly and feast of the Free and Accepted Masons was held at the Goose and Gridiron and that before dinner the Master Mason who had chaired the meeting at the Apple Tree proposed candidates for the office of Grand Master. A vote was taken and Antony Sayer was elected as Grand Master of Masons.

Anderson's story has powerful topographical resonances. Two of the lodges were based in Covent Garden, an area which with its teeming piazzas and markets epitomized for many what the historian Vic Gatrell has called the 'infinite zest and plausible disorder' of eighteenth-century urban life.<sup>10</sup> Gatrell has described how Covent Garden, with its vibrant social mix of merchants, booksellers, artists, actors, prostitutes and pickpockets, can be seen as the first artistic bohemia. One of the four lodges listed by Anderson was said to have met at the Crown Tavern in Parker's Lane, a narrow lane 'of small account',<sup>11</sup> close to the notorious 'Hundreds of Drury', the most depraved part of Covent Garden.<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps to be identified with the Crown Tavern in Drury Lane mentioned in a 1722 case in the online *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* in which a servant of the tavern's keeper was accused of stealing a riding hood from him. In her defence, the servant said that anyone could have stolen the hood because the Crown was a very disorderly house and she insisted that 'the worse thing she was ever guilty of there was by serving her Master in helping Gentlemen to Whores'.<sup>13</sup>

Charles Street, where the discussions to form Grand Lodge supposedly took place 300 years ago, was at the heart of Covent Garden.<sup>14</sup> Renamed in 1844, Charles Street today forms the northern part of Wellington Street which connects Bow Street with the Strand and Waterloo Bridge. For those of you who know Covent Garden, it is the part of Wellington Street north of Tavistock Street which contains the entrance to the old Floral Market. Charles Street reflected the importance of Covent Garden as an artistic quarter. The portrait painters Thomas Gibson (d. 1751) and Isaac Collivoe senior (Collivaux) lived there,<sup>15</sup> and Collivoe's paintings were sold after his death in 1726 in an

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<sup>9</sup> W. Begemann, trans. L. Vibert, *Early History and Beginnings of Freemasonry in England*, typescript in Library and Museum of Freemasonry, 575. This is a translation of part of Begemann's *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in England*, 2 vols (Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1909-10) which was prepared for publication by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, but never appeared due to unwillingness to publish work by a German scholar during the First World War.

<sup>10</sup> V. Gatrell, *The First Bohemians: Life and Art in London's Golden Age* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 4.

<sup>11</sup> J. Stow and J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: A. Churchill, J. Knapton, etc., 1720), vol. ii, 76.

<sup>12</sup> Gatrell, *First Bohemians*, 29-44.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=17220907> (accessed 28 July 2016): ref. no. t17220907-45.

<sup>14</sup> On Charles Street, see 'Bow Street and Russell Street Area: The former Charles Street', in F. Sheppard, ed. *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden* (London: London County Council, 1970), 195-6, available via *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol36/pp195-196> (accessed 15 July 2016).

<sup>15</sup> On Collivoe, see <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-c.php> (accessed 20 July 2016)

auction house and music room in Charles Street called 'The Vendu'.<sup>16</sup> The engraver Claude du Bosc had a shop on the street where one of the works sold was a translation of Bernard Picard's *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World* containing a celebrated print of a Masonic lodge.<sup>17</sup> The playwright and Poet Laureate Colley Cibber and the actor Barton Booth also lived there. But Charles Street also reflected the extraordinary social mix of Covent Garden. It contained a private entrance to 'Hummums', a Turkish bath notorious for prostitution, and was also the home of the brothel run by 'Mother Hayward', who on her death in 1743 was worth £10,000.<sup>18</sup> On the corner of Charles Street, the Widow Hillmann offered 'the Venereal Prevention', guaranteed to 'infallibly conquer and destroy all particles of the venereal poison'.<sup>19</sup>

The bustling, invigorating, terrifying and often immoral urban life which erupted in England in the eighteenth century could be enjoyed to the full on Charles Street, the venue for the meeting described by Gould as 'the most momentous event in the history of the craft'.<sup>20</sup> But did this meeting in Charles Street take place? Did the Apple Tree even exist? The answers are less certain than the repetition of Anderson's story over 300 years might suggest. The story of the formation of Grand Lodge in 1716-17 was not publicly reported anywhere before the publication of the 1738 *Constitutions*. In the 1723 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, there is no mention of 1717 or the rest of the story. In describing George I's reign, the 1723 *Constitutions* merely refers to the laying of the foundation stone of St Martin-in-the-Fields in September 1722 and states that the Free and Accepted Masons were flourishing under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Montagu.<sup>21</sup> The only indication in the 1723 *Constitutions* that there might have been other Grand Masters immediately before Montagu is a passing reference to George Payne as Grand Master in the heading to the 1720 regulations.<sup>22</sup> Sayer is shown as Warden of Lodge no. 3 in the list of lodges in the 1723 *Constitutions*, but there is no indication that he had been Grand Master.<sup>23</sup>

Not only is the story of the foundation of Grand Lodge absent from the 1723 *Constitutions*, but there is no hint of it in any of the numerous books and articles on Freemasonry published between 1723 and 1738, such as Smith's *Pocket Companion for Free-Masons* or Pritchard's *Masonry Dissected*. The earliest reference to Grand Lodge in the press is a report in the *Post Boy* of 24-27 June 1721 of the feast at which the Duke of Montagu was installed as Grand Master.<sup>24</sup> The first surviving document emanating from Grand Lodge itself is an invitation to the 1722 Grand Feast, engraved by John Sturt who also engraved the plates for Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*.<sup>25</sup> The first minute book of Grand Lodge begins on 24 June 1723. The story of the Apple Tree, the Goose and Gridiron and so on derives entirely from Anderson's history in the 1738 *Constitutions*. The assumption has been that, as John Hamill recently explained, 'when Anderson wrote his histories there were still many around who would have attended or have known some of those who were present at the

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<sup>16</sup> *Daily Journal*, 19 January 1727.

<sup>17</sup> Timothy Clayton, 'Du Bosc, Claude (b. 1682, d. in or after 1746)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8118>, accessed 29 July 2016); L. Hunt, M. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt, *The Book that Changed Europe: Picard and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> F. Linnane, *Madams: Bawds and Brothel Keepers of London* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005), 37, 95.

<sup>19</sup> *London Journal*, 7 October 1721.

<sup>20</sup> Gould, *Four Old Lodges*, 45.

<sup>21</sup> *The Constitutions of Free Masons...* (London: William Hunter for John Senex and John Hooke, 1723), 44-8.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>24</sup> Robbins, 'Earliest Years', 68. The *Post Boy* report was reprinted in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 1 July 1721, *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, 1 July 1721, and *Ipswich Journal*, 24 June 1721.

<sup>25</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson C. 136, f. 5. In the light of the survival of this engraving, it seems odd that Anderson singles out the purchase under Wharton in 1723 of a new plate for the production of engraved tickets for the annual feast: 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 115.

Goose and Gridiron in June 1717' and that they would have corrected him if necessary.<sup>26</sup> However, this is a hazardous assumption.

In February 1735, Anderson complained to Grand Lodge that the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions* was sold out and that William Smith had pirated material from it in his *Free Mason's Pocket Companion*.<sup>27</sup> Anderson told Grand Lodge that the *Book of Constitutions* was 'his Sole Property', but this was not the case. The format and wording of the title page of the 1723 *Constitutions* makes it clear that the publishers and owners of the copyright were John Senex and John Hooke.<sup>28</sup> Anderson, who was at that time working for Hooke on an abortive project to publish a translation of David Fassmann's *Conversations in the Realms of the House of the Dead*, was paid by Hooke and Senex in 'copy money' probably by the sheet rather than for the entire manuscript of the *Book of Constitutions*.<sup>29</sup> The 1723 *Constitutions* was not Anderson's property, no matter what he might say to Grand Lodge.

Two key figures in the appearance of the 1738 *Constitutions* were the publishers, Richard Chandler and Caesar Ward. Chandler had been an apprentice of Hooke, and acquired Hooke's business and many of his copyrights after his death in 1730.<sup>30</sup> In 1734, Chandler established a partnership with his brother-in-law Caesar Ward and they sought to create further outlets for their business in York.<sup>31</sup> The negotiations for their purchase of the *York Courant* in January 1739 probably explain the delay in the publication of the new *Book of Constitutions*, which was reported by Anderson as ready for the press in January 1738 but was not advertised until January 1739. As a friend of Francis Drake, Ward would have hoped for good sales of the *Book of Constitutions* to Yorkshire freemasons. The primary role of Chandler and Ward in the production of the 1738 *Constitutions* is evident from its

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<sup>26</sup> J. Hamill, 'When History is Written', *Freemasonry Today*, 7 June 2016: <http://www.freemasonrytoday.com/features/john-hamill-explores-the-evidence-surrounding-the-formation-of-grand-lodge> (accessed 30 July 2016).

<sup>27</sup> *QCA* 10 (1913), 244-5.

<sup>28</sup> If either Grand Lodge or Anderson had been the copyright holders of the 1723 *Constitutions* the title page would have stated something like 'Printed for the author (or the Grand Lodge) and sold by John Senex and John Hooke', as with William Garbott's 1725 *New-River* which was 'Printed for the author and sold by J. Hooke at the Flower-de-Luce against St Dunstan'. See further M. Shaaber, 'The Meaning of the Imprint in Early Printed Books', *The Library* 25 (1944), 120-41. James Raven describes how in the early eighteenth century 'The right to reproduce a book was almost always bought outright by the bookseller-publisher or consortium of booksellers. Most authors surrendered all claims to subsequent entitlement; most copyrights were then divided into shares between several combining booksellers': J. Raven, 'The Book Trades' in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2011), 15. On 'copy money', see Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 215-6. Tobias Smollett received three guineas per sheet for the *Complete History of England*.

<sup>29</sup> Susan Mitchell Sommers and Andrew Prescott, 'New Light on the Life of James Anderson', *supra*, 000. The translation of Fassmann contains a reference to the Freemasons appointing a Grand Master: A Prescott, 'The Publishers of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*', *AQC* 121 (2008), 160, where it was stated that the translation was published in 1719. The correct publication date of 1723 is apparent from newspaper advertisements (in some cases the Fassmann translation was advertised at the same time as the *Book of Constitutions*): *British Journal*, 16 Feb 1723, *London Journal*, 9 Mar 1723. Anderson's authorship of the translation and the insertion about Freemasonry was revealed when the remaining stock of the Fassmann translation was reissued in 1739 after Anderson's death with a new title page crediting Anderson credited as author: *News from Elysium or Dialogues of the Dead...* (London: J. Cecil and F. Noble, 1739). On Fassmann, see further C. Sammons, 'David Fassmann's Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten', *Yale University Library Gazette* 46 (1972), 176-8, and J. Rutledge, *The Dialogue of the Dead in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Frankfurt and Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974).

<sup>30</sup> Prescott, 'Publishers of 1723 *Book of Constitutions*', 161-2.

<sup>31</sup> On Ward, see further C. Y. Ferdinand, 'Ward, Caesar (bap. 1710, d. 1759)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64292>, (accessed 30 Jul 2016) and W. G. Day, 'Caesar Ward's Business Correspondence', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section*, 19 (1982), 1-8. A catalogue of books printed for Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, at the *Ship between the Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street, and sold at their Shop at Scarborough, 1734*, is in the British Library: RB 23.a.5967.

history after Chandler's suicide in 1744 and Ward's bankruptcy in 1746. The remaining stock of the 1738 *Constitutions* was sold to a publisher named Robinson, apparently not a Freemason, who reissued the volume with a new title page under his imprint without reference to Grand Lodge.<sup>32</sup>

As in 1723, Anderson was probably paid by the page by Chandler and Ward for his work on the 1738 *Constitutions*. Anderson's financial woes and the fact he was a debtor subject to the 'Rules of the Fleet' gave him an incentive to write as much as possible.<sup>33</sup> He and his publishers were keen to maximize sales by producing a more compendious and authoritative volume than its rivals, and advertisements noted that 'This new Book is above twice as large as the former, having many proper Additions, especially the principal Transactions of the Grand Lodge ever since'.<sup>34</sup> Anderson's work was scrutinized and corrected by a group of Grand Officers, but we do not know who they were or if they were likely to have been involved in the events of 1716-17. George Payne and Desaguliers, two key figures of the early years, were still active as Grand Officers in 1738-9, but many of the other Grand Officers had only become Freemasons much later. The fact that Grand Lodge was hazy about the publication history of the 1723 *Constitutions* suggests that its collective memory of its early history was not very good.

Anderson only became involved with Grand Lodge after June 1721 and had no direct knowledge of earlier events. So, like a good historian, he proceeded to collect oral and written testimony, which he tried to reconcile. At the end of the 1738 *Constitutions*, Anderson provides a list of those brethren who had encouraged him while the book was in the press.<sup>35</sup> He included a similar list in his *magnum opus*, the *Royal Genealogies*.<sup>36</sup> The 1738 list was not a list of subscribers but rather a means by which Anderson enhanced his authorial standing by advertising his social connections. This can be seen by the inclusion in the list in the 1738 *Constitutions* of such names as the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Inchiquin and Earl of Loudon. Others named in this list, such as the engravers John Pine and Louis-Phillippe Boitard or the printer Thomas Aris, are mentioned because of their role in the production of the volume. Other encouragers provided information about specific events, such as William Goston and the scientist and friend of Desaguliers, Erasmus King, who acted as wardens at the initiation of the Prince of Wales in 1737.<sup>37</sup>

Most of the distinguished masonic figures named by Anderson, such as Martin Clare, William Graeme and Edward Hody, had only become involved with Freemasonry in the late 1720s and 1730s.<sup>38</sup> It is unlikely that the seventeen-year-old Thomas Desaguliers the son of the celebrated Dr Desaguliers, who only began visiting lodges with his father in 1738, contributed much to Anderson's researches.<sup>39</sup> Of the handful of freemasons named by Anderson who had been involved

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<sup>32</sup> QCA 12 (1960), 80-1. In the preface to *The Pocket Companion and History of Free-Masons...* (London: J. Scott, 1754), v, John Entick states that Anderson's supervision of the production of the 1738 *Constitutions* had been slipshod: 'from whatever Cause it might arise, whether from his want of Health, or trusting to the Management of Strangers, this Work appeared in a very mangled condition and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand-Master Payne, were in many Places interpolated, and in some the sense left very obscure and uncertain'.

<sup>33</sup> Sommers and Prescott, supra, 000.

<sup>34</sup> For example, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 22 January 1739; *Country Journal and the Craftsman*, 25 January 1739; *London Evening Post*, 27-30 January 1739.

<sup>35</sup> 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 229.

<sup>36</sup> Sommers and Prescott, supra, 000.

<sup>37</sup> On King, see J. H. Appleby, 'Erasmus King: Eighteenth-Century Experimental Philosopher', *Annals of Science* 47 (1990), 375-92. It is not clear whether this is the same William Goston who was involved in a lawsuit with John Ward over mining on his land: R. Berman, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The Grand Architects Political Change and the Scientific Enlightenment* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 167.

<sup>38</sup> Graeme is first mentioned in Grand Lodge minutes on his appointment as Steward in 1734: QCA 10, 241; Hody is likewise first mentioned when appointed Steward in 1735: QCA 10, 254; on Clare, see A. Prescott, 'Clare, Martin' in C. Porset and C. Revauger, *Le monde maçonnique des Lumières: Europe-Amériques & Colonies, Dictionnaire prosopographique* (Paris: Editions Champions, 2013), vol 1, 808-18.

<sup>39</sup> A. Carpenter, *John Theophilus Desaguliers: A Natural Philosopher, Engineer and Freemason in Newtonian England* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 241.

with Freemasonry in the early 1720s, only one claimed to have been directly involved with the events of 1716-17. This was Jacob Lamball, a carpenter, who was said to have been appointed as the first Senior Grand Warden at the Goose and Gridiron in 1717. It appears that Lamball was one of Anderson's major sources of information about the events of 1716-17. It is striking that Anderson does not mention Sayer in his list of encouragers, even though Sayer was still alive in 1738. Sayer had evidently become discredited following complaints against him of irregularly making Masons in 1730 despite charitable help he had received from Grand Lodge.<sup>40</sup> If Anderson had consulted Sayer, he was unwilling to admit it.

There are enormous doubts about the credibility of Lamball as a witness for the events of 1716-17. Although Lamball was said to have been appointed as Warden in 1717, there is no further evidence of his involvement with Freemasonry until March 1735, when he suddenly appears acting as Grand Warden in the place of Sir Edward Mansell.<sup>41</sup> This was the first quarterly communication after that at which Anderson proposed a new edition of the *Constitutions*, and it looks suspiciously as if Anderson himself might have been responsible for Lamball's appearance in Grand Lodge. It is not known how Lamball's claim to have been Grand Warden was tested in 1735, but there are major problems with his story. In 1717, Lamball was still only an apprentice carpenter, having taken out indentures with John Manwell in March 1714.<sup>42</sup> Lamball did not become a freeman of the Carpenters' Company until 6 June 1721.<sup>43</sup> As an apprentice, Lamball's work and leisure time was strictly controlled by his master,<sup>44</sup> and he would have had little time or money to get involved in setting up a Grand Lodge. There are other anomalous things about Lamball. When he got married in 1725,<sup>45</sup> he gave his age as above thirty years, which would have made him at least nineteen when he became an apprentice, much later than the normal age of fourteen. By 1731, however, Lamball was more prosperous and had established a carpentry business in Hyde Street, Bloomsbury, and was letting a newly-built house in Camberwell.<sup>46</sup> He continued to attend Grand Lodge until 1745. In 1756, Lamball petitioned Grand Lodge for charitable relief on account of his great age and infirmity (he was apparently 61) and received ten guineas.<sup>47</sup> He died three years later and was buried in St George's Bloomsbury.<sup>48</sup>

Anderson also made use of written sources. The Grand Secretary John Revis gave Anderson access to the minute books of Grand Lodge. At the end of the first minute book is a list of Grand Lodge officers beginning with Sayer as Grand Master and Lamball and Joseph Elliott as Wardens.<sup>49</sup> This list was altered by Anderson who after the entry for William Hawkins as Warden in 1723 added the words 'who demitted and then James Anderson AM was chosen in his place'.<sup>50</sup> Anderson may also have added the letters 'A.M. F.R.S' after the entry in the list for Martin Clare in 1734. Whatever we

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<sup>40</sup> Infra, 000.

<sup>41</sup> *QCA* 10, 247.

<sup>42</sup> Carpenters' Company, Minute Book of Courts and Committees: 'Jacob Lamball Son of Nicholas Lamball late of Sellborne in ye.Co [...] of Hants Yeom bound to John Manuel Citizen & Carpenter', 2 March 1713/4 (available online at <http://londonlives.org.uk>, ref. GLCCMC251120116 (accessed 13 October 2016).

<sup>43</sup> Carpenters' Company records, available online via <http://londonlives.org.uk>, ref. GLCCMC251040025 (accessed 13 October 2016).

<sup>44</sup> J. Lane, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 95-116.

<sup>45</sup> Lamball, described as of the parish of St Giles in the Fields aged above 30 years and a bachelor, married Sarah Brown, aged above 21 years of the parish of St Paul Covent Garden, by license on 23 Jun 1725 in the church of St Benet's, Paul's Wharf, in London: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NLQD-H5N> (accessed 30 July 2016).

<sup>46</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 5 Mar 1731.

<sup>47</sup> *QCA* 12, 96-7.

<sup>48</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, P82/GEO1/056: St George, Bloomsbury, Register of burials, Feb 1731-Mar 1761, available online via <http://ancestry.com> (accessed 30 July 2016).

<sup>49</sup> We are grateful to Diane Clements and Susan Snell for allowing us to examine the original minute book in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

<sup>50</sup> *QCA* 10, xxiii-xxiv, 196. Songhurst suggests that Anderson may also have erased the words 'who officiated for Mr Hawkins' after the minute where he appears as an acting Grand Warden on 24 June 1723. The implication is that Anderson was never appointed Grand Warden, but nevertheless acted in this capacity from 28 August 1730.

may think of Anderson's behaviour in altering the minute book, this alteration establishes that the list was compiled independently of Anderson and was used by him as a source. Like the rest of the minute book, the list of Grand Lodge officers is in the hand of William Reid, who was appointed as Grand Secretary in December 1727.<sup>51</sup> The handwriting and colour of the ink shows that the list was inserted by Reid in the minute book sometime after 1731 and possibly as late as 1734. Thus, this list, although independent of Anderson, was also compiled nearly twenty years after the foundation of Grand Lodge and probably reflects rumours and claims current in Grand Lodge in the 1730s.

Anderson did his best to piece together the tall stories told by people like Lamball and the fragments of written information in sources such as the minute books. Unfortunately, Anderson could not resist updating and embellishing his sources. He added the information that Joseph Elliott, one of Sayer's Wardens, was a captain, but no such person has yet been traced in military records. Anderson also adds the information that John Cordwell, named as Warden in 1718, was 'City Carpenter'. Cordwell was indeed City Common Carpenter in 1738, when he was engaged in a dispute with the Mayor and Corporation over his fixing of prices for the timber contracts for new Mansion House,<sup>52</sup> but he was only appointed to this office in 1722.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the list of officers names Richard Ware as Warden in 1720, and Anderson helpfully informs his readers that Ware was a mathematician. Ware had no recorded mathematical accomplishments, but was better known as a successful bookseller, although some of his publications included works on perspective and architecture.<sup>54</sup>

There are many contradictions in Anderson's account of the first years of Grand Lodge. For example, he states that Sayer's first act was to revive quarterly communications, but then only reports annual feasts held at the Goose and Gridiron. The first quarterly communication mentioned by Anderson was on Lady Day 1721.<sup>55</sup> As Begemann explained, it was unlikely that a quarterly communication was held on Lady Day, which was a busy day with payment of rents and renewal of leases, and, when the minute book starts, it is evident that Grand Lodge avoided holding quarterly communications on Lady Day.<sup>56</sup> It appears that Anderson invented this first quarterly communication in order to show that the Duke of Montagu had been properly nominated as Grand Master. There is a similar problem about Anderson's report of the quarterly communication in March 1722, at which a committee of Grand Lodge was said to have approved the 1723 *Constitutions*. There are other points where Anderson evidently invented details to fill out his narrative. The growth in the number of lodges during 1721-2 reported by Anderson (12 on 24 June 1721; 16 on 29 September; 20 on 27 December; and 24 on 25 March 1722) is suspiciously regular in its arithmetic progression, and does not correspond to what we know from other sources.<sup>57</sup>

The difficulties of Anderson's narrative are epitomized by the example of the Apple Tree itself, which was probably another case of (un)helpful updating by Anderson. The Apple Tree did exist in 1738 and licensing records show that the licensee was James Douglas who had taken over the

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<sup>51</sup> *QCA* 10, xxv.

<sup>52</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* 9 (1739), 214, 361-2; S. Perks, *The History of the Mansion House* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), 178-87; Sally Jeffery, *The Mansion House* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 78.

<sup>53</sup> *Evening Post*, 16 December 1721; *Post Boy*, 2 January 1722. A 'Mr Cordwell' is named as a member of the lodge which met at the Queen's Arms, St Paul's Churchyard, in 1725: *QCA* 10, 32. It is not clear if these references relate to the City Common Carpenter in 1738 or to his father, also called John and a carpenter, who died in 1728.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Ware I, d. 1756: *The London Book Trades of the Later 18th Century*, Exeter Working Papers in Book History 10: <http://bookhistory.blogspot.co.uk/2007/01/berch-w-z.html> (accessed 30 July 2016); *A catalogue of books, printed for, and sold by Richard Ware, at the Bible and Sun on Ludgate-Hill, removed from Amen-Corner* (London, 1755?).

<sup>55</sup> 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 111. Anderson confusingly describes the meeting on 24 June 1721 both as an assembly and feast and as a quarterly communication.

<sup>56</sup> Begemann, *Early History*, 609.

<sup>57</sup> Begemann, *Early History*, 610.

property in 1729.<sup>58</sup> However, although we know that names of hundreds of named taverns in London in 1716 (a number of which are variations on the name 'Apple Tree'), there is no reference to the Apple Tree in Charles Street, and it appears that the name was adopted only when Douglas took over the tenancy in 1729. As W. J. Williams first pointed out, the rate books show that the Apple Tree was on the eastern side of Charles Street, at its corner with York Street.<sup>59</sup> This is today 28 Wellington Street, on the corner with Tavistock Street, currently a 'Bella Italia' restaurant. The previous occupants of this property had been Thomas Taylor, who held it from 1719-29,<sup>60</sup> and Robert McClure from 1713-19. Taylor and McClure both held licenses as innkeepers, but there is no indication that they used the sign of the 'Apple Tree'. We argued in the recent Edward A. Sankey lecture at Brock University that the property was in 1716 not a tavern at all, but a drapers' shop called the Golden Anchor belonging to Simon Mayow.<sup>61</sup> Subsequent cross-checking of the ratebooks show that the Golden Anchor was not on the site of the Apple Tree but rather on the south side of York Street, but nevertheless the search for the Apple Tree illustrates how Anderson's narrative is constantly confused by his inventions and updating of names and places, in which half-truths jostle with self-serving fictions. Although the names of some taverns passed from licensee to licensee - you can still drink in the Coach and Horses in Charles Street whose name is first recorded in 1736 - the name of the Apple Tree seems to have been personal to James Douglas, and vanished after he died in 1753.<sup>62</sup>

Anderson distorted and fabricated his narrative because he was told to do so by Grand Lodge. While in the 1723 *Constitutions* Anderson showed how masonry stretched back to the beginning of time, he was vague about the succession of Grand Masters in antiquity. On 31 March 1735, Grand Lodge passed a motion that 'Dr James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, together with a List of the Names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the Brethren that have served the Craft in the Quality of Stewards'.<sup>63</sup> Anderson was instructed to do this because it was intended that in future all Grand Officers would be selected from this body. This measure was designed to enhance the social exclusivity of the Grand Officers and reduce the likelihood that indigent Grand Officers would make demands on Grand Lodge's charitable funds, as had Sayer or Joshua Timson, the impoverished cobbler and blacksmith who had been Anderson's fellow warden.<sup>64</sup> Grand Lodge was doubtless also aware of the discussions taking place for the formation of a Grand Lodge of Scotland and was anxious to reinforce its claim to primacy.

Another consideration which led Anderson to emphasize continuities in Grand Lodge history was the way in which Grand Lodge was aligning itself with the 'patriot' opposition to the government of

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<sup>58</sup> The first reference to the Apple Tree in the Westminster licensed victualler records is 1729, when James Douglas is given as licensee: London Metropolitan Archives, WR/LV/1/19. Westminster City Archives Research Group, *One on Every Corner: the History of Some Westminster Pubs* (London: Westminster City Archives, 2002), 64, gives the first reference to James Douglas as licensee of the Apple Tree as 1736. This was the year in which Douglas took over the tenancy of this property: Westminster City Archives, St Paul Covent Garden Rate Books.

<sup>59</sup> W. J. Williams, 'A Masonic Pilgrimage through London', *AQC* 42 (1930), 105-6.

<sup>60</sup> It seems possible that Douglas was Taylor's son-in-law. Taylor baptised a daughter called Mary at St Paul Covent Garden in 1708. James Douglas married one Mary Taylor (although we cannot be sure it was the same one) in 1728, just as Thomas Taylor relinquished the property in Charles Street. Douglas baptized four children at St Paul Covent Garden between 1729 and 1733. Thomas Taylor reappears holding a license in nearby Brydges St in Covent Garden in 1729: London Metropolitan Archives, WR/LV/1/19.

<sup>61</sup> The Golden Anchor is mentioned in advertisements in *Daily Courant*, 16 Jan 1718, *Original Weekly Journal*, 1 March -8 March 1718, *Daily Courant*, 22 Nov 1722.

<sup>62</sup> The last reference to the Apple Tree is in 1751: London Metropolitan Archives, WR/LV/1/24. Douglas's name is replaced at this point in the ratebooks by John Lemman. One James Douglas is recorded as buried in St James Piccadilly in 1753: 'England, Middlesex, Westminster, Parish Registers, 1538-1912', <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KC8S-DZL> : 24 December 2014, accessed 4 August 2016.

<sup>63</sup> *QCA* 10, 251.

<sup>64</sup> St Clement Danes, Pauper Settlements, Vagrancy and Bastardy Examinations, 13 November 1742, available via <http://www.londonlives.org>, ref. WCCDEP358180037-38, accessed 2 September 2016); *QCA* 10, 123, 130, 134.



Walpole centering on the figure of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales.<sup>65</sup> This move was led by Desaguliers, who had been given rooms at Kew Palace by the Prince for his laboratory equipment.<sup>66</sup> The dedication of the 1738 *Constitutions* to the Prince of Wales and its presentation to the Prince by Grand Lodge were strong expressions of support at a time when the Prince was excluded from the King's household and was seen by the opposition as the best hope of restoring the mixed constitution undermined by Walpole's corruption.<sup>67</sup> Influenced by Bolingbroke's *Remarks on the History of England* (1730), the 'patriot' opposition stressed the importance of 'a sense of continuity and pride in what it meant to be a Briton' and an awareness of ancient British liberty and independence.<sup>68</sup> Anderson's history of Freemasonry was meant to show how Grand Lodge was rooted in an ancient English institution but had been revitalized by the Hanoverian succession.

If it was not for the late and suspect testimony of Anderson and the list of officers in the Grand Lodge minute book, we would assume that the Grand Lodge was created during 1721. There are no contemporary references to Grand Lodge between 1717 and 1721: no press reports, no anti-masonic pamphlets, no diary entries, no theatrical burlesques of masonic ceremonies.<sup>69</sup> In England, Freemasonry bursts on the scene suddenly in 1721 (Scotland is, of course, a different story). Two further sources establish that the explanation for this silence is very simple, namely that Grand Lodge was indeed only established in 1721. These sources are the papers of the physician, antiquary and natural philosopher William Stukeley, and a book in the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity. Both are contemporary and are inherently more likely to be reliable than the later researches of Anderson. The legend that Sayer, Lamball and other had been Grand Officers before 1721 was cultivated by them in order to secure money from Grand Lodge charitable funds. Grand Lodge connived in their claims in order to help strengthen its jurisdiction over the older lodges and to demonstrate its own antiquity.

Stukeley was one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries and is celebrated for his archaeological investigations of Avebury and Stonehenge. He records in his diary that on 6 January 1721 'I was made Free Mason, at the Salutation Tav. Tavistock street with Mr Collins, Capt. Rowe who made the famous diving engine'.<sup>70</sup> The Salutation Tavern was a well-known Covent Garden tavern, immediately around the corner from Charles Street, which had been established in about 1709 and survived until 1881.<sup>71</sup> We do not know who Mr Collins was, but Jacob Rowe was a

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<sup>65</sup> Berman, *Foundations*, 174-5.

<sup>66</sup> Carpenter, *Desaguliers*, 45-6.

<sup>67</sup> The presentation is noted in advertisements in e.g. *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 3 November 1739 and *Country Journal or The Craftsman*, 24 November 1729.

<sup>68</sup> A. Pink, 'Robin Hood and her Merry Women: Modern Masons in an Early Eighteenth-century London Pleasure Garden', *Journal of Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, 4 (2013), 203-6; C. Garrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

<sup>69</sup> Given the lack of evidence for Grand Lodge before 1721 it is important to be careful in dating these early documents. For example, the *Leeds Mercury* report of a masonic meeting in Pontefract cited in Berman, *Foundations*, 36 is an Old Style dating, so should be dated 16 January 1722: G. D. Lumb, 'Extracts from the *Leeds Mercury* 1721-1729', *Thoresby Society* 22 (1915), 187-8. Likewise the ESTC tentatively dates to 1720 *Love's Last Shift: or, Mason Disappointed*, a theatrical spoof including 'A Song on the Freemasons', but it is correctly advertised in *Stamford Mercury*, 6 June 1723, as a new publication.

<sup>70</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. c.533: f. 34v; W. C. Lukis, ed., *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M. D.*, vol. i, Surtees Society 73 (1880), 62; David Boyd Haycock, *William Stukeley: Science, Religion and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 175. Close inspection of the manuscript suggests that these memoranda were compiled by Stukeley at the time of the events noted.

<sup>71</sup> 'Southampton Street and Tavistock Street Area: Tavistock Street', in *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden*, 218-22, available online at *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol36/pp218-222> (accessed 28 Jul 2016). The Salutation Tavern became a favourite haunt of the Prince Regent: W. Earle, *Sheridan and his Times* (London: J. F. Hope, 1859), Vol 1, 299-311. The Salutation had no other connection with Freemasonry apart from Stukeley's initiation, and should not be confused with the coffee shop in the same street owned by the freemason Richard Leveridge, a mistake made by J. Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London* (London:

Devon sea-captain and entrepreneur who patented a diving bell.<sup>72</sup> However, the most striking aspect of Stukeley's account of his initiation is his later recollection in his *Commonplace Book* that 'I was the first person to be made a freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately after that it took a run, and ran it self thro' the folly of its members'.<sup>73</sup> In preparing shortly after 1750 a summary of his life, Stukeley again emphasised the lack of Freemasons in London in 1721: 'His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the antients, when with difficulty as number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion not only spread over Brittain & Ireland, but all Europe'.<sup>74</sup>

Stukeley's claim that it was difficult to find enough Freemasons to perform an initiation at the beginning of 1721 is impossible to reconcile with Anderson's narrative, which declares that the number of lodges was at that time rapidly increasing.<sup>75</sup> The Salutation, where Stukeley was initiated, was just a few minutes' walk from the tavern in Charles Street which became the Apple Tree and it is surprising that there was difficulty in finding Freemasons if a lodge really was meeting at the Apple Tree. For Stukeley, the key event in the growth of Freemasonry was the installation of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master at Stationers' Hall in June 1721. Unlike Anderson, Stukeley attended this event and describes it as follows: 'The Masons had a Dinner at Stationers Hall present D. Montague, Ld Herbert, Ld Stanhope, Sr And Fountain & c. Dr Desaguliers pronounced an Oration. the Gd Mr Mr Pain produced an old MS of the Constitutions which he got in the west of England 500 years old. He read over a new sett of articles to be observed. D of Montague chose Gd Mr next year Dr Beal Deputy'.<sup>76</sup>

Although Stukeley's report is much shorter than Anderson's elaborate account of the ceremonial, it adds some important details. First, it reveals that in addition to Lord Stanhope, afterwards 4th Earl of Chesterfield, the meeting was also attended by Henry, Lord Herbert, afterwards 9th Earl of Pembroke, an architect and patron who was a prominent proponent of Palladianism, and the connoisseur Sir Andrew Fountaine, who built up Herbert's collections and was another prominent advocate of Palladian architecture.<sup>77</sup> Second, Stukeley records that George Payne produced at the meeting a manuscript of the Old Charges. We can identify this as the Cooke manuscript because Stukeley made a drawing of it and because the manuscript remained in the possession of the Grand Lodge in its early years, where William Reid made two transcripts of it.<sup>78</sup> It was the discovery of the Cooke manuscript, perhaps seen as embodying the 'mysterys of the antients', which led to the commission to Anderson to rescue the traditions from the 'gross errors in *History and Chronology*'

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John Graham Hotten, 1872), 434-5, and repeated in E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Annals of Covent Garden and its Neighbourhood* (London: Hutchinson, 1930) 154.

<sup>72</sup> P. Earle, *Treasure Hunt: Shipwreck, Diving and the Quest for Treasure in an Age of Heroes* (London: Methuen, 2007).

<sup>73</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. e.260: f. 88; *Family Memoirs*, vol. i, 122; Haycock, 175.

<sup>74</sup> *Family Memoirs*, vol. i, 51.

<sup>75</sup> 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 111.

<sup>76</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. c.533, f. 35; *Family Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 64; D. Knoop, G. P. Jones and D. Hamer, *The Two Earliest Masonic Manuscripts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938), 55. Another previously unnoticed reference by Stukeley to the dinner on 24 June 1721 is Bodleian Library, MS Eng misc e. 121: f. 30: '[1721] June 24. Din'd with D. Montagu & c. at Freemasons Feast Stationers Hall'.

<sup>77</sup> T. P. Connor, 'Herbert, Henry, ninth earl of Pembroke and sixth earl of Montgomery (c.1689-1750)' and Andrew W. Moore, 'Fountaine, Sir Andrew (1676-1753)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13033>, accessed 2 Aug 2016); Berman, *Foundations*, 105,125,135,179

<sup>78</sup> Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *Masonic Manuscripts*, 55-7; G. P. Speth, 'The Stukeley-Payne-Cooke MS', *AQC* 4 (1891), 69-70; *Family Memoirs*, vol. i, 64 n. 18. This drawing is presumably with the other Stukeley papers in the Bodleian Library, but has not so far been traced.

introduced by ‘the ignorance of *Transcribers*, in the dark illiterate ages, before the revival of *Geometry and ancient Architecture*’.<sup>79</sup>

Stukeley describes George Payne as Grand Master in his account of Montagu’s installation, but it is surprising that the socially well-connected Stukeley or the lodge at the Salutation apparently did not know about Payne’s role six months previously. Had Payne actually only assumed this post in early 1721? Likewise, newspaper reports state that between two and three hundred freemasons attended the feast at Stationers’ Hall, suggesting a great change since January. It seems that during the first part of 1721 Freemasonry indeed ‘took a run’ and that Stukeley was intimately involved in these developments. In December 1721 Stukeley helped found a lodge at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand which was constituted by Dr Beal, the Deputy Grand Master, and Stukeley was chosen as its first Master.<sup>80</sup> He describes how in 1722, the Fountain lodge received such distinguished visitors as the Duke of Queensberry, Duke of Wharton, Lord Hinchingbrooke, Lord Dumbarton and Lord Dalkeith.<sup>81</sup> The social cachet of the Fountain lodge was echoed by reports of Freemasonry in the press.

The impression given by Stukeley’s recollections of Grand Lodge bursting on the scene in 1721 is corroborated by another source which is less well-known and provides the most authoritative description of the creation of Grand Lodge. This is a contemporary copy of a minute describing the meeting of 24 June 1721 in the records of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, the lodge which met at the Goose and Gridiron. This record has been largely overlooked, and we are extremely grateful to the Worshipful Master, Secretary and brethren of the Lodge of Antiquity for permission to examine this manuscript and take some images of it.

A tragedy for the study of the history of Freemasonry was the ‘night of the outrage’ at the Lodge of Antiquity in November 1778, when supporters of William Preston in his dispute with Grand Lodge seized records and furniture of the lodge.<sup>82</sup> At the time of this incident, the lodge possessed a complete set of minute books from 1721 to 1778, together with three volumes of Treasurers’ and Tylers’ accounts. The two volumes which contained the minutes from 1721 to 1733 are now missing, and other volumes have had leaves cut from them. The loss of these early minutes is disastrous. However, there is a rough book in the lodge records, marked E, which contains some early minutes. Fortunately, this volume is still in its original binding, which has pasted inside the trade card of Charles Stokes, ‘Stationer at the Red-Lyon near Bride-Lane, in Fleet Street’. The trade card bears the date 1716, presumably the date when it was engraved. Stokes was also known for his sale of ‘the famous Ophthalmic-Tobacco, which Smokes very mild and grateful to the Smell’, which he advertised extensively from 1720, and the leaves can be seen in the trade card.<sup>83</sup> Stokes, ‘an ingenious Person who had collected several Medals, Pictures and other Curiosities’, died on 10 June 1741.<sup>84</sup> Stokes’s membership of the lodge is noted in Antiquity’s Book E, and in 1719 he was offering tuition in geometry, algebra and related subjects with Jonathan Sisson.<sup>85</sup>

Thanks to the survival of the binding and the trade card, we know that Book E in the records of the Lodge of Antiquity pre-dates Preston’s interference with the lodge records, having probably been provided for the lodge by Stokes in the early 1720s. Much of the book was not used until some

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<sup>79</sup> 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, 73.

<sup>80</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. c.533, f. 36; *Family Memoirs*, i, 66.

<sup>81</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. c.533, f. 36v.

<sup>82</sup> W. H. Rylands and C. Firebrace, *Records of the Lodge Original, No. 1, now the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2* (London: Harrison, 1911-26), vol. i, 1-14; C. Dyer, *William Preston and his Work* (Shepperton: Lewis Masonic, 1987), 67.

<sup>83</sup> For example, *Applebee’s Weekly Journal*, 6 August 1720. See further F. Doherty, *A Study in Eighteenth-Century Advertising Methods: The Anodyne Necklace* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 349-50.

<sup>84</sup> *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 11 June 1741.

<sup>85</sup> *Evening Post*, 9-11 July 1719.

years after its acquisition, and it contains minutes of the lodge from 1759 to 1767 from ff. 9v-85 and accounts of the lodge from f. 148v to the end of the volume. There are also miscellaneous notes of, for example, the delivery of a plate for printing tickets in July 1751 and of reimbursement of funds paid at a quarterly communication in April 1756 on f. 7v. On f. 124v, there is an unfinished list of Grand Officers which is interesting because it omits Anderson as Grand Warden in 1723. However, this list is very late, being in the same hand as that of the lodge minutes for 11 June to 26 August 1766. The volume did not escape unscathed from Preston's actions, and from ff. 125-133 there are some extracts in a late eighteenth-century hand purporting to be from the lost minute books for 1721-33. As Wonnacott pointed out,<sup>86</sup> these are in a hand which cannot be much earlier than 1765 and many of them bear an uncanny resemblance to footnotes in William Preston's works, suggesting that they were sanitized and corrected versions of the minutes prepared under his direction.

However, at the very beginning of Book E are two documents which can be confidently dated to the early 1720s. Following a copy of John Faber's print of the Duke of Montagu is a minute describing the installation of the Duke of Montagu in June 1721 on f. 2, then from ff. 4-5 a list of members of the lodge dated 18 September 1721. The beginning of this list of members is in the same hand as the minute of Montagu's installation. Initial additions to the list, noting such figures joining the lodge as the 1st Earl Waldegrave and Sir Charles Hotham, the MP for Beverley,<sup>87</sup> are made, first, by the original hand, then in a variety of hands which appear (as in the case of the engraver Benjamin Cole) to be signatures of the members themselves. The last entries refer to initiations on 15 March 1725/6, which means that the list cannot be later than 1726. The majority of the members named in the first section of the list appear in the 1723 list of members of the Goose and Gridiron Lodge. Others are named in the 1725 list, although some are named as members of the lodge at the Queen's Arms in St Paul's Churchyard (to which the Goose and Gridiron Lodge eventually moved).<sup>88</sup> This suggests that the relationship between these lodges may be more complex than previously assumed, perhaps because of the involvement of the Duke of Wharton as Master of the Queen's Arms Lodge. Nevertheless, this lodge list reflects the membership of the lodge in the early 1720s, and was copied into the book at about that time. The name of the master 'William Esquire' looks at first sight like a clerical error, but is probably to be identified with the 'William Esquire' whose daughter Ann was baptized at St Botolph Aldgate in 1710.<sup>89</sup> If so, he is the first recorded master of the Lodge of Antiquity.

Since the list of members in the Lodge of Antiquity Minute Book E dates from the early 1720s, this establishes that the account of the installation of the Duke of Montagu, in the same hand, was written not long after 1721, and can be considered a contemporary report. This minute expands considerably the list of noblemen and well-to-do gentlemen who attended the event. It agrees with Stukeley in mentioning the presence of Lord Herbert and Sir Andrew Fontaine and also notes the presence of Lord Hinchinbrooke,<sup>90</sup> who afterwards visited Stukeley at the Fountain Lodge. It also

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<sup>86</sup> W. Wonnacott, 'The Lodge at the Goose and Gridiron', *AQC* 25 (1912), 168.

<sup>87</sup> On Waldegrave, see Berman, *Foundations*, 148-50; on Hotham, see E. Cruickshanks and I. McGrath, 'Hotham, Sir Charles, 4th Bt' in D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, ed. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715* (London: History of Parliament Trust, 2002), available online at:

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/hotham-sir-charles-1663-1723> (accessed 2 August 2016).

<sup>88</sup> The Queen's Arms afterwards became celebrated for the patronage of Dr Johnson, Boswell and Garrick. In the 1720s, it was also often known as the King's Arms, but for the sake of consistency the better known Queen's Arms is used here.

<sup>89</sup> 'England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975', Family Search database: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NVSV-T6F> (accessed 2 August 2016).

<sup>90</sup> On Hinchinbrooke, see E. Cruickshanks and S. Handley, 'Montagu, Edward Richard, Visct. Hinchinbrooke' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, available online at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/montagu-edward-richard-1692-1722>; Berman, *Foundations*, 135.

states that Lord Hillsborough, a close friend of the Duke of Wharton,<sup>91</sup> was present. The minute does not explicitly mention Lord Stanhope's presence, although the P— Stanhope listed may refer to him. The William Stanhope listed is presumably Lord Stanhope's younger brother. The minute also adds a number of baronets and gentlemen to those present, such as Sir William Leman, 3rd bart., Sir George Oxenden, 5th bart., a Whig MP for Sandwich,<sup>92</sup> Sir Robert Rich, 4th bart., at that time MP for Dunwich and a supporter of Walpole,<sup>93</sup> Sackville Tufton, afterwards 7th Earl of Thanet, and Colonel John Cope, afterwards MP for Queenborough and another supporter of Walpole.<sup>94</sup> The minute also mentions the presence of Christopher Wren junior, afterwards to become a Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, as well as other members of the lodges at the Goose and Gridiron and the Queen's Arms such as Richard Boulton, Charles Hedges, and William Western, a Fellow of the Royal Society.<sup>95</sup>

The Antiquity minute shows that Montagu's initiation was attended by an imposing social array. The chief surprise in the minute is its claim that the Duke of Wharton attended. This is not inherently improbable, but a press report on 5 August 1721 stated that Wharton was only admitted into the Society of Freemasons in the Queen's Arms lodge in St Paul's Churchyard at the end of July 1721.<sup>96</sup> While this raises a question mark about the exact sequence of events concerning Wharton's initiation, it does not discredit the Antiquity report.<sup>97</sup> Describing the meeting as 'A General Assembly of a Greate Number of Free Masons', the minute declares that the Duke of Montagu was installed in form Grand Master of Masons, and swore on the bible

to Observe and keep Inviolate in all tyme Coming the Franchises and Liberties of the free Masons of England and all the records of Antient tyme in the custody of the Old Lodge of St Paul in London.

While this minute was evidently intended to bolster the claims of the lodge, part of the claim of the lodge evidently rested on its possession of records of the Old Charges. In this context, Payne's production of a much older manuscript would clearly have complicated matters, adding weight to the second part of the oath sworn by Montagu that he

firmly held and bound never to connive at any Encroachment on the Landmarks of the old Lodges in England or suffer the same to be done by his successors who shall also be bound by oath to the same.

In return, the old lodges agreed to surrender their privileges in trust to a new body which was the Grand Lodge:

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<sup>91</sup> Berman, *Foundations*, 143.

<sup>92</sup> R. Sedgwick, 'Oxenden, Sir George, 5th Bt.' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1970), available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/oxenden-sir-george-1694-1775> (accessed 2 August 2016).

<sup>93</sup> S. Matthews, 'Rich, Sir Robert, 4th Bt.' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/rich-sir-robert-1685-1768> (accessed 3 August 2016); S. Sommers, 'Dunwich: the Acquisition and Maintenance of a Borough', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 38 (1995), 317-8; Berman, *Foundations*, 127-8.

<sup>94</sup> A. Newman, 'Cope, John', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/cope-john-1690-1760> (accessed 3 August 2016).

<sup>95</sup> [http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/resources/frs\\_freemasons\\_complete\\_jan2010.pdf](http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/resources/frs_freemasons_complete_jan2010.pdf) (accessed 3 August 2016).

<sup>96</sup> Robbins, 'Earliest Years', 68.

<sup>97</sup> cf. Wonnacott, 'Goose and Gridiron', 171. It is possible that no ritual was performed at the dinner on 24 June 1721 in which case Wharton and the others may not have been initiated at this point.

This day the Free Masons of London in the Name of themselves and the rest of their Brethren of England vested their separate and distinct rights and powers of congregating in Chapter & c. in the present old Lodges in London in trust and the same was this day Publicly Recognised and Notified to their Brethren in Grand Lodge assembled.

The Masters of the Old Lodges Accepted the Trust for their Lodges and were sworn accordingly.

Thus, the fullest and most detailed contemporary account of the installation of the Duke of Montagu states that the act of vesting the privileges of the old London lodges in the Grand Master and Grand Lodge took place not at the Goose and Gridiron in 1717 but at the meeting in Stationers' Hall in 1721. This account is convincing not only because it is a more contemporary report than Anderson, but also because it fits in with Stukeley's account and with the pattern of evidence from newspapers and elsewhere. It seems that George Payne, with the assistance of Desaguliers and perhaps Stukeley and others, had devised a scheme to develop Freemasonry as a social and cultural activity during the previous few months, and had obtained a number of prestigious recruits, most notably Montagu but perhaps Wharton as well. Payne was evidently the stage manager of this operation, preparing regulations for the new body, and may have been recognised as Grand Master in this process. But the significance of the Antiquity minute is clear: Grand Lodge was founded not at the Goose and Gridiron on 24 June 1717, but four years later, when the London lodges made a formal transfer of their privileges to the new body, on 24 June 1721 at Stationers' Hall. Anderson's account of what happened between 1717 and 1721 should be discarded.

The Antiquity minute indicates why Grand Lodge might have been keen to make it clear that it was not beholden to the older London lodges and to promote an alternative view of its origins. But what about Sayer, Lamball, and their claims to have been the first Grand Officers in 1717? How did these stories arise? It seems that Sayer and others promoted these stories in order to help obtain charitable relief from Grand Lodge. As they circulated these tales in the 1730s, they provided useful material for William Reid and Anderson as they were instructed to demonstrate how Grand Lodge derived from earlier traditions. To get a sense of the dynamic which shaped this process, let us return to the lodge which claimed to have met at the Apple Tree in Charles Street.

By 1723, the lodge which had claimed to meet at the Apple Tree was based at the Queen's Head in Knave's Acre. Knave's Acre was also known as Little Pulteney Street and is today the eastern section of Brewer Street in Soho. Strype described Knave's Acre as 'narrow, and chiefly inhabited by those who deal in old Goods, and Glass Bottles'.<sup>98</sup> The street had a doubtful reputation, with for example complaints made about disorderly night houses 'wherein are harbour'd and entertained divers suspected Thieves, Pickpockets and other dissolute and wicked persons...with Outcry of Murder, etc'.<sup>99</sup> Newspaper advertisements for a 'grand specific for agues', a powder guaranteed to disperse fevers, instructed customers to go 'up One Pair of Stairs at a Joyner's, next Door to the Queen's Head, Little Poulteney Street, Knave's Acre'.<sup>100</sup> There had recently been some rebuilding of property in the vicinity of Knave's Acre,<sup>101</sup> and it is not clear when how long the Queen's Head had been established there. Although the Queen's Head lodge appears second in the early engraved lists of lodges and membership lists, it met under a warrant from Grand Lodge dated 27 February 1723. The reason why this warrant was issued is mysterious. Anderson in 1738 states that it was because

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<sup>98</sup> Stow and Strype, *Survey*, vol. ii, 84.

<sup>99</sup> *London Evening Post*, 20-22 July 1732.

<sup>100</sup> *Weekly Journal or British Gazeteer*, 22 February 1729.

<sup>101</sup> 'Brewer Street and Great Pulteney Street Area', in F. Sheppard, ed. *Survey of London: Volumes 31 and 32, St James Westminster, Part 2* (London: London County Council, 1963), 116-37, available online at: *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols31-2/pt2/pp116-137> (accessed 13 July 2016); an elderly woman was found dead in the cellar of a newly-built house in Knave's Acre in January 1722: *Daily Journal*, 10 January 1722.

some members of the Apple Tree Lodge had moved to the Queen's Head on account of some dispute,<sup>102</sup> but given the uncertainty about the identification of the Apple Tree, this explanation has the air of obfuscation. One doubts whether the lodge had ever met anywhere else apart from the Queen's Head.

It has been assumed that this lodge consisted mainly of working stonemasons and other craftsmen, but this was not the case. Its master in 1723, Abraham Rayner was a lawyer<sup>103</sup> and another member of the lodge, Moses Jevans, was a distiller.<sup>104</sup> However, this was not a particularly wealthy or respectable lodge. Abraham Rayner was imprisoned in Newgate for debt for three years and was accused of trying to trick a fellow prisoner out of money.<sup>105</sup> The fragments of information available about Sayer, who claimed to be the first Grand Master, show a man in straitened circumstances. He lived in the poor neighbourhood of St Giles in the Fields and relied on the charity of fellow masons to keep warm in cold weather.<sup>106</sup> His first wife, Elizabeth, was violently assaulted by a group of Irish women in 1736 and died the following year.<sup>107</sup> In 1739, Sayer married a widow named Eliza May in a cheap and discreet Fleet marriage.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, on Sayer's death in 1742, his funeral at St Paul's Covent Garden was attended by a splendid cohort of his fellow freemasons.<sup>109</sup>

As Grand Lodge grew, the management of its charitable funds became a matter of increasing concern. Desaguliers urged in 1729 that the Grand Lodge 'should admit no person into the Society who can be supposed to come in for the sake of the loaves'.<sup>110</sup> This became a recurrent theme. At the quarterly communication in 1735 when Anderson was ordered to include a list of Grand Masters in the new *Book of Constitutions*, a resolution was passed that, in order to prevent people becoming freemasons to benefit from the charitable funds, all petitions for relief should include evidence that the petitioner had been in 'reputable or at least tolerable circumstances' while they were freemasons.<sup>111</sup>

While the Queen's Head Lodge regularly contributed to charitable funds, it also loomed large in demands on the charitable reserves. The demands made on Grand Lodge at this time are illustrated by the career of Henry Pritchard, a joiner from Drury Lane, who was a member of the Queen's Head Lodge and other masonic lodges in London. In May 1723, he had been tried for assault after he had fractured the skull of a man called Abraham Barrett, who was said to have abused the Society of Freemasons in a scandalous manner using many indecent expressions. The jury had found Pritchard guilty, but in view of the provocation they only fined him 20s.<sup>112</sup> Grand Lodge was determined that Pritchard should not lose out for his defence of the Craft, and collected over twenty eight pounds for him.<sup>113</sup> Despite this handsome benefaction, five years later, Pritchard was on his uppers again and received relief from the Queen's Head lodge.<sup>114</sup> In 1730, a petition to Grand Lodge by Pritchard was presented in which he strengthened his claim by stating that he had been a

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<sup>102</sup> 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 185.

<sup>103</sup> <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=t17331010-4-defend46&div=t17331010-4#highlight> (accessed 13 March 2016).

<sup>104</sup> Will dated 15 April 1735: <http://londonlives.org.ref.wills.1730.1739.2531224.684297> (accessed 12 October 2016).

<sup>105</sup> <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=17331010> (accessed 3 August 2016): ref no. t17331010-4

<sup>106</sup> A. Calvert, 'Antony Sayer', *AQC* 14 (1901), 183.

<sup>107</sup> <http://londonlives.org>: Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents 17 January 1736 (London Lives ref. LMSMPS503140088) ; Burial Register, St. Margaret, Westminster, 12 August 1737.

<sup>108</sup> *King's Arms Register*. Fleet Market, 10 June 1739: <http://ancestry.com> London, England, Cladestine Marriage and Baptism Registers, 1667-1754 (accessed 4 August 2016).

<sup>109</sup> *London Evening Post*, 16-19 January 1742.

<sup>110</sup> *QCA* 10, 105.

<sup>111</sup> *QCA* 10, 251.

<sup>112</sup> *Daily Post*, 18 May 1723.

<sup>113</sup> *QCA* 10, 54-5.

<sup>114</sup> *QCA* 10, 115.

mason since 1700. This was dismissed, with a note that Pritchard had been offered a place in the workhouse, but had turned it down.<sup>115</sup> The following year, Pritchard was back again, with another petition to Grand Lodge setting forth his poverty, age and blindness, and declaring that he had been a mason for forty years, placing his initiation in 1690. This time, Pritchard's petition was successful, and it was agreed that Desaguliers would pay him five pounds from charitable funds, and that the doctor would ensure that Pritchard used it prudently.<sup>116</sup>

Pritchard's case illustrates how the charitable help offered by Grand Lodge was proving increasingly attractive for those members who were craftsmen and artisans, but that Grand Lodge's caution in managing the fund encouraged petitioners to emphasize the longevity and seniority of their connection with the craft. Another member of the Queen's Head lodge who made heavy demands on Grand Lodge's charity was Sayer himself. It has been noted that Sayer's claim to have been Grand Master was not mentioned in the 1723 Constitutions. Sayer was also silent about this claim in 1724, when he was an early supplicant for charitable help from Grand Lodge, and his case helped prompt the establishment of a general charity.<sup>117</sup> In April 1730, Sayer petitioned Grand Lodge, describing his great misfortunes and poverty, and now for the first time strengthened his claim by declaring that he was a former Grand Master.<sup>118</sup> The Grand Lodge was divided as to how to react to Sayer's plea – some were willing to give him twenty pounds, but others thought this far too generous and only wanted to offer ten pounds. In the end, it was agreed to split the difference and pay him fifteen pounds, but the rider that he would be given this sum 'on account of having been Grand Master' seems intended to indicate that only someone with such exceptional claims might expect such assistance. Within a few months, Sayer was accused by the Master and Wardens of the Queen's Head Lodge of making Masons irregularly, suggesting Sayer had found another way of turning his claim to have been Grand Master to financial advantage.<sup>119</sup>

While Sayer clearly exploited his claim to be Grand Master for personal gain, it seems that the Queen's Head Lodge may also have had its own reasons to support the claims of members such as Pritchard and Sayer to have been Freemasons before the foundation of Grand Lodge. In 1729, the Grand Lodge had revised the numbering of its lodges, placing them in order of the date of their constitution. Because the warrant held by the Queen's Head Lodge dated from 1723, it fell down the roll and was placed No. 11. The complaint of the lodge that it should be higher was peremptorily dismissed by the Deputy Grand Master, Alexander Choke, suggesting some in Grand Lodge were doubtful about the claims made by the Queen's Head Lodge and its members.<sup>120</sup> Shortly afterwards, the constitution of the Grand Lodge's charitable committee was altered so that the masters of the most senior lodges joined the committee.<sup>121</sup> The loss of seniority potentially affected the ability of the Queen's Head Lodge to participate in the management of the charity, and it was naturally anxious to reverse Grand Lodge's ruling.

Sayer, Lamball and the others concocted their story about being the first Grand Officers for social prestige and to enhance their prospects of charitable aid from Grand Lodge. Their lodge was also keen to claim seniority for similar reasons. Asked by Grand Lodge to demonstrate its antiquity in the face of competition from the new Grand Lodges in Dublin and Edinburgh and to support Grand Lodge's political agenda, Anderson found the tales of Sayer, Lamball and others useful. A great deal more research is required into the context of the establishment of Grand Lodge and it is not possible to cover all the ground here, but the essential point is that Grand Lodge was not founded at

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<sup>115</sup> *QCA* 10, 134.

<sup>116</sup> *QCA* 10, 208-9.

<sup>117</sup> *QCA* 10, 59.

<sup>118</sup> *QCA* 10, 123.

<sup>119</sup> *QCA* 10, 131, 137-8.

<sup>120</sup> *QCA* 10, 106.

<sup>121</sup> *QCA* 10, 129.



the Goose and Gridiron in 1717, following meetings at the Apple Tree. The best interpretation of the available evidence is that Grand Lodge was founded with the installation of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master in 1721. This puts events like the visit of Desaguliers to Edinburgh in August 1721 in a very different context, but these are for future investigation.

It was suggested that we might conclude this lecture by inviting Grand Lodge to postpone the tercentenary celebrations until 2021, but we would not wish to do that. We would rather see the anniversary become an event which sparks much further investigation into the early history of Grand Lodge. In the story of the Apple Tree and the Goose and Gridiron, Anderson created an exceptionally durable myth. It is one that has been taken over by other fraternal organizations. The druidic Circle of the Universal Bond claimed that in 1716 John Toland made a proclamation on Primrose Hill (where the Welsh *Gorsedd* first met) calling for all druids to meet together in the Apple Tree Tavern in Covent Garden and that in September 1717 the Druid Circle of the Universal Bond was established at the Apple Tree Tavern (William Stukeley afterwards becoming the second Chief of the order).<sup>122</sup> Such foundation myths are fundamental to all fraternal organisations and Anderson was conscious of the importance of such legends. As he put it himself in the preface to his *Royal Genealogies*, it is important to ‘let every Nation enjoy its own *Fable*’.

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<sup>122</sup> R. Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 125-9.